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THE MYSORE GAZETTEER

VOLUME II

HISTORICAL

PART II

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY PERIOD.

From the earliest times to the Foundation of the Vijayanagar Kingdom.

In Part I of this Volume, we have not only tried to make out the Pre-History and Proto-History of Mysore, so far as modern research has enabled us to do so, but also endeavoured to glean as much information as we could about the Archæology of the Historical Period. We have seen to what extent the aid of Epigraphy, Numismatics, Sculpture and Painting, Architecture, other allied Fine Arts like Engraving and Music, Palm-leaf and other Mss., Literature (Sanskrit, Kannada and other) etc., could contribute to our knowledge of the History of the State. These sources of History show the wide ground that has to be covered by the Historian of Mysore before he can present a faithful account of its past and show how the present has grown out of it. That is the task that we set before ourselves in this and the succeeding Parts of this volume. In this Part, the extent of the influence exerted by the following dynasties of Kings on the State will be considered, in so far as it may be possible in the light of recent research:—Nandas, Mauryas, Sunga Dynasty, Kanva Dynasty, Andhras, Kadambas, Vaidumbas, Pallavas, Gangas, Chālukyas, Rāshtrakūtas, Kalachuryas, Chōlas, Hoysalas and Sevunas. Only so much of the history of these different dynasties will be set down below as is necessary for the purposes of elucidating Mysore history. For the rest, reference should be made to the works mentioned in the Bibliography.

NANDAS—5th Century B.C.

Certain inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found in the present Shimoga District refer to the Nandas, the predecessors of the Mauryas, as being connected with parts of northern Mysore. Thus, one inscription (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 225, dated in 1204 A.D.) states that Kuntala, a province which included the Western Deccan and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the "renowned Nandas." Another (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 236, dated in 1173 A.D.) derives the descent of the Kadambas, the early rulers of the north-west of the country, from Nanda.

Their succession and history.

The Nandas were the successors of Saisunāgas or Saisunākas. The Saisunāgas derive their name from the name of the founder of their dynasty, Saisunāga. His dynasty is the earliest in the Purānic lists which can claim historical reality (*Circa* 642 B.C.) Saisunāga ruled over a country which comprised the modern districts of Gaya and Patna. His capital was Girivrāja, near Rājagriha. Fifth in succession to him was Bimbasāra (*Circa* 582 B.C.) who extended his Kingdom by the addition of Anga, the modern district of Bhāgalpur. He has been regarded as the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power. He fortified his position by marital alliances. One of his wives came from the famous Lichchhavi clan at Vaisali, the modern Basrah, 27 miles west by north of Patna. Both Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, and Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, appear to have lived in Magadha and preached during Bimbasāra's reign, though it is difficult, as Sir Vincent Smith remarks, "to reconcile the traditional dates." After 28 years of rule, Bimbasāra retired. He ruled the country as a wise and sensible king. He extended his influence over Kōsala, conquered Vaisali, and built a fortress at the village of Pātali, famous later as Pātalīputra, the modern Patna, to safeguard his frontier. Ajātasatru died in *circa* 527 B.C. His grand-son Udaya built Udayapura, which adjoins Pātalīputra. (*Circa* 503 B.C.) His successors were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, of both of whom little is as yet known. They were probably both Nandas. Mahānandin's illegitimate son, Mahāpadma Nanda, usurped the throne and established the Nanda dynasty in or about 413 B.C. According to the *Purānas*, Mahāpadma was followed by his eight sons, the two generations of nine (*nava*) Nandas reigning for a century, a length of rule which indicates a confusion in chronology. At the time of Alexander's conquest—he reached Hyphasis in 326 B.C.—there was one of these Nandas ruling over the Magadha country. Greek accounts show he was not only of a base origin but also "odious and contemptible to his subjects." His great military power is attested to by Greek testimony, but the extent of the Nanda Kingdom cannot be defined and the duration of the reign of the dynasty fixed with certainty. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has suggested that Nava-Nanda means the "new," not the "nine" Nandas, as distinguished from the *Pūrvanandah*, the early Nandas, *i.e.*, Nandi (or Nanda) Vardhana and Mahānanda (or Nandin) of Kshēmēndra. Good reasons have also been adduced to show that Chandragupta Maurya, who displaced the Nandas, was a respectable kinsman of the early Nandas and not of a base origin like the later. Whether this was so or not, there is scarcely any doubt that Chandragupta effected a successful revolution with the aid of his Brāhman adviser Chānakya (also called Kautilya or Vishnugupta) and then leading the Indian revolt against Alexander's conquests destroyed most of the Macedonian garrisons. (*See below*). At the time of his accession, which may be dated between 325 and 320 B.C., perhaps in 322 B.C., the Kingdom of Magadha was large in extent and included the territories of the nations called Prasii and Gangaridæ by the Greeks, and probably comprised the kingdoms of Kōsala, Tirhut (North Bihar) and Benares, as well as Anga (modern Bhāgalpur) and Magadha proper (South Bihar). Whether it extended as far as present northern Mysore, as stated in inscriptions of the 12th century A.D. or not, and whether the reference to the Nandas mentioned in them is to the early or later Nandas or to the restored dynasty of Nandas in Chandragupta, it is impossible to say in the present state of our knowledge.

THE MAURYAS—327 B.C.—185 B.C.

The authentic history of India may be said to begin with the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. When the Sandrakottos (or Sandrakoptus) of the Greek writers was identified with Chandragupta, a secure basis was established on which to found the chronology of events in India. From the little we know of Chandragupta, he first appears as a youthful adventurer in the camp of Alexander, from which, owing to some quarrel or disagreement, he had to flee. From the writings of Justin it has been inferred that Chandragupta had offended the reigning king Nanda, who had ordered him to be put to death. He sought safety "by a speedy flight." He proposed to Alexander, if Plutarch may be believed, that if he advanced, he would make an easy conquest of the kingdom on the Ganges, by reason of the extreme unpopularity of the

Chandragupta's Rule—323 B.C. to 298 B.C.

reigning king. Collecting bands of followers, he contrived to overthrow the dynasty of the Nandas in Magadha, or Bihar, and made himself a supreme sovereign throughout northern India, with his capital at Pātalīputra (Pālimbōthra in the Greek version), the modern Patna, on the Ganges. In the play called *Mudrā-rākshasa*, he is represented as having effected this with the aid of Chānakya, the Indian Machiavelli. This play makes Chandragupta a relation of the reigning sovereign, Mahāpadma Nanda, and attributes a low origin to Chandragupta. It has been pointed out that the play, though founded on accurate information and ancient court tradition, may still lack in certain respects, a historical basis, especially by reason of later sectarian rancour which may have affected the character of Mahāpadma himself. The view has also been advanced that Chandragupta was, as above stated, connected with the earlier Nanda, and was superior in status to Mahāpadma, whom he overthrew. After the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., Baktria and the Greek provinces in India had fallen to the share of Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Syrian monarchy. But it was not till he had recovered Babylon in 312 B.C. that the latter was at leisure to turn his attention to India. He then found himself unable to cope with Chandragupta, and as the result of a humiliating peace entered into alliance with him, ceding the Greek settlements in the Punjab and the Kabul valley in return for a present of 500 elephants, and ratified the peace by giving him his daughter in marriage. He also appointed to the court at Pātalīputra an ambassador named Megasthenes, from whose accounts the Greeks obtained much of their information about India. The reign of Chandragupta lasted for twenty-four years, from about 323 to 298 B.C., and the line of kings originating with him are known as the Mauryas. His overthrow of the Nanda king of Magadha, his driving the Macedonian troops out of India, his conquests from sea to sea, his system of administration, etc., do not fall within the scope of this work. There is the less need to refer to these matters here as they will be found fully described in Sir Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (Fourth Edition, 1924, 121-161), to which reference is invited by the interested reader.

Chandragupta's abdication and retirement to Mysore, 298 B.C. The Bhadrabāhu tradition.

The earliest event in the annals of Mysore that may be regarded as historical is connected with Chandragupta. It refers to his abdication and retreat to Mysore about 298 B.C. According to the accounts of the Jains, Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *srutakēvalis*, or hearers of the first masters, foretold the occurrence in Ujjayini (modern Ujjain) of a dreadful famine which would last for twelve years. On its approach the main body of the Jains there forsook the northern regions and migrated to the south under his guidance. When they had journeyed as far as Sravana Belgola, Bhadrabāhu, feeling that his end was drawing nigh, sent on the rest of the pilgrims, under the leadership of Visākha, to the Chōla and Pāndya countries, and remained behind at the smaller hill (called Katavapura in Sanskrit and Kalbappira or Kalbappu in Kannada) to die, attended by only a single disciple. That disclple, it is alleged, was no other than the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta.

Reason for his abdication.

In accordance with the obligations of the Jaina faith, he had abdicated towards the close of his life and renounced the world in order to prepare for death by acts of penance performed under the direction of a spiritual guide. For this purpose he had attached himself to Bhadrabāhu, the most distinguished professor of the faith at that time living, and had accompanied him to the south. He continued to minister to the wants of Bhadrabāhu, his *guru*, to the last, and was the only witness to his death. According to tradition, Chandragupta survived his *guru* for twelve years, which he spent in ascetic rites at the same place and died there, after welcoming the emigrants on their return journey from the south when the great famine was over which had driven them from their homes.

The testimony on which it rests.

In testimony of these events, not only is Bhadrabāhu's cave, in which he expired, pointed out on the hill at Sravana Belgola, but the hill itself is called Chandragiri after Chandragupta; while on its summit, surrounded with temples, is the Chandragupta *basti*, the oldest there, having its facade minutely sculptured with ninety scenes from the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta, though these may be more modern, probably belonging to the 12th century A.D. Additional evidence is contained in the ancient rock inscriptions on the hill. The oldest of them relates the migration of the Jains and the other events abovementioned, while a second associates Bhadrabāhu with Chandragupta as the two great *munis* who gave the hill its distinction. (*Inscriptions at Sravana-Belgola*, Nos. 1, 17=New Edition 31, 108=New Edition 258, 54=New Edition 67, 40=New Edition 64.) Similar testimony is borne by two inscriptions of about 900 A.D., found near Seringapatam. (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, I. Seringapatam 147, 148). Furthermore, stone inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, dated in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, confirm the same traditions. That Chandragupta was a Jain by creed may be inferred from the statements of Megasthenes, who, writing of the Sarmanes (or Sravanas) distinguishing them both from the Brachmanes (or Brāhmans) and from the followers of Boutta (or the Buddhists), says:—

> "They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity."

That Bhadrabāhu was contemporary with Chandragupta is not denied. The story of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of the Nandas is dramatised in the Sanskrit play named *Mudrā-rākshasa* by Vishākadatta. In this play we see the Jains holding a prominent position at the time, and Chānakya who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jain as one of his chief emissaries. This play used to be assigned by scholars at one time to the 7th century A.D., but recent opinion credits it to the period of Chandragupta II, about 400 A.D. Speyer and Konow would refer it to the 4th century A.D. (See Sir Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 45 foot-note 1).

The literary evidence, though somewhat late and even slightly contradictory in character, bears testimony to the fact that Chandragupta was Bhadrabāhu's disciple and that he migrated to the south. The *Brihatkathākōsa*, a work by Harishēna, dated in 931 A.D., states that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Srutakēvalis, had the king Chandragupta as his disciple. A similar account is contained in the *Bhadrabāhu-Charita* by Ratnanandi of 1450, and is repeated in the *Rājāvali-kathe* by Dēvachandra, which is a modern compilation of about 1800. In the *Bhadrabāhu-Charita* and the *Rājāvali-kathe*, the migration to the south is stated to have been led by Bhadrabāhu, a statement which is repeated in the *Munivamsābhyudaya*, a work by Chidānandakavi (*Circa* 1680), in which the additional information is given that Bhadrabāhu was killed by a tiger springing on him. In the *Brihatkathākōsa*, however, it is mentioned that Bhadrabāhu having foretold the 12 years' famine, remained away at Ujjain and that Chandragupta, after taking the *dīkshe*, became the head of the *sanghas* under the name of Visākhāchārya and by order of his *guru*, Bhadrabāhu, he led the *sangha* to the Punnata kingdom, the Ponnata of Ptolemy, whose capital was Kīrtipūr, the modern Kittūr, on the Kapini, in the Heggaddēvankote Taluk of the Mysore District. Harishēna, the author of *Brihatkathākōsa*, and Jinasēna, another well-known Jain saint who wrote the *Harivamsa* in 783, state that they belonged to the Punnata *sangha*, which has been identified with the Kittūr *sangha*, mentioned in an inscription (No. 81, dated about 700 A.D.) included in the *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola.* It would also appear from the *Brihatkathākōsa* that Bhadrabāhu after the despatch of the *sangha* to the south under Chandragupta's leadership, retired to Bhādrapada, "fasted for many days, and expired." This part of the story is not accepted by the later writers mentioned above, who have agreed in saying that he also migrated to the south, leading the *sangha* and died on a certain hill in the Karnāta. Inscription No. 1 (of the Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola) mentions this hill as Katvapura at Sravana Belgola, where Bhadrabāhu "dismissed the *sangha* in its entirety, and in company with a single disciple, mortifying his body on the wide expanse of the cold rocks, accomplished *samādhi.*" Harishēna's statement that Bhadrabāhu did not lead the *sangha* to the south is not acceptable because two inscriptions near Seringapatam, which probably are a little older than Harishēna's period, describe the summit of Chandragiri at Sravana Belgola as marked by the impress of the feet of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta, thus indicating that the two lived there. A still earlier inscription on Chandragiri itself (No. 31 of the New Edition = Nos. 17-18 of the Old Edition of the *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola*, dated about 650 A.D.) refers to the same two sages (Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta), although it does not expressly state that they lived there. The *Brihatkathākōsa* apparently records a variant version of the story which, in the light of the evidence afforded by earlier inscriptions, has to be neglected. Tradition has unequivocally identified the Chandragupta of the Jain story with the Mauryan Emperor of that name, the grandfather of Asōka. Sir John Fleet's mistaken identification of this Chandragupta with Guptigupta has been mentioned above. More recently, it has been suggested by Dr. R. Shama Sastri (see *M.A.R.* for 1923, para 67) that this Chandragupta is Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, with whom Mayūrasarman of the Kadamba dynasty is said to have contracted marital alliances. "It is possible," he writes, "that it was this Chandragupta who in his old age embraced Jainism and being moved with pity at the sight of the famished people in a terrible famine in his country in his old age left the country in company with Bhadrabāhu III, a Jaina teacher, to spend his days in solitude in Sravana Belgola in Mysore under the rule of his father-in-law. The Sravana Belgola inscription written in memory of the death of Prabhāchandra can only mean, if it means anything, that the person named Bhadrabāhu who came to Sravana Belgola was one of the many disciples who came after the first Ganadhara Bhadrabāhu." This identification depends primarily on the accuracy of Dr. Shama Sastri's proposed initial point of the Gupta era at 200-201 A.D. This theory, however, still awaits closer examination. Among the objections that might be urged against it are that it predicates not only a famine of 12 years' duration in the reign of Chandragupta II but also suggests his migration to the south, for which, from the received accounts of his reign, there was no need. The theory also neglects the fact that Chandragupta II followed the Brāhmanical and not the Jain religion, while the foundation of the Chandragupta-Bhadrabāhu tradition is that Chandragupta was of the Jain persuasion. Chandragupta, the Mauryan Emperor, was a born Jain and lived and died a Jain and hence the story of the migration fits him more nearly than the Gupta king of the same name. Moreover, the theory of Dr. Shama Sastri as to the initial date of the Gupta era does not depend for its cogency or support on his proposed identification of the

Chandragupta of the Chandragupta-Bhadrabāhu tradition with the second Gupta Emperor of the same name. Mr. Rice writes:—

"We are therefore not without warrant for assuming that Chandragupta was a Jain by creed. At the period when he becomes associated with Bhadrabāhu, he was much troubled in mind on account of sixteen dreams with which he had been visited. These are mentioned in many narratives relating to him. Bhadrabāhu in the course of his travels having come to Pātalīputra, the capital, the king consulted him as to their interpretation, and was dismayed at the coming troubles which they portended, including the twelve years of famine. He seems, consequently, impressed by Bhadrabāhu's exhortations, to have resolved to retire from the throne, and to place himself under the guidance of this the most distinguished Jain teacher then living for the right performance of penitential acts in view of the impending calamities. He was, as Mr. V. A. Smith has pointed out (*E.H.I.* 128), not fifty years of age at the time. He is not expressly stated to have died, and no special reason appears for his death at this early age. Had he fallen in battle, or his life been cut short by accident or disease, the circumstance could not fail to have been mentioned. But if he retired from the throne in order to devote himself, in accordance with the dictates of the Jain religion, to an ascetic life in the last stage of his existence (Asōka who was his grandson, did the same, as will be seen below) and accompanied Bhadrabāhu to the South, this affords a reasonable explanation of his early disappearance from public notice and of the silence regarding his further career, for absolute renunciation of all earthly ties was of the essence of the vow he had taken. On the other hand, the southern accounts represent him as living an ascetic life at Sravana-Belgola for twelve years after the decease of Bhadrabāhu. (Twelve years of penance were always thought essential for obtaining perfection, and for every ascetic who endeavours to quit this life with the best claims to enter one of the highest heavens or even Nirvāna (Jacobi, *S.B.E.*. XXII, Introd. 18). His death then occurred when he was about sixty-two years of age, which seems more natural and so far entitled to credence.

"That the north of Mysore may even at that period have been a part of the Maurya empire is not beyond probability. For the edicts of Asōka are evidence that it was so two generations later; and as the only conquest Asōka is said to have made was that of Kalinga or Orissa, it follows that the rest of his empire was inherited from his predecessors, If it be true, moreover, as above stated, that the Nandas ruled over Kuntala, then the Mauryas naturally acquired it in succession to them. One inscription, indeed (Sravana Belgola 263), says that Nagakhanda (the Shikarpur Taluk) "was protected by the wise Chandragupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas;" but this is of the fourteenth century and too much cannot be built upon it. Of special interest, however, is the statement in the work of Harishēna before referred to, that when, as described in the Sravana Belgola inscription, the *sangha* were sent on their way, "they went by the *guru's* direction to the Punnata country, situated in the South." This was a province in the south-west of the Mysore State. It is mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy as Pounnata, "where is beryl." It is also named in the fifth century in connection with the Ganga king Avinīta (Coorg 1), whose son Durvinīta married the Punnad king's daughter, and united it to the Ganga territory. An inscription of the Punnad Rājas gives Kitthipura as their capital, which is identified (Heggaddevankote 56) with Kittūr on the Kabbani river in the Heggaddēvankote Taluk. One of the ancient rock inscriptions on Chandragiri (Sravana Belgola 7) records the death of a Jain guru from Kittūr."

Opinion of Sir Vincent Smith.

The above is a brief summary of the evidence on which the Chandragupta-Bhadrabāhu tradition rests. Mr. Rice has always maintained its credibility, while Sir John Fleet has consistently argued against it. He thinks that the Bhadrabāhu of inscription (No. 1, *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola*), assigned to about 600 A.D., is a later saint of that name who lived in the 1st century B.C. and identified—wrongly as stated above—Chandragupta with Guptigupta. Mr. Rice's views have been re-stated with great force by Rao Bahadur

R. A. Narasimhachar in his new Edition of *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola* (*E.C.* II). Sir Vincent Smith, who at one time disbelieved the story, has lately written in favour of it. He writes thus in his *Early History of India* (Fourth Edition, 1924) :—

"In the Second Edition of this book, I rejected that tradition and dismissed the tale as 'imaginary history.' But on reconsideration of the whole evidence and the objections urged against the credibility of the story, I am disposed to believe that the tradition probably is true in its main outline, and that Chandragupta really abdicated and became a Jain ascetic. The traditional narratives, of course, like all such relations, are open to much criticism, and the epigraphical support is far from conclusive. Nevertheless my present impression is that the tradition has a solid foundation on fact."

In another of his publications, the *Oxford History of India* (Edition 1919), he more fully sets out his grounds. He writes :—

"The only direct evidence throwing light on the manner in which the eventful reign of Chandragupta Maurya came to an end is that of Jain tradition. The Jains always treat the great emperor as having been a Jain like Bimbisāra, and no adequate reason seems to exist for discrediting their belief. The Jain religion undoubtedly was extremely influential in Magadha during the time of the later Saisunāgas, the Nandas, and the Mauryas. The fact that Chandragupta won the throne by the contrivance of a learned Brāhman is not inconsistent with the supposition that Jainism was the royal faith. Jains habitually employ Brāhmans for their domestic ceremonies, and in the drama cited above a Jain ascetic is mentioned as being a special friend of the minister Rākshasa, who served first the Nanda and then the new sovereign.

"Once the fact that Chandragupta was or became a Jain is admitted, the tradition that he abdicated and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jain manner becomes readily credible. The story is to the effect that when the Jain saint Bhadrabāhu predicted a famine in northern India which would last for twelve years, and the prophecy began to be fulfilled, the saint led twelve thousand

Jains to the south in search of more favoured lands. King Chandragupta abdicated and accompanied the emigrants, who made their way to Sravana-Belgola ('the white Jain tank') in Mysore, where Bhadrabāhu soon died. The ex-Emperor Chandragupta, having survived him for twelve years, starved himself to death. The tradition is supported by the names of the buildings at Sravana-Belgola inscriptions from the seventh century after Christ, and a literary work of the tenth century. The evidence cannot be described as conclusive, but after much consideration I am disposed to accept the main facts as affirmed by tradition. It being certain that Chandragupta was quite young and inexperienced when he ascended the throne in or about 322 B.C., he must have been under fifty when his reign terminated twenty-four years later. His abdication is an adequate explanation of his disappearance at such an early age. Similar renunciations of royal dignity are on record, and the twelve years' famine is not incredible. In short, the Jain tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists."

A dispassionate consideration of the known facts leads one, says Mr. Narasimhachar, to the conclusion that the Jaina tradition has some basis to stand upon. The evidence may not, as he admits, be quite conclusive, but it may be accepted as a working hypothesis until the contrary is proved by further research.

Bindusāra
298-272 B.C.

According to the Greek accounts, Chandragupta was succeeded by Amitrachades (probably Amitraghāta, slayer of foes, one of the king's titles). He was, as his name indicates, a conqueror. To the *Purānas*, he is known as Bindusāra. He seems to have maintained the friendly relations with the court of Seleukos, who being assassinated in 280 B.C. had been succeeded by his son and colleague Antiochus Soter, who continued his father's policy towards India. Deimachos succeeded Megasthenes as ambassador to Bindusāra's court. Ptolemy Philadelphos, who ruled over Egypt from 285 to 247 B.C., also sent an envoy named Dionysios to his court. Both Deimachos and Dionysios recorded their notes on the country, like Megasthenes, their predecessor. While very few of Deimachos' observations have come down to us, the accounts of Dionysios were still available to Pliny when he wrote his *Natural History* about 77 A.D. The *Vishnu Purāna* gives the following list of the Maurya kings :—

Chandragupta,	B.C. 323-22 to 298 B.C.
Bindusāra,	B.C. 298 to 272 B.C.
Asōka-vardhana,	272 to 232 B.C.
Suyasas	
Kusala of	... (Identified with Dasaratha of the inscriptions).
Sangata,	? 224 B.C.
Salisūka,	? 216 B C.
Sōmasarman	? 296 B.C.
Satadhānwan	? 199 B.C.
Brihadratha	? 191 B.C.
Pushyamitra Sunga slays Brihadratha. Final destruction of Maurya Empire, 185 B.C.	

Bindusāra's conquest of the south.

Bindusāra reigned for twenty-eight years, from 298 to 272 B.C. His military exploits included the conquest of the South. Though there is no direct evidence for it, it is fairly inferable from the writings of Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, and the Tamil poet Māmūlanār that Bindusāra, following the advice of Chānakya, effected extensive conquests and carried the limits of his State from sea to sea. Sir Vincent Smith is of opinion that these conquests should have been in the South and not in the North, where Chandragupta had firmly held his kingdom. Tāranātha says that Bindusāra killed the kings and ministers of sixteen capitals and annexed their territories. Māmūlanār refers in several of his poems to the conquest of the South by the "new Mauryas" (*Vamba Moriyar* as he calls them) through what is now Kanara and the Coimbatore countries, to the extreme south of the peninsula, up to the Pothiya Hill in the South-West of Madura and Tinnevelly Districts. He even hints that these new Mauryas succeeded in wresting power from their predecessors by force. His words are reminiscent of the revolution in Pātalīputra, when he says that "the wealth of the Nandas, which having accumulated first in Pātali, hid itself in the floods of the Ganges." Māmūlanār also refers to the chieftain of *Erumai* of Kudanādu, parts of Mysore and Coorg, a name which as *Erumainādu* (Sanskrit *Mahīshamandala*) has survived to our own times. Though Sir John Fleet has identified Mahīshmati with Mandhata on the Narbada, it is still an open question whether Asōka's *Mahīshamandala* does not refer to the country which is now generally known as Mysore. Tamil literature and later inscriptions seem to support this view. That the conquest of the South included parts of Mysore need not be doubted, if they were not already part of Bindusāra's kingdom by virtue of the right of conquest from the time of the Nandas. Echoes of this early Mauryan rule over parts of north-west Mysore are preserved for us in inscriptions as late as the 12th century A.D. One of these found at Bandanike, Shikarpur Taluk, Shimoga District, describes Kuntala as the province governed by the Mauryas. This, roughly speaking, would be the country between the rivers Bhīma and Vēdāvati, bounded on the west by the Ghāts, including Shimoga, Chitaldrug, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur, and adjacent parts to the north of Bombay and the Nizam's dominions. There are other references which show that these Mauryan incursions were frequent, and that success did not always lie with the Mauryas. That they could not hold their southern conquests is evidenced by the inscriptions of Asōka. These unmistakably prove that in his time the southern States—Chōla, Pāndya, etc.—were independent neighbours of the northern empire, which included a vice-royalty with its head-quarters at Suvarnagiri, "presumably situated in the ancient gold-field near Maski in the Raichur District of the Nizam's Dominions, where an inscription exists." Faint memories of the Mauryan conquest of the south lingered for centuries. Apart from the inscriptions dated as late as the 12th century and found in the north-west of Mysore, referring to it, the Kadamba kings claim descent from Nanda himself. Early Pallava inscriptions claim Asōka as one of the ancestors of the dynasty; and as late as the 7th century A.D., the Chālukya monarch subdued Maurya chiefs in the Konkans. The Mauryas who began their incursions in the south from a time probably anterior to Bindusāra, ceased to be a power in the south with the fall of the Sanga dynasty and the rise of the Āndhrabhrityas.

Asōkavardhana or Asōka, 272-232 B.C.

Bindusāra was succeeded by his son the famous Asōkavardhana or Asōka. He is directly connected with this State, where the discovery by Mr. Rice in 1892, of three of his inscriptions in the Molakālmuru Taluk, Chitaldrug District, dating perhaps from 258 B.C., has put it beyond doubt that the Mysore country, or at any rate the northern part of it, was included in his dominions. All that was previously known of his connection with Mysore was contained in the statement in the *Mahawanso* that after the third convocation (244 B.C.) he despatched missionaries to foreign parts to establish the religion of Buddha; among whom "he deputed the *thera* Majjhantika to Kasmīra-Gandhāra, and the *thera* Mahadēva to Mahīshamandala (Mysore). He deputed the *thera* Rakkhita to Vanavāsi" (Banavāsi on the Sorab frontier), etc. These places would seem therefore to have been just beyond the limits of his territories. An inscription of the twelfth century, as already stated, describes Kuntala as a province governed by the Mauryas.

His Edicts in Mysore and elsewhere.

The remarkable Edicts of Asōka, engraved on rocks and pillars, are, as is well known, the earliest specimens of writing that have been found in India. With the exception of those at Mansahra and Shahbazgarhi in the Yusufzai country, in the extreme north-west of the

Punjab, which are in the Baktrian-Pāli characters, (also called Arian-Pāli and Kharoshti) written from right to left, all the others are in the Indo-Pāli characters (properly the Brahmi lipi), written from left to right. But a singular circumstance about the Edicts found in Mysore is that although, as was to be expected, they are in the Indo-Pāli characters, the scribe who wrote them has, as noted by Bühler, introduced the Baktrian-Pāli at the end in describing his profession. This character appears in no other inscriptions throughout India, except those in Yusufzai first mentioned. The inference is that the scribe may have been an official transferred from the extreme north to the extreme south of the empire, which implies a freer inter-communication than has been generally supposed to exist at that period.

His early life.

Asōka was governor of the north-west frontier province (capital Taxila) and of Ujjain, under his father, before he came to the throne. He reigned for forty-one years, from about 272 to 232 B.C., or thirty-seven if counted from his coronation-anointing which did not take place before the year 269 B.C. During those previous four years, he appears to have been engaged in struggles with his brothers, though according to Sir Vincent Smith the account of these struggles as told in Ceylonese monkish chronicles is a much exaggerated one. That he was at first a Jain has been deduced (see Ed. Thomas, *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asōka*) from his Edicts, and also from the statement by Akbar's minister, Abul Fazl, in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that Asōka introduced Jainism into Kashmīr, which is confirmed by the *Rāja-tarangini*, the well-known Brāhmanical history of Kashmīr, recording that Asōka "brought in the *Jina Sāsana*." Others, however, consider that he followed the Brāhman creed. His grandson Dasaratha dedicated the Nāgarjuni caves to the Ājivikas, a sect of Jains, who may be regarded as the fore-runners of the Digambaras, while his grandson Samprati was certainly a Jain. At any rate, he eventually embraced Buddhism, and made it the State religion, doing for that faith what the Emperor Constantine at a later period did for Christianity. In the 13th Rock Edict he informs us that his conversion was due to the remorse he felt on account of the slaughter and devastation which attended his conquest of Kalinga in 261 B.C. in the ninth year after his coronation. Hence forward he resolved to maintain peace and devote himself to religion. He thus gradually came to appoint officials (*mahāmātras* and others) to watch over morality, and by teaching and persuasion alone to extend the knowledge of *dhamma* or moral duties. The slaughter of animals was to a great extent stopped; he had wells dug and avenues of trees planted along the roads; made arrangements for dispensing medical aid in all parts of the empire; and taught that the attainment of future happiness was open to all classes, and dependent not on the ministration of priests, but on personal right conduct and humanity.

Contents of the Mysore Edicts.

The Edicts in Mysore, (of which translations have been published by Dr. Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 140, by M. Senart, in French, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1892, and by Mr. Rice in *Epigraphia Carnatica* XI, Chitaldrug District, Molakalmuru 14, 21 and 34) are issued in the name of *Dēvānam Piye* (the beloved of the gods), a royal title of the Maurya kings, and are addressed by the Prince (*ayaputa*) and *mahāmātras* in Tachchannugiri and Suvannagiri to the *mahāmātras* in Isila, places which have not so far been satisfactorily identified. According to Mr. Rice, Isila possibly represents Sidda in Siddapura, near where the inscriptions have been found. Sir Vincent Smith apparently agrees with this view when he states that Isila was "probably represented by an ancient site near the places where the inscriptions exist." He also suggests that the royal commands were first received from Asōka by the Prince and the high officials at Suvarnagiri and then transmitted to the high officials at Isila. He understands that "Suvarnagiri was somewhere in the south, and that the Prince was Asōka's Viceroy of the Deccan—the fourth of the kind, the three others being stationed respectively at Taxila in the north-west; Tosali in the Kalinga country, in the East; and Ujjain in the western country including Mālwa, Gujarāt and Kathiawār." Sir John Fleet has suggested that Suvarnagiri should be identified with Songir at Old Rajgir in Magadha, and on that basis elaborates a theory that Asōka was living in retirement at that place. He writes:—

> "Particular interest attaches to the Mysore versions, because the Brahmagiri text discloses the fact that it was framed on the anniversary of Asōka's abdication, and when he was living in religious retirement on the hill Suvarnagiri, still known as Songir, which was one of the hills surrounding the ancient city of Girivraja in Magadha" (*J.R.A.S.* 1905, 304: see also *J.R.A.S.* 1909, 981-1016).

Sir Vincent Smith can find no evidence that Asōka abdicated and he prefers to believe that Suvarnagiri was situated somewhere in one of the ancient goldfields. Maski, where an Asōka inscription was discovered in 1915, is situated in a country which "abounds in numerous gold workings," and was, as he adds, following Bruce Foote, an important settlement even in the later neolithic period. The contents of the Edicts found in Mysore run as follows:—

> "The Beloved of the gods (thus) commands:—For more than two years and a half, when I was an *upāsaka* (or lay-disciple), I did not take much trouble. For one year (I took) immense trouble; the year that I went to the *sangha* (or assembly of clerics) I put forth great exertion. And in this time the men who were (considered) true in Jambudvīpa (were

shown to be) false, together with the gods. This, indeed, is the result of exertion. But this cannot be attained only by the great. For, in any case, even to the lowly, by effort, high heaven (*svarga*) is possible, and may be attained. To this end has this exhortation been delivered:—Both humble and great should so exert themselves; and the neighbouring countries should know this; and this exertion should be of long continuance. Then will this matter increase: it will increase greatly; it will increase to at least as much again. And this exhortation has been delivered by the *vyūtha* 256.

"Thus says the Beloved of the gods:—Obedience should be rendered to mother and father. So also regard for living creatures should be made firm. Truth should be spoken. These and the like virtues of the *dhamma* should be practised. So also the disciple should honour his teacher. And due respect should be paid to kindred. This is the ancient natural way. This also tends to long life, and this should thus be done. Written by Pada the scribe."

The above will suffice to show the earnestness and high moral tone of these singular and interesting inscriptions, so unlike any others met with in the country. As Sir Vincent Smith puts it, the words of his inscriptions are Asōka's own. No Secretary would have dared to put them in his master's mouth. "The style is of the man" and his character is deducible from them. "The Edicts reveal Asōka as a man who sought to combine the piety of the monk with the wisdom of the king, and to make India the kingdom of righteousness as he conceived it, a theocracy without a God; in which the Government should act the part of Providence, and guide the people in the right way. Every man, he maintained, must work out his own salvation, and eat the fruit of his deeds. The fruit of exertion is not to be obtained by the great man only; because even the small man by exertion can win for himself much heavenly bliss, and for this purpose was given the precept—'Let small and great exert themselves.' (*Minor Rock Edict I*). The

Government could only point out the road, which each man must travel for himself. Reverence, compassion, truthfulness, and sympathy were the virtues which he inculcated: irreverence, cruelty, falsehood, and intolerance were the vices which he condemned. The preacher was no mere sermon-writer. He was a man of affairs, versed in the arts of peace and war, the capable ruler of an immense empire, a great man, and a great king." The whole tone indeed of the Edicts is, as Mr. Rice remarks, both higher than and quite different from that of any other inscription found in India. Solicitude for the welfare here and hereafter of all his subjects, high and low, is manifest throughout, and is extended even beyond his boundaries in an all-embracing humanity. His concern for the latter was shown specifically by the despatch of missionaries to bordering lands. Among other places, it is of special interest to note that a *thera* named Mahādēva was, as already stated above, sent to *Mahīsa-mandala*, the country round Mysore—which appears in the Tamil poems of Māmūlanār (2nd century A.D.) and inscriptions as *Erumaināḍu* or the Buffalo country and must have been even at that period a place of some importance—and another named Rakkhita to Vanavāsi (modern Banavāsi), on the north-west of the State. The sentence in the Edicts above quoted about the men who were regarded as gods in Jambudvīpa or India is considered to refer to the Brāhmans, and to their being now deprived of the almost divine prestige they had arrogated. At the same time, the duty of reverence to them and the bestowal of alms both upon Brāhmanas and Sramanas is more than once inculcated. Toleration seems to have been denied only to their priestly claims.

It may be noted here that Asōka never calls himself by that name in his inscriptions, but always Piyadāsi or Devānam Piye, except in the single minor Rock Edict at Maski, 45 miles north-west from Siddapura and situated in the present Nizam's Dominions, whose opening words are *Devānampiyasa Asōkasa*, confirming Princes's famous equation of Asōka with Devānampriya. Further details about Asōka's rule, including his pilgrimage of Buddhist holy places, his buildings, his inscriptions, his inculcation of the *Dhamma* (Sanskrit *Dharma*) or the Law of Duty, his precepts and personal practice, his official propaganda of same through official censors, his missions to distant countries and to border kingdoms and tribes with a view to making Buddhism from a local into a world religion cannot be gone into here but may be read in Sir Vincent Smith's work already referred to.

Successors of Asōka.

Who the immediate successor of Asōka was, it is not definitely known. It has been suggested that the kingdom was probably divided among his grandsons, his son Tīvara, known to us from the Queen's Edict, having pre-deceased him. Of these, Dasaratha, identified with Kusala of the *Vāyu Purāna*, is a reality, being known to us from the brief dedicatory verses on the walls of the cave-dwellings at the Nāgârjuni Hills, which he bestowed on the Ājivikas. He probably succeeded to the Mauryan throne itself, directly to his grand-father. Samprati, son of Kunāla, the blinded son of Asōka, is also a reality, as his name appears in both Buddhist and Jain traditions. He probably succeeded Asōka, in the Western Province, as many Jain temples—he is described as an avowed Jain—in that region are ascribed to him. Jaluka, a son of Asōka, figures in Kashmir tradition, but he has been described as "essentially legendary," no independent combination of the tradition having so far been discovered. Kunāla, the blinded son, is also claimed as the founder of the Khotan royal family. Sir Vincent Smith remarks that this story is merely a mythological explanation of the fact that the ancient civilization of Khotan was derived from India. What became of the Deccan

Provinces and who succeeded to it is not known even to tradition. Probably they fell away from the imperial rule, and as in the case of the Āndhras, grew into independent kingdoms. According to the *Purānas*, the whole duration of the Maurya dynasty was 137 years. If this period be accepted, as suggested by Sir Vincent Smith, and reckoned from the accession of Chandragupta in 322 B.C., the dynasty must have come to an end in 185 B.C., which date seems approximately correct. Four princes of varying names, who according to the Purānic lists, succeeded Asōka's grandsons and reigned for brief periods of time, are no more than mere names, except Salisuka, who is independently known to us from the well-known historical passage in *Gārgi Samhitā*. As Sir Vincent Smith writes:—

> "The only certainty is that the great Empire founded by Chandragupta, and gloriously maintained by his son and grandson, did not long survive the latter. The fall of the Maurya authority probably was due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmans, whose privileged position must have been seriously affected by the extreme favour which Asōka showed to the Buddhist monks."

Break-up of the Maurya Empire.

The prohibition of sacrifices and the irritating proceedings of the censors must have, it is suggested, produced much unrecorded discontent, so that when the mighty rulers retired, the old influences re-asserted themselves and produced a revolt against his system. Pandit Haraprasāda Sastri compares the case of king Palaka of Ujjain in the ancient drama, the *Toy-Cart*. The Sunga, Kānwa and Sātavāhana dynasties which succeeded one after another the Mauryas were, it should be noted, all Brāhmanic in their creed and persuasion. So also was the Cheta dynasty of Orissa. Even the royal title of *Devānampiya* came to be equated, as explained by Kātyāyana in the *Vārtikas* to Pānini, with *mūrkha*, a fool. "This," as Mr. Rice remarks, "was a very characteristic retaliation, if so meant, and the use of the word thus authorised has come down even to the present time, and is common, I am told, at all events among the Brāhmans." The satirical verses on Asōka from the *Bhōja Prabhanda* quoted by Mr. Rice also indicate later Brāhmanical feeling in the matter (see *E.C.* V, Introduction 30-31). The descendants of Asōka, whose names are recorded in the *Purānas*, probably retained possession of only Magadha and the neighbouring home provinces. In or about 185 B.C., the last prince of the Maurya dynasty, named Brihadratha, was slain by his commander Pushyamitra (or Pushpamitra), who established a new dynasty known as that of the Sungas.

THE SUNGA DYNASTY, 185 B.C. TO 73 B.C.

The Sungas, according to the *Purānas*, reigned for 112 years. Pushyamitra, the first king, had to face two invasions (165 B.C. and 161 B.C.) from Khāravēla, king of the Kalingas, and Menander, the Bactrian king of Kabul and the Punjab (155-153 B.C.). The latter he beat off but in the second war with the former, he suffered defeat, which ended in the plunder of his capital. Pushyamitra revived, after victories over neighbouring kings, the horse-sacrifice, which testifies to the growth of the Brāhmanical reaction during his reign. The story of his persecution of the Buddhists seems highly exaggerated. He was succeeded by his son Agnimitra, who figures in Kālidāsa's *Malavikāgnimitra* (*i.e.*, the story of Malavika and Agnimitra) which belongs to about the 5th century A.D. Agnimitra bore rule at Vidīsa, identified with Bhilsa in Central India, which apparently formed the southern part of his father's dominions. He was succeeded by Vasujyēsta, probably a brother, who in his turn was succeeded by Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra. Then followed four other kings about whom little is known. The ninth king, Bhāgavata, is known by an inscription on the stump of a *garuda* pillar at Besnagar, " where he had been crowned twelve years." He is said to have reigned for thirty-two years. He was succeeded by Dēvabhūti, a dissolute prince, who was, at the instance of his minister Vasudēva, killed by a daughter of his slave-woman, disguised as his queen. Vasudēva, the minister, founded a dynasty of his own known as the Kānva dynasty. They are also known as Sungabhrityas or servants of the Sungas.

KĀNVA DYNASTY, *Circa* 73-28 B.C.

Vasudēva, the founder of the dynasty, was succeeded by three of his decendants, of whom nothing is known. They ruled in all only forty-five years. The last of them, Susarman, was slain about 28 B.C., by a king of the Āndhra or Sātavāhana dynasty, which, at that time, possessed vast dominions stretching across the table-land of the Deccan from sea to sea.

ĀNDHRA, SĀTAVAHANA OR ĀNDHRABHRITYA DYNASTY.

The name of the Āndhra king who killed Susarman, the last Kānva king, is not definitely known, though the *Purānas*, which (wrongly) treat the whole Āndhra dynasty as following the Kānva, identify the slayer of the last Kānva with Simukha or Sipraka, the first of the Āndhra line. As Simukha is described as a servant of the Āndhras, he is mentioned in the *Purānas* as the founder of the line of Āndhrabhrityas. Apparently he had displaced some unknown king who ruled over the Āndhra kingdom previous to him. The Āndhras are an extremely ancient nation, being mentioned in the *Aitarēya Brāhmana* vii. 18, which dates prior to 500 B.C. Rapson thinks, from a consideration of the *Purānic* lists, that Simukha must have commenced his rule about 200 B.C., a deduction which is confirmed by Bühler's referring the Nāsik inscription assigning the second king Krishna to the 2nd century B.C. Working back from the accession of the twenty-third king Gautamīputra Sātakarni, which must be dated in 106 A D. or a few years later, the maximum readings of the *Purānas*, according to Rapson, would indicate *Circa* 244 B.C. and the minimum readings *Circa* 202 B.C. as the date of Simukha's succession. Seeing that the last Kānva king was slain about 28 B.C. by an Āndhra king, the latter has been identified by Sir Vincent Smith to be one or other of the three Āndhra kings, numbered 11, 12 or 13 in the list given below, taken from Mr. F. E. Pargiter's work, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, with notes based on Professor Rapson and Sir Vincent Smith :—

(1) Sisuka, Sindhuka or Sipraka (= Simukha of the Nānāghāt inscriptions incised in script of about 200 B.C.) ... Reigned 23 years.
(2) Krishna, his brother (=Kanha of Nānāghāt record) ... Reigned 10 years.
(3) Sātakarni or Mallakarni, son of Krishna (=Srī Sātakarni, identified with the Sātakarni mentioned in Khāravēla's inscription and in one of the Nānāghāt epigraphs. He was defied by Khāravēla, king of Kalinga, who sent an army against him. He is described as Lord of the West). Reigned 10 years.
(4) Purnōtsanga ... ... ,, 18 years.
(5) Skandastambi .. .. ,, 18 years.
(6) Sātakarni ... ... ,, 56 years.
(7) Lambōdara ... ... ,, 18 years.
(8) Āpīlaka ... ... ,, 12 years.
(9) Meghasvāti ... ... ,, 18 years.
(10) Svāti ... ... ,, 18 years.
(11) Skandasvāti ... ... ,, 7 years.
(12) Mrigēndra Svātikarna ... ... ,, 3 years.
(13) Kuntala Svātikarna ... ... ,, 8 years.
(14) Svātikarna ... ... ,, 1 year.
(15) Pulumāyi (I) ... ... ,, 36 years.
(16) Arishtakarna ... ... ,, 25 years.
(17) Hāla ... ... ,, 5 years.
(18) Mantalaka ... ... ,, 5 years.
(19) Purikasēna ... ... ,, 21 years.
Accession *Circa* A.D. 59.
(20) Sundara Sātakarni ... Reigned 1 year. A.D. 80.
(21) Chakora Sātakarni ... ,, ½ year A.D. 81.
The bow and arrow coins of Vāsishtīputra Vilivāyarkura (I) have been assigned to one of these kings, but may belong to a different line.
(22) Sivasvāti, 28 years, A.D. 81. Identified with *Rāja Srī Sivamaka Sata* of Amarāvati inscription, The bow and arrow coins of *Mātharīputra Sivalakūra* have been assigned to this king, but may belong to a different line.
(23) Gautamīputra, 21 years. A.D. 106. Identified with the king of the name mentioned in the Nāsik inscriptions of the

24th year of his reign. He struck coins of Nahapāna with the legend *Rāja Gautamīputra Srī Sātakarni.*

(24) Pulōma (vi II), son of Gautamīputra, above; 28 years. A.D. 123 of the Kanheri, Nāsik and Amarāvati inscriptions. Also called *Rājā Vāsishtīputra Srī Pulomāyi*; sometimes *Svāmi Srī.*

(24*a*) Sātakarni, 29 years. Mentioned in one recension of *Vāyu Purāna* only.

(25) Siva Srī Pulōma [vi. III] 7 years. A.D. 156. The Eastern coins of *Rāja Vāsishtīputra Siva Srī Sātakarni* belong to him.

(26) Siva Skandha Sātakarni. 13 years. A.D. 163. Mentioned in Banavāsi inscription, with prince *Sata* or *Siva Skandānga Srī.* (See *below*).

(27) Yagnasrī Sātakarnika, 29 years. A.D. 166. Mentioned in Kanheri and Nāsik inscriptions, *Rāja Gautamīputra Svāmi Srī Yagna Sātakarni Aryaka* is substituted for *Svāmi* in an inscription at China in the Krishna District. To year 27. Numerous types of coins, with legend *Rāja Gautamīputra Srī Yagna Sātakarni*, or parts of that legend are known.

(28) Vījaya, 6 years A.D. 195.

(29) Chandasrī (Chandra) Sātakarni, 10 years. A.D. 201. Mentioned in an inscription at Kodavolu (Gōdāvari District) *Raja Vāsishtīputra Svāmī Srī Chanda (Chandra) Sata.* Eastern coins bearing the legend *Rāja Vāsishtīputra Srī Chandra Satī* or simply *Srī Chandra Satī* have been assigned to him.

(30) Pulomāvi (IV). 7 years. A.D. 211.

These thirty kings are stated to have ruled during a period of 460 years.

We learn from Megasthenes that the Āndhras, during the time of Chandragupta (300 B.C.), occupied the deltas of Gōdāvari and Krishna, and possessed a strong army second only to that of Chandragupta. Their territory included thirty walled towns and many villages. Their capital was Srīkākulam, on the lower course of the Krishna. Its site has been, at present, cut away by the river. In Asōka's Edicts (256 B.C.—Rock Edict XII) they are mentioned as semi-independent, if not wholly so, and as professing the Buddhist religion. On the disruption of the Maurya Empire (240 B.C.), they were among the first to make inroads on its territories. Under Simukha apparently, they so rapidly extended their sway that in the reign of his successor Krishna, Nāsik, near the source of the Gōdāvari, was included in their territories. Though Khāravēla (171 B.C.) sent an army against Srī Sātakarni, the third king, it did not apparently check their progress. Of Srī Sātakarni's successors nothing is known until we come to the 11th and the 13th kings in the list above given, one of whom probably overthrew the last Kānva king and thus assumed the imperial sway that once belonged to the Maurya Emperors. With the seventeenth king Hala is associated, either as author or as patron, the Prākrit work *Saptasataka* (or *Seven Centuries* of erotic verses) which has been independently assigned to the 1st century A.D. Frequent conflicts between the Sātakarni kings and foreign tribes settled on the confines of their territories, subordinate to the Indo-Parthian or Kushān kings of the N.W., are referred to. One of these tribes was the Kshaharatas, who about the first century A.D., occupied a large extent of territory extending from southern Rajputana as far northward as Ajmer and Pushkar, to the Nāsik and Poona districts in the Western Ghats and including the peninsula of Surāshtra or Kathiawar. The Āndhra king Rāja Gautamīputra Srī Sātakarni succeeded about 119 A.D. in extirpating the Kshaharatas and annexing their dominions. He called in the currency issued by the vanquished princes during many years and re-issued it by stamping on it in a crude fashion his own insignia. He proved himself a patron of the Brāhman religion, whose usages he re-established. But he was a highly tolerant prince, for his donations to the Buddhists were equally large. Sir Vincent Smith notes the curious fact that although the Āndhra Kings officially professed the Brāhman religion, most of their recorded donations were made to Buddhist institutions. Gautamīputra was succeeded, about 128 A.D., by Vāsishtīputra Srī Pulumāyi, who married the daughter of the then Kshaharata king Rudradāman I, grandson of the Mahākshtrapa Chashtana (Tiastenes of Ptolemy), whose coins in silver and copper, inscribed with Greek, Brāhmi and Kharōshti legends are found in Gujarat and who has been assigned to a period somewhere between 80 to 110 A.D. Despite this relationship, Rudradāman twice warred against his son-in-law and wrested back the lost territories. These re-conquests should have been completed, at the latest, before 150 A.D., when he recorded a list of the countries under his rule. Yagna Srī, 27th in the list, probably renewed the struggle with the Kshatrapas and recovered some at least of the territories reconquered by Rudradāman I. His rare silver coins, showing an imitation of the Kshatrapa coinage, were probably intended for circulation in the re-conquered western districts. His numerous and varied, but rude, bronze and leaden coins, which formed the currency of his eastern provinces, confirm the testimony of inscriptions that he had a long reign. A few bearing the figure of a ship have been referred to his reign by Sir Vincent Smith, who suggests that Yagna Srī's power was not confined to the land. Of his three immediate successors, with whom the dynasty came to an end about 225 A.D., little is known, except that a few leaden coins bearing Chandra Srī's name are known. The causes which contributed to the downfall of the Āndhras, who had retained power for over four centuries, are not yet known. Yagna Srī was probably the last to control the whole of the Āndhra Empire, including both the Mahārāshtra and Āndhra *dēsas*.

Their connection with Mysore, *Circa* 1st–2nd century A.D.

The Āndhras under their alternative name of Sātavāhanas are closely connected with Mysore. Their rule in the northern parts of the State is proved both by inscriptions and coins. The Prākrit inscription on the Malavalli Pillar (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga, Shikarpur 263) records a grant by Hāritīputta-Sātakarani, of the Mānavyagōtra and Vinhu Kaddachutu family, king of Vaijayanti, that is Banavāsi, engraved in cave characters. He commands the *Mahāvallabham rajjukam* that the village *Sahalāvati* has been given for the enjoyment of the Mattapatti (that is, Malavalli) god, as a Brāhman endowment, to Kondamana, a Hāritīputta of the Kodinya *gōtra*. It is dated in the second fortnight of the hot season, the first day of the first year. There is in Banavāsi also an inscription (*I.A.* XIV, 333) of apparently the same king, dated in the twelfth regnal year, in the seventh fortnight of winter, the first day. In this the Mahārāja's daughter the Mahābhōji Sivakhada-Nāgasrī (Sivaskanda-Nāgasrī) makes the grant of a *nāga* (the cobra in the middle of the slab on the margin of which the inscription is engraved), a tank and a *vihāra*. According to Rapson, Sivakhada-Nāgasrī denotes the name of the Prince associated with the queen in the donation. From an inscription at Kanheri his name is inferred to be Nāgamulanikā. The Hāritīputra Sātakarni mentioned in the Malavalli and Banavāsi inscriptions was apparently closely connected with the reigning Āndhra king of the time and probably his viceroy in the ancient Kuntala province of Nanda and Maurya times. Alternatively they may represent a branch of the Sātavāhanas of Paitan, the ancient Pratistāna, on the Gōdāvari, in the Aurangabad district of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, which was their western capital, their eastern capital in later historical times being Dhanyakataka, Dharanikōta, or Amarāvati, on the Krishna in the Guntur District, where according to an inscription found in the Jaggayapēta Stupa of the time of Purīsa Datta, son of Mādhari, was another branch of the Sātakarnis, claiming descent from the Īkhaku *i.e.*, Īkshvaku family (*A.S.I.* No. 3, page 36). Again, in the Tālgunda pillar inscription (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga, Shikarpur 176), Sātakarni is mentioned as one of the great kings who had worshipped in the temple there. As to coins, the evidence derived from them is summarised in the chapter on Numismatics (See Chapter IV *ante*). At Chandravalli, an ancient city which was situated immediately to the north-west of Chitaldrug, ancient pottery and lead coins have been frequently found with legends on them connecting them with the Sātakarnis. Three of the coins found in 1888, belong to Mahārāthi, the legend on them being *Sadakana Kalalāya Mahārathīsa, i.e., Sātakarna-Kalalāya-Mahārathi.* One of the coins in the Bangalore Museum is of the *Mahārathi* and the other of *Mudānanda* referred to below. In 1908, the finds included four large lead coins, one of the Mahārathi, two of king Mudānanda, and one of king Chūtakudānanda. The Mahārathi coin has on the obverse, the legend *Mahārathīsa Sadakana Kalayasa* round a humped bull, standing to left with a crescent over the hump and on the reverse a tree within a *chaitya* to right surmounted with a crescent. The Mudānanda coin has on the obverse a *chaitya* and round it the legend *Rāno Mudānamdasa,* and on the reverse a tree within railing in the centre flanked by two symbols to right and left. The obverse on the third coin is the same except that the legend reads *Rāno Mulānamdasa,* with *la* for *da* and the reverse is made up of a tree within railing to left and the *Nandipada* symbol to right. On the fourth coin, the obverse has a *chaitya* and round it the legend *Rāno Chūtukudānamdasa,* while the reverse is made up simply of a tree within railing. A Roman silver coin, a *denarius* of the time of the Emperor Augustus, was also dug near where the abovementioned coins were found. With the Mahārathi coin, was also found a clay seal, bearing the figure of an elephant and what looks like a soldier (sentry) with a weapon standing facing it. Some letters on its back, said to be in Brāhmi and running round an ornamental ring, have not been deciphered. The Mahārathi mentioned in the first coin above was, it has been suggested, a viceroy of the Āndhras stationed at Chandravalli, whose site is now marked by Chitaldrug; while Mudānanda and Chūtukudānanda were, it is said, Āndhrabhrityas or "feudatories of the Āndhras who subsequently became independent." This is a use of the term "Āndhrabhrityas" which is not in consonance with the Purānic usage and is likely to cause confusion. It is possible that Mudānanda and Chūtukudānanda were local kings recognised as such by the Āndhra viceroy represented by the Mahārathi. This is in accordance with later practice in the Chālukya, Kalachurya and other periods when local rulers were re-appointed under the imperial viceroy as local rulers of their territories. The Chūtukudānanda mentioned in the Chandravalli coin may be taken as connected with the Chūtukulānandas mentioned in the Banavāsi (*I. A.* XIV, 331) and Malavalli (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 263) inscriptions. That these viceroys and kings professed the Buddhist religion there can be no doubt: their coins attest to the fact. The discovery of a *denarius* of the Emperor Augustus may indicate that the date of the *Mahārathi* and the *Rānos* mentioned in the coins may not be far removed from the 1st or the 2nd century A.D.

Relics of Sātavāhana Rule.

A peculiarity of the kings of this dynasty is that the names of their mothers always appear with their own. Thus we have Gautamī Sātakarni, Vāsishtīputra Pulumāyi, and in Mysore, Hāritīputra Sātakarni. This seems a relic of the ancient Kshatriya custom due to polygamy. The actual names of the mothers are not given, but they are called, as suggested by Dr. Bühler (see Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, 129) by the *gōtra* of their family priest. Sir Walter Elliot long ago pointed out that the two branches of the Gōdāvari which form the delta are still named after the two great queens—the northern is the Gautamī and the southern the Vāsishtī (*Coins of Southern India*, 21). The dynastic name Sātavāhana is itself preserved in the term *Sālivāhana*, with which has been long connected the well-known era which commenced in 78 A.D. This era, it is now agreed, was almost certainly founded by Kanishka, the great Kushāna king of Taxilla. For many centuries this era was called the *Saka-Kāla* or *Saka-nripa-Kāla*—the time of the Sakas or of the Saka kings. But eventually the word *Saka* came to be misunderstood as itself meaning era, and to distinguish it, was then called the *Sālivāhana-saka.* Mr. Rice has drawn attention to a reminiscence of its origin in Shikarpur 281 (*E.C. VII*, Shimoga *i*) of 1368 A.D., which is dated in the *Sātavāhana-saka,* instead of the *Sālivāhana-saka.* The latter, he thinks, came into decided use with the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire. We find the Mysore State spoken of in 1717 in Chikmagalur 109 (*E.C. VI*, Kadur) as in the Sālivāhana country, which is probably meant for the Sātavāhana country.

End of the Andhra dynasty.

Professor Rapson thinks that "the end of the Āndhra dominion in India is most clearly to be traced in the Province of which Banavāsi was the capital." The two inscriptions on the Malavalli pillar show, according to him, "the transference of the Province from the Chūtu dynasty to the Kadambas, soon after, probably immediately after, the reign of Sivaskandavarman." He assigns no precise date to this transference but adds, "it probably took place at some time in the first half of the 3rd century A.D.," an opinion which is fully in agreement with Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 24. Dr. Shama Sastri, however, arguing that the initial point of the Gupta era commenced at 200-201 A.D., places the transference of the power to the Kadambas immediately after Vishnu-Kūda-dūtukulānanda Sātakarni, about 180 A.D.

THE KADAMBAS.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, we find the Kadambas occupying the north-west of Mysore, where they succeeded the Sātavāhanas; the Mahāvalis or Bānas and Pallavas occupying the east, and the Gangas the centre and the south, partially ousting the Mahāvalis. The Kadambas undoubtedly succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the north-west of Mysore. While they were thus in possession of the north-west, part of the north was under the rule of the Rāshtrakūtas or Rattas. The Kadambas continued to be independent rulers from the 3rd to the 6th century A.D. Their dominions embraced all the west of Mysore, together with Haiga (N. Kanara) and Tulava (S. Kanara). Their original capital was Banavāsi (Jayantipura or Vaijayantipura) situated on the river Varada on the western frontier of the Sorab Taluk. It is an ancient city mentioned as one of the places to which a Buddhist mission was sent in the 3rd century B.C. It is also mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century B.C. In later times, Banavāsi, or Banavāse, as it is often spelt, was a Twelve Thousand Province, corresponding more or less with the present Shimoga District.

Legendary tales about their origin.

The origin of the Kadambas is mixed up with various legendary stories. Some years after Parasu Rāma had recovered Haiga and Tulava from the sea, Siva and Pārvati came to the Sahyādri mountains, the Western Ghats, in order to look at this new country; and in consequence of their pastimes a boy was born under a *Kadamba* tree, whence came the name of the dynasty. According to another version, he was born from the drops of sweat which flowed from Siva's forehead to the root of the *Kadamba* tree in consequence of his exertion in conquering the *asura* Tripura. A more realistic account given in an inscription is, that a *Kadamba* tree grew in front of the family residence, and that by cultivation of it they acquired its name and qualities. In any case, they appear to have been an indigenous race. The tree itself is said to have been produced by a drop of nectar which fell upon the earth from the churning stick, the Mandara mountain, at the churning of the ocean. The tall and handsome trees bearing this name are species of *nauclea*, of the natural order *cinchoniaceæ*, and grow in many parts of India. A spirit is said to be distilled from the flowers. (See Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, Bk. v. Ch. XXV.) In Watt's *Dictionary* the tree is described as an *anthocephalus*, belonging to the *rubiaceæ*, and the flowers are said to be sacred to Siva. According to the *Pharmacographia Indica*, it is the *arbor generationis* of the Mahratta Kunbis, and a branch of it is brought into the house at the time of their marriage ceremonies.

The people of the country, being at the time without a monarch, had recourse to the State elephant, which being turned loose carrying a wreath, presented it to the youth whose birth was so miraculous, and he was consequently proclaimed king. He is variously styled Jayanta, Trilōchana Kadamba, and Trinētra Kadamba. The royal line thus founded in about the second century continued independent till the sixth century and during this period they claim to have performed many *asvamēdhas* or horse sacrifices, indications of supreme authority. Their family deity was Madhukēsvara of Banavāsi.

After Trinētra, the kings in regular succession ascribed to this line were Madhukēsvara, Mallinātha and Chandravarma. The last had two sons, named Chandravarma or Chandavarma and Purandara, the elder of whom was the father of Mayūravarma. Of these early kings, it is not improbable that the first Chandravarma may be the Chandrahāsa, whose romantic story has already been given above. The second Chandravarma, again, may be the prince of that name who was the progenitor of the Kodaga or Coorg race. Of him it is related that he rescued from a forest fire a serpent named Manjista, which, entering his mouth, took up its abode in his stomach. He was forced to wander about, with his wife Pushpavati, in search of a cure, which was eventually effected at Valabhī by a woman whom he was obliged in return to marry, and desert his wife, then with child. She was, it would appear, the attendant at the *chatram* in which he lodged, and advised him to worship the goddess Kālika and the effigy of a serpent carved on a stone at the back of her temple. On his doing so, another serpent appeared out of an ant-hill, and tried to persuade Manjista to come forth, but without success. The woman, overhearing the dispute between the two, speedily possessed herself of certain plants they had threatened to use against each other, *vishamardi* and *sarpamari*, growing at the foot of an ant-hill, and *ahindra hari*, a creeper spreading over the *asvattha* tree. Manjista was expelled and died by virtue of the juice of the former, and the other serpent was got rid of by that of the latter. The truth probably is that his kingdom was usurped by some Nāga chief, such as we know were special enemies of the Kadambas (see *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 13). According to the *Cauvery Purāna*, Chandravarma was a son of Siddhārtha, king of Matsya (Virāta's capital, Hangal in Dharwar, one of the Kadamba chief cities). He left his country, it is said, and went on a pilgrimage to all the holy bathing-places, until Pārvati appeared and offered him a boon, in consequence of which he received a kingdom at the source of the Cauvery, and a Sudra wife, from whom he, as a Kshatriya, should beget a valiant race called Ugras. For the eleven sons he had by her, the hundred daughters of the king of Vidarbha (Berar) by Sudra mothers were obtained as wives. Each of these bore more than a hundred sons, who, to provide accommodation for their growing numbers, levelled the hill slopes and settled over a district five *yōjanas* in extent at the sources of the Cauvery river in Coorg.

Mayūravarma seems to have restored the authority of the Kadambas, and is sometimes represented as the founder of the line. He was the son of whom Chandravarma's wife was delivered at Valabhī after she had been deserted. The following is the legend of the manner in which he acquired the throne:—

> One night some robbers got into the house of a Brāhman at Valabhī, and at the same time a peacock in the yard screamed. They then overheard the Brāhman laughing and telling his wife the story of the peacock. He said that a Brāhman of Banavāsi once performed various penances with the view of becoming a king, but a voice from heaven informed him that he was destined to be born again as a peacock, and whoever should eat the head of the peacock would be king. On this, he went to Benares to die, and was re-born as the peacock now in the yard. Hearing this the robbers made off with the peacock, but immediately fell disputing as to who should have the head. To decide the matter they resolved to ask the woman staying in the *chatram* to cook the bird for them, and see to whom she gave the head. But while she was getting the meal ready, her little son suddenly snatched up the head and ate it. Being thus clearly indicated as heir to the throne, the robbers conveyed him and his mother to Banavāsi, and had just arrived at the outskirts of the town when they met the State elephant carrying a wreath which it at once presented to the boy. His origin being revealed, he was forthwith recognized as king of Banavāsi, under the name of Mayūravarma, from *mayūra*, peacock. He there obtained "the sword of sharpness, the shoes of swiftness, and the garment of invisibility." He is said to have rescued Sasiprabhe, the wife of Rāja Vallabha, prince of Kalyāna, from a *Yaksha* named Kandarpa Bhūshana, living in Gōmanta-guhe, who had carried her off. He received in consequence a large accession of territory together with the Kalyāna princess Sasānkamudre in marriage.

He is also stated to have introduced Brāhman colonists from Ahichchatra (in Rohilkhand), and distributed the country below the Ghats into sixty-four portions, which he bestowed upon them. In the reign of his son

Kshētravarma, Chandrāngada or Trinētra, these Brāhmans attempted to leave the province, but they were brought back; and in order to prevent a repetition of the attempt, were compelled to leave unshorn, a lock of hair on the forehead as a distinguishing mark. From these are descended the Haiga or Havika Brāhmans of the north-west of Mysore. They would appear on this occasion to have been settled by Mukanna, that is, Trinētra, above the Ghats, at Sthānagundūr, modern Tālgunda in Shikarpur Taluk (see *E.C.* VII, Shimoga, Shikarpur 186). During his reign, a kinsman named Chandrasēna ruled the south of Tulava, and the Brāhmans were spread into those parts. Lōkāditya or Lōkadīpya, the son of Chandrasēna, married Kanakāvati, the sister of Trinētra, and had by her a daughter, whom Hubāsiga, the king of the mountain Chandālas, sought as a wife for his son. In pretended compliance, he was invited to Tripura and there treacherously murdered. The authority of the Kadambas was extended in consequence above those Ghats, and the Brāhmans followed this accession of territory. Lōkadīpya is said to have reigned fifty years.

The story of their origin as told in the Tālgunda Pillar Inscription.

These traditions no doubt include much that is entitled to credit. But a fine stone inscription at Tālgunda (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga, Shikarpur 176) gives a different version, which seems to refer to the same period, or to a time when the Pallavas were supreme from west to east. It gives a realistic account of the family, beginning with Mayūrasarma. In it we are informed that a Brāhman named Mayūrasarma of the Kadamba family, who are described as very devout Brāhmans, went with his *guru* Vīrasarma to the Pallava capital (Kānchi) to study. While there, a sharp quarrel arose between him and the Pallavas, and he became so enraged that he resolved, although a Brāhman, to become a Kshatriya in order to revenge himself. Arming himself and overcoming the Pallava guards at the frontier, he escaped to the inaccessible forests at Srīparvata (in Kurnool district, near the junction of the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers), and there attained such power that he levied tribute from the Brihad Bāna and other surrounding kings. The Pallavas thereupon led an army against him, but he swooped down upon them like a hawk in night attacks and completely defeated them. They therefore resolved to make peace with him, and invested him with a territory extending from the Amāra ocean to the borders of the Premāra country. Perhaps the Pramāra kingdom of Mālwa in Central India is here meant. Amarārnava, the other limit, is difficult to determine, unless it means the Western Ocean. His son was Kangavarma, whose son was Bhagīratha, sole ruler of the Kadamba territories. His son was Raghupārthiva, whose brother was Bhagīratha or Kākustha or Kākusthavarma. The latter was a powerful ruler, and his daughters were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. He had a reservoir made for the temple of Pranavēsvara at Tālgunda, now in ruin, at which Sātakarni (*i.e.*, Sātavāhana) and other great kings had worshipped. His son was Sāntivarma, who wore three crowns and in whose reign the Tālgunda inscription was composed and engraved. This interesting record states that Mayūrasarma was anointed to the throne by Shadānana after meditating on Sēnāpathi and the Mothers. In like manner other early grants describe the Kadambas as purified by meditation on Swāmi-Mahāsēna and the group of the Mothers. Shadānana, Sēnāpathi and Swāmi Mahāsēna refer to the War-God, Kārtikēya, son of Siva. The Seven Mothers, Sapta-Mātrika, were his services (see Chapter V *ante* on *Sculpture and Painting*). The Kadambas are also said, in this record, to be the lords of Vaijayanti (*i.e.*, Banavāsi) of the Mānavyagōtra, Hāritīputras, and *Pratikrita-svādhyāya* *charchāparas*. This unusual and difficult phrase has been rendered by Dr. Keilhorn, "studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text," and he adds, "If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithet alludes to the history of the Kadambas as told in the Tālgund inscription. So long as the Kadambas were private Brāhmans, it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts; in other words, they were *Svādhyāya-charchāparas*. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to requite good and evil; to do so was what the study of the Vēda had been to them before; and thus, having been *Svādhyāya-charchāparas*, they then were *Pratikritasvādhyāya-charchāparas*." (*E.I.* VI, 17).

Period of Kadamba Grants.

These Kadamba grants are dated only by the ancient system of seasons, or in regnal years, running from 2 to 11 and accordingly furnish no definite dates for the kings mentioned in them. One of them, however, issued when Kākusthavarma was Yuvarāja, is ascribed to the eightieth year of Kadamba's victory, which until recently has not been satisfactorily explained. (*I.A.* VI, 23). Certain allusions, however, occur which serve as a guide to the Kadamba period. It is known, for instance, from inscriptions that the Chālukya king Kīrtivarma, who reigned from 566 to 597 A. D., subdued the Kadambas (*E.I.* VI, 3). Their independence must therefore have been before this. On the Malavalli pillar, a Kadamba grant immediately follows one of Sātakarni, who, when he made his, was in possession of Banavāsi (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga, Shikarpur 264). The Tālgunda pillar (*ibid* Shikarpur 176), again, names Sātakarni as one of the great kings who worshipped at the temple here. Between the time of the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., and that of the reign of the Chālukya king Kīrtivarma, the latter part of the sixth century, the period seems thus marked out as that of Kadamba independence. During this period, they claim to have performed many horse sacrifices, which indicates that they exercised supreme power in the land. This inference is confirmed by other considerations as well. The statement that Kākustha gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings, refers, in the opinion of Mr. Rice, first to Samudragupta, the only one who is known to have made an expedition to the South, as recorded in the Allahabad pillar inscription. This took place, according to him, in the latter half of the 4th century A.D. The Ganga king Tadangāla Mādhava, who, we learn from Shikarpur 52 (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga District) reigned about 357 A.D., is said to have married a sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarma and a daughter of Kākustha. Her son was crowned while yet a child on his mother's lap in 430, which brings us to the end of the 4th century, the time of Kākustha, Besides this, the rare metre employed in the main part of the Tālgunda inscription is one that has been found, Mr. Rice adds, only in a few documents of the 4th or 5th century A.D. Accordingly he sets down the victory in the eightieth year of Kadamba to the events which enabled Mayūrasarman to gain his throne "which would thus be at the beginning of the fourth century." If he had predecessors, he adds, going back four or five generations, "the rise of the Kadambas may safely be placed early in the third century, the time at which the Sātavāhana power came to an end." Dr. Shama Sastri, however, arguing that the Bhattubānas of Jinasēna's *Harivamsa* are identical with the Brihadbānas of the Tālgunda inscription and suggesting that the Gupta king Srīgupta and the Kadamba king Mayūrasarma succeeded or gained victories over the Brihadbānas about the same time, fixes the initial date of the Guptas at 200-201 A.D. and states that that was the date of the Kadambas' victory over the Brihadbānas. If this date proves acceptable, the date of Kākusthavarman's grant (Halsi grant—*I.A*. VI, 22) to his general Srutakīrti should be fixed at 282 A.D.—80 years after the Kadambas' victory. At about that time, the Gupta king was Chandragupta II, with whom Kākustha should have set up a marriage alliance. Dr. Shama Sastri adds that the Sātakarni of the Banavāsi inscription, which he fixes at 180 (interpreting *Vasvisatya Samvachchara* as meaning *Varshadvisata*, *i.e.*, one hundred and two years and not merely twelve years as attempted to be done by Bühler) was a contemporary of Mayūrasarman and that he is the Sātakarni who is mentioned as having worshipped god Bhava in the Siddhālaya at Tālgunda. He further suggests that palæographically, there is justification for pushing back the dates of the Tālgunda and Malavalli inscriptions, whose characters are "almost similar to those of the Nānāghāt and Nāsik inscriptions of the Āndhras," to the middle of the third and the close of the second century A.D.

Kākusthavarama thus ruled about *Circa* 282 A.D. He married a daughter of Kaikeya, who inter-married with the Ikshvākus, identified by Mr. Rice with the Gangas, who claimed to be descended from Ikshvāku. During his time, the kingdom seems to have been divided between his sons Sāntivarma and Krishnavarma I. His son Krishnavarma I was ruler of Dakshinapatha or the South. He was, according to the old Anāji inscription (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug District, Davangere 161), defeated by Nānakkasa-Pallava-Rāja, and that prince Sivānandavarma, whose country was ruined thereby, retired in consequence from the world and gave himself up to a life of penance. Sivānanda was probably son of Krishnavarma I, governor under his father in the Eastern part of the kingdom. His elder brother was Vishnuvarma. The other son of Kākustha, Sāntivarma, is said to have ruled over the entire Karnāta region. His son Mrigēsavarma is described as a destroying fire to the Pallavas (*I.A.* VI, 24), while his son Ravivarma, by Prabhāvati of the Kaikeya family, uprooted, it is stated, Chandadanda, the lord of Kānchi, presumably a Pallava king. Mandhātrivarma was probably a grandson of Sāntivarma, his father being Kumāravarma (*M.A.R.* 1911). Ravivarma's son was Harivarma. The Sāngli plates of this king are dated in a year equivalent either to 526 A.D. or 545 A.D. According to Sir Vincent Smith, the latter is the more probable date, as Harivarma came to the throne in 538. Copper-plates mentioning him and Krishnavarma II of the collateral line have been discovered in North Kanara. (*Report A.C.W.C.* 1918). These are probably the last kings of the original Kadamba line which was displaced by the Chālukyas about the middle of the 6th century.

Succession List.

There is still a great deal of doubt attaching to the rule of Kadamba kings. Their succession, period of rule and the extent of the territories ruled by them from time to time are all yet shrouded in mystery. Mr. Rice has constructed a genealogical table of these kings based on a study of the inscriptions relating to them. This being brought up-to-date yields the following list of kings, some of whose positions require confirmation :—

Mukanna (also called Trinētra, or Trilōchana)
Madhukēsvara
Mallinātha
Chandravarma I
Chandravarma II (another son being Purandhara)
Mayūrasarma, afterwards Mayūravarma
Kangavarma
Bhagīratha
Kākusthavarma (end of 4th century according to Rice; *Circa* 280 A.D. according to Shama Sastri.)

Sāntivarma, ruler of Karnāta and Krishnavarma I, ruler of Dakshinapatha.
Sāntivarma's son Mrigēsavarma
Ravivarma (son of Mrigēsavarma)
Harivarma (538 A.D.), son of Ravivarma
Krishnavarma's son Vishnuvarma
Simhavarma (son of Vishnuvarma)
Krishnavarma II (son of Simhavarma)
Dēvavarma (son of Krishnavarma)

From their inscriptions we learn that though the proper capital of the Kadambas was always Banavāsi, there were apparently other royal seats—at Palātikā (Halsi in the modern Belgaum District), at Uchchangi (near Molakalmuru in the Chitaldrug District) and at Triparvata (not yet identified). They appear to have controlled a good deal of the North-Western Deccan and Northern Mysore from these different seats. The royal insignia of the dynasty, until the 6th century and later, were the lion crest and the monkey flag and a musical instrument named *permatti*. The kings were styled *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* and their family god was Jayanti Madhukēsvara of Banavāsi. Many of their grants are to Jains, but a few are to Brahmans, one to an Atharvani Brahman. Their coinage was in gold, resembling in fabric and execution those of the Western Chālukyas. Their *Padmatankas*, so called from the lotus which occupies the centre of the coin, have been referred by Sir Walter Elliot to the flourishing period of their independence in the 5th and 6th century A.D. Rapson, however, thinks that they should be attributed to a considerably later period. The form of the Sanskrit letters which are found on them certainly supports this view. (See below).

Later history, 7th to 14th century.

After their overthrow by the Chālukyas, the Kadambas do not entirely disappear from history. From the 7th century onwards names of Kadamba rulers occur but they are not, however, prominent owing probably to the fact that they were subordinate rulers under the Chālukyas. From the end of the 10th century, they again emerge as rulers of various provinces,

This was a period of general subversion of old dynasties in the South. The Rāshtrakūtas were brought to an end, and the Western Chālukyas regained ascendancy. The Pallavas and Eastern Chālukyas were subdued by the Chōlas, who also overthrew the Ganga sovereignty in Mysore. The Hoysalas were there rising to power, and the Nolambas, who were Pallavas, having subjected the Mahāvalis or Bānas, whom the Chōlas finally absorbed, were forming the Nolambavādi province of Mysore. Following upon this period of general commotion and transition, we find the Kadambas ruling Bayal-nād (the Wynaad) from the tenth to the twelfth century, Manjarabad in the eleventh century, Hangal (in Dharwar) and Goa from the tenth to the thirteenth century, Lunke (near Molakalmuru) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Nāgarakhanda (the Shikarpur Taluk) in the twelfth century, and the Banavāsi Twelve Thousand (the Shimoga District) from the tenth to the fourteenth century.

The Kadambas, indeed, do not altogether disappear from history till the rise of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the later (14th) century. Mr. Rice suggests that the founders of that empire may have been connected with them. Actually the last Kadamba inscription is Sagar 32 (*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga District), dated in 1307.

Kadamba Feudatories, 5th century A.D.

An inscription in box-headed characters on the right jamb of the door-way of Pranavēsvara temple at Tālgunda, belonging to about the middle of the 5th century A.D., refers to a prince of the *Bhatarivansa* as a feudatory of the Kadambas. The prince, called Kākustha, born of a Kadamba princess, was also known, it is said, in the south as Pasupati, because he was born through the favour of Pasupati (Siva) and by reason of his gifts and prowess in battle. He was chief among the ten *mandalikas*, had control over the customs duties and was leader among the wise and pleased his master (the king) not only by his modesty but also by the addition he made to the royal treasury. He was liberal in his endowment to Brahmans at their numerous sacrifices. Among his charities was the provision of funds sufficient for the feeding of thirty Brahmans in the holy city of Tālgunda, (*M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 70).

Kadamba Coinage.

The Kadamba kings were probably the first to strike a type of gold coinage known as *padma-tankas*, so called from the lotus which occupies the centre of the coin. They bear a curious cup-shape. Their coinage was copied by the Western Chālukyas. Sir Walter Elliot attributes these *padma-tankas* to the flourishing period of Kadamba independence; but it seems probable that like the coins of the Western Chālukyas, they should be attributed to a considerably later period. The form of the Sanskrit letters which are found on them certainly supports this view (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 38).

The gold coins of two of the later Kadamba chiefs of Goa, Vishnu Chittadēva (*Circa* 1137) and Jayakēsin III (*Circa* 1187), are also known; these bear the special Kadamba symbol, the lion passant on the obverse, and a Nāgari legend on the reverse. One interesting inscription of the latter runs as follows:—

> "The brave Jayakēsidēva, the destroyer of the Mālavas who obtained boons from the holy Saptakōtīsa (i.e., Siva).".

BRIHAD-BĀNAS OR MAHĀVALIS.

The Mahāvali kings were of great antiquity, and according to their inscriptions, ruled over a seven and a half lakh country, containing 12,000 villages, situated in the west of the Āndhra-mandala, or Telugu country.

This seems to have been known as the *Vadugavalli Twelve Thousand* (*S.I.I.* iii. 90), in Sanskrit the *Āndhrāt-pathah* (*E.I.* iii. 76). They were in possession of the east of Mysore, where several of their inscriptions are found, especially in Mulbagal Taluk, and their kingdom was evidently to the east and north of the Palar river. They claim to be descended from Bali or Mahā Bali, and his son Bāna, whence they are also styled the Bāna kings. According to Hindu mythology, Bali was an *Asura* emperor, who through his devotion and penance defeated Indra, humbled the gods and extended his authority over the three worlds. In order to restrain him, Vishnu who was appealed to by the gods for protection, assumed his fifth incarnation, the form of the Brahman dwarf, the *vāmana avatāra*, and appearing before Bali, asked for only three paces of ground as a boon, which was granted. As the water conveying the gift fell into his hand, the dwarf's form expanded till it filled the world; and Vishnu, now manifesting himself, deprived Bali, in two strides, of heaven and earth, but on account of the virtues the latter possessed, left Pātāla or the infernal regions still in his dominion.

The ancient ruined city of Mahābalipur or Māmalla-pura, generally known as the Seven Pagodas, situated on the east coast, thirty miles south of Madras, was perhaps their original capital. According to legend (see Captain Carr's *Seven Pagodas.* 13; *Asiatic Researches, I*, 156) it was founded by Bali. His son was Bānāsura, who is represented as a giant with a thousand hands; Aniruddha, the son (or grandson) of Krishna, came to Bāna's court in disguise and seduced his daughter; which produced a war in the course of which Aniruddha was taken prisoner and brought to Mahābalipur; upon which Krishna came in person from his capital Dvāraka and laid siege to the place. Siva guarded the gates and fought for Bānāsura who worshipped him with his thousand hands, but Krishna found means to overthrow Siva, and having taken the city, cut off Bānāsura's hands, except two, with which he obliged him to do homage. He continued in subjection to Krishna till his death, after which, a long period ensued in which no mention is anywhere made of this place. It seems to have been subsequently destroyed by an inundation of the sea. The inscriptions now found there appear to be all Pallava, of about the seventh century, or Chōla, of a later date than that. (Hultzsch, *S.I.I.*, I, i. ff).

The oldest Mahāvali inscription bearing a date is one professing to be of 339 A.D., found by Mr. Rice at Mudiyanūr in the present Mulbagal taluk (*E.C.* X, Kolar District, Srinivaspur 5 and 6; also see *I.A.* X, 36). But from the one which contains the fullest genealogy of the line, published by the Rev. T. Foulkes (*I. A.* XIII, 6; *E.I.*, III, 74), there were several generations before that. Many inscriptions were later found in the Kolar District, while some further details were contributed by inscriptions at Tiruvallam, north of Vellore, in the North Arcot District (*S.I.I.*, iii. 88), a place described as Vānapuram (Bānapuram), situated in Perumbānappādi, the great Bāna country, or country of the great Bāna (or Brihad Bāna). The Mudiyanūr inscriptions supply only three dates,—338, 909 and 961 A.D. Those at Tiruvallam add one, 888 A.D., but do not specify the name of the Bāna kings of the time. As aids towards fixing the period of the kings, we have the statements that the early Kadamba outlaw of Srīparvata levied tribute from the great Bāna; that the first Ganga king, assigned to the second century, conquered the Bāna country; that the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I, ruling in the seventh century, subdued Rājamalla of the Mahāmalla family; that the Chōla king Vīra Nārāyana, uprooted the Bānas about the end of the ninth century; but that they were replaced soon after by the Gangas in the person of Hastimalla (see *I.A.* XIII, 6, 187).

The genealogy as derived from inscriptions is as follows :—

Bali, Mahābali ; his son
Bāna, in whose line was born
Bānādhirāja.

After he and many other Bāna kings had passed away, there were :—

Nandivarma, Jayanandivarma
Vijayāditya I
Malladēva Nandivarma, Jagadēkamalla, Vadhuvallabha, 338 A.D.

After him, others followed, and then

Jaya-Nandivarma
Vijayāditya
Malladēva Jagadēkamalla
Bāna Vidyādhara, Vikramāditya Jayamēru, married Kundavvai, daughter of Prithuvīpati I, son of the Ganga king Sivamāra I.
Prabhumēru
Vikramāditya I, ? 888 A.D.
Vijayāditya II, 909 A.D.
Vikramāditya II, Vijayabāhu, the friend of Krishna Rāja (? Rāshtrakūta king, 884-913 A.D.).

After him, there reigned other kings and then came—

Sāmbayya, 961 A.D., ruling under the Pallava king Iriva-Nōlamba or Dilīpa (963-966 A.D.).

The Bānas appear to have ruled from about the beginning of the Christian era to the first half of the 10th century A.D. The first Nandivarma is said to have promoted the fortunes of the family and obtained the crown and the throne amid the blessings of the Brahmans. He was possessed of mighty elephants and other forces, which secured him against conquest by the most powerful kings. The Chōla king Killi-Valavan, who is said to have reigned from about 105 to 120 A.D., married the princess Sithathakai, claiming descent from Mahābali, apparently a Bāna king in the Mysore country. The first Ganga king Kongunivarma, who has been assigned to the 2nd century A,D., is said to have been consecrated to conquer the Bāna country (*S.I.I. ii.* 187). In another inscription (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 67), he is said to be a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest Bāna. Apparently the Bānas lost ground about this time. Mayūrasarma, the progenitor of the Kadambas, at about the same time—if Dr. Shama Sastri's suggestion is correct, the date of this incident would be about 200-201 A.D.—is said to have levied tribute from the Brihad-Bāna king, among others. Malladēva Nandivarma is likened to a sun in waking up the lotus lake of the Bāna family, and in compassion for all living things in the three worlds was, it would appear, like Bōdhisatva or Buddha. Little or nothing is known of the fortunes of the dynasty from the 4th to the middle of the 8th century, from when we again have some references to them.

Thus, an inscription at Khāji Hosahalli, Hoskote Taluk, records a grant by a Binayādityarasar, whom it describes as ruling over the Kori-Kundālke 300. This inscription has been assigned by Mr. Narasimhachar, on palæographical grounds, to about 700 A.D. He suggests that the Vinayāditya mentioned may have been a feudatory of the Chālukya king Vinayāditya (680-696 A.D.), son of Vikramāditya I of the same dynasty, who is said to have conquered a Bāna king (*see I.A.* VI, 75 and *M.A.R.* 1919, para 74). About the middle of the 8th century, during the reign of the Ganga king Srīpurusha, we have mention of his invading Nekkundi, a place within the territories of the Mahāvali-Bānarasa, apparently a Bāna king (*E.C.* X, Kolar 200 and Bowringpet 13). This is confirmed by a *vīrakal* found at Nekkundi, in Chintamani Taluk, which commemorates a gift to a fallen hero on the part of the Bāna king (*M.A.R.* 1916-1917, Para 86). Under the Gangas, in 776, the Nirgunda Yuvarāja, Dundu, is said to have put the Bāna family to confusion (*E.C.* IV, Mysore District, Nagamangala 85). The Ganga king Nītimārga, in about 850 A.D., is said to have captured Bānavasa's Mahārājana-nād, situated mostly in the modern Cuddapah District (*E.C.* X, Kolar District, Mulbagal 228).

In the Chikballapur plates of the Ganga king Jayatēja, of about 810 A.D., there is mention made of a Bāna Vidyādhara; also of his son Dodda-narādhīpa by his queen Ratnāvali. His other wife Kundavvi was the daughter of Prithivīpati (*S.I.I.* III, 98). According to the Udayēndiram plates, his son was Prabhumēru (*E.I.* III, 74). Prabhumēru is referred to in *E.C.* X, Srinivaspur 5 and 6 and Chintamani 107. In the absence of the explicit statement that he was Kundavvi's son, Mr. Narasimhachar suggests the identification of Prabhumēru with the Bānarasa Dodda-narādhipa of the Chikballapur plates. In the Nandi plates of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III (A.D. 806), Dadda's mother, Ratnāvali, is called Mānikabbe (*Mānikya* and *Ratna* being synonymous). The Siva temple at Nandi is described as hers, which in the Chikballapur plates is mentioned as having been built by her. This shows that the Siva temple at Nandi was in existence before 806 A.D., though it might have come into existence only a few years before that date. Her father's name is given as Indapparasa, probably identical with Indra, the brother of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III and the founder of the Gujarāt branch. We have also a reference to a Mahābali-Bānarāja named Srīparāma, at whose request Gōvinda III made a grant in 806 A.D., for the Siva temple built by Ratnāvali. Mr. Narasimhachar identifies this Bāna king with Bāna-Vidyādhara, the consort of Ratnāvali (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Paras 61, 69 and 72). A record at Būdikōte (*E.C.* X, Bowringpet 86) refers to a Bānarasa, who was the ruler of the Ganga six-thousand and to a conflict between him and the Ganga king Rāchamalla-Permānadi, *i.e.*, Rāchamalla I, who began to rule in 817 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1916-1917, Para 86).

The Nolamba king Mahēndra (*Circa* 878), is termed *Mahābali-kula vidhvamsanam* or destroyer of the Mahābali family, (*E.I.* X, 65). The Chōla king Vīra-Nārāyana or Parāntaka claims in 921 A.D. to have uprooted by force two Bāna kings, and conferred the title of *Bānādhirāja* on the Ganga prince Prithīvīpati II, great-grandson of Sivamāra I. Though they claimed to be the allies of Krishna Rāja, no doubt the Rāshtrakūta king of the same name (884-913 A.D.), the Bānas seem to have lost their independence in the first half of the 10th century. Hence we find Sāmbayya, in 961 A.D., ruling a district under the Pallava king Irivi Nolamba or Dilīpa. Also, we find an inscription at Podili, Nellore District, dated in 968-969 A.D., of the Bāna king Aggaparāju, termed "illustrious" and described as "the lord of Nandagiri" and "the supreme lord of Parigipura." (Inscriptions in the Nellore District, III. 1201-1202). Parigipura appears to be another form of Parivipuri, and Paduvipuri in which form the name occurs in other Bāna inscriptions. It has been identified with the modern Padavīdu, south of Nellore, in the North Arcot District, where there are extensive ruins, the ancient city having been destroyed apparently by a volcanic eruption. According to the Podili and other inscriptions, their crest was the recumbent bull Nandi, their banner was a black-buck and they were heralded in public by the *Paisāchi pataha*, a drum given by a *paisācha* or demon (*E.I.* V. 162). Aggaparāju was like Iriva Nolamba, apparently a local Bāna chief, who bore rule in the Nellore District, after the fall of the dynasty in the first half of the 10th century.

The Bānas appear to have later recovered their lost power. When this recovery actually occurred is not capable of being established to a certainty. The Bāna kingdom is mentioned along with others in Southern India in the twelfth century in Vaidyanātha's *Pratāpa Rudrīya.* Trivikrama Dēva, the author of the Prākrit Grammar *Trivikrama Vritti,* of probably the 15th century, claims to be a descendant of the Bāna family. (*I.A.* XIII, 13). Inscriptions at Srīvilliputtur, in the Tinnevelly District, show that two kings, named Sundara Tol and Muttarasa Tirumala, who obtained possession of the Pāndya throne in 1453 and 1476, call themselves Mahāvali Vānadhirāja (*ibid* XV. 173). Their dates indicate they should have been mere local chiefs.

VAIDUMBAS.

Inscriptions of Vaidumba kings are met with in Bowringpet, Bagepalli, Mulbagal and Chintamani Taluks of the Kolar District. Fragmentary *vīrakals* referring to valorous warriors of this dynasty, assigned to about 900 A.D., have been found in the second of these taluks. (*M.A.R.* 1921, Para 59). These kings seem to have been connected with Tumba, in the North Arcot District. In about 900 A.D. a Vaidumba-mahārāja described as Ganda Trinētra, was ruling, with *Kirudore* or little river as his boundary. What particular river is meant to be indicated by the term "*Kirudore,*" (lit. little river) is not clear (see *E.C.* I, Bagepalli 62 and Srinivaspur 85). The Chōla king Parāntaka I (907 A.D.) subdued the Vaidumbas. About the middle of the 10th century, the Nolamba king Dilīpa, also called Iriva Nolamba, had according to certain inscriptions (*E.C.*X, Bowringpet 4 and Kolar 198) conquered the Vaidumba king Vikramāditya Tiruvayya (951 A.D.). Vikramāditya (*E.C.*X, Chintamani 49) restored the breached tank of Vijayādityamangala or Bētamangala. His son was Chandrasēkhara (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 198). The Kalinga Ganga king Kāmavarma VI had for his queen Vinaya-Mahādēvi, a Vaidumba princess, who became the mother of Vajrahasti V, crowned in 1038 A.D. In an inscription dated in 1067 A.D., the Chōla king Vīrarājēndra I claims to have cut, among other royal heads, that of the then Vaidumba king. It is possible that the Vaidumbas were finally subdued by him about this time. After this we have a succession of Vaidumba *Gamundas*, who received the title and permission to use the insignia, together with the grant of a village in Mēlaimārājapādi or Western Mahārājavādi.

PALLAVAS.

The Pallavas were a powerful dynasty who succeeded to the dominions of the Āndrabhritya or Sātavāhana family throughout the region in which the Telugu language prevails. They seem at first to have had a chief city at Vātāpi (Bādāmi in Bijapur District), from which they were expelled by the Chālukyas in the fifth century, and also at Vēngi, between the Krishna and the Godavari, which was taken from them by the Chālukyas in the seventh century. But from an early part of their history their capital was Kānchi (Conjeevaram, near Madras). Their grants were also issued from Palakkada, Dāsanapura, Mēnmatura, Chendalūr, Pikīra and other places, which were all situated in the Telugu country between the Northern Pennār and the Krishna. Palakkada may be the Palakka of the Samudragupta inscription at Allahabad. Trichinopoly seems to be the southernmost point in which Pallava inscriptions have been found. Stone inscriptions in the Kolar, Chitaldrug, Tumkur and Bangalore Districts bear evidence to the fact that the Pallavas in the ninth and tenth centuries exercised dominion throughout the north and east of Mysore. Here they frequently had the cognomen Nolamba, and their territory came to be known as Nolambavādi or Nonambavādi, a Thirty-two Thousand province, the subjects of which are represented by the Nonabas of the present day.

Their origin.

The origin of the Pallavas is uncertain, though they profess in some grants to be of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. They are mentioned in the *Purānas* along with the Haihayas, Sakas, Yavanas. etc., as Pahlavas, which would imply a Persian source. In the *Mahābhārata* (Sānti-parva, 64), *Harivamsa* (XIV, verses 15 to 19), *Manu* and the *Vishnu Purāna*, the Pallavas, appear in the lists of tribes on the frontiers of the Indus. These allusions would suggest that they were either foreigners or closely connected with them. The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has pointed out that the word *Pallava* in Sanskrit means a *sprout* and that the dynasty with which it is concerned claims to be so called, because the progenitor, who is said to have been the son of the Mahābhārata hero Asvatthāman by a celestial nymph, was laid on a litter of sprouts soon after he was born. This is the derivation furnished in two inscriptions, where the name, instead of being applied to the tribe is given to the first king. In the *Mahābhārata*, as well as in the *Purānas*, the name is applied to the tribe and not to an individual. This fanciful derivation, however, is not supported by other inscriptions, which suggest a foreign origin to the dynasty. Thus the Āndhra king Gōtamiputra claims to have defeated, about 130 A.D., Palhavas along with the Sakas and Yavanas. In the Junagadh inscription of the Kshatrapa king Rudradāman, belonging to about 150 A.D., mention is made of a Pahlava minister of his, named Suvishka. The form *Pahlava*, which appears in the earliest records suggests a foreign origin, connecting the dynasty with the Persians. But that *Pahlava* and *Pallava* denote two different peoples is, as pointed out by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, clear from Rājasēkhara's *Bhuvanakōsa* (about 10th century A.D.), in which he allots the Pahlavas to the *Uttarapatha* beyond *Prithudaka* or the great river, probably the Indus, and the Pallavas to the *Dakshinapatha*, lying beyond Mahishmati, in the South. Professor Weber says (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, 188) :—" As the name of a people, this word Pahlav became early foreign to the Persians, learned reminiscences excepted : in the Pahlav texts themselves, for instance, it does not occur. The period when it passed over to the Indians, therefore, would have to be fixed for about the second to the fourth century A.D., and we should have to understand by it, not directly the Persians, who are called Pārasikas rather, but specially Arsacidan Parthians. Pallava may possibly be derived from Pārthava (Parthian). The Pārthians revolted from the Seleucidæ about B.C. 150, under a chief named Arsakes (Askh), who founded an independent monarchy. The Parthians subsequently overran the provinces east of the Euphrates, and about B.C. 130 overthrew the kingdom of Bactria, so that their empire extended from the Euphrates to the Indus, and from the Indian Ocean to the Paropamisus, or even to the Oxus. The memorable wars between the Parthians and the Romans eventually weakened the former, and gave the Persians the opportunity of throwing off the Parthian yoke. Led by Artaxerxes (Ardashir), they put an end to the Parthian kingdom of the Arsacidæ, after it had lasted 476 years, and established the Persian dynasty of the Sassanidæ, A.D. 226."

Their southern movement.

In accordance with this theory of the foreign origin of Pallavas, it has been inferred that their movement from the west to Kānchi, their capital, should have occupied a considerable time. Sir Vincent Smith at one time assumed that it might have ended before 150 A.D. Mr. Venkayya suggested that it was their defeat at the hands of the Āndhra king, Gōtamiputra, that compelled them to seek their fortunes further south and beyond the Āndhra dominions. From linguistic considerations, derived from the earliest Pallava records, Dr. Hultzsch has arrived at the conclusion that they could not be far removed in point of time from the Āndhra period. It is thus reasonable to suppose that the Pallavas took the place of the Āndhras after the latter ceased to be the ruling power. Until more satisfactory evidence is forthcoming to definitely fix the date of the Pallava migration to the south, says Mr. Venkayya, it may be assumed that they had become established in Conjeevaram about the end of the 3rd century A.D.

The Theory of their indigenous origin.

The theory of the Parthian origin of the Pallavas has, however, in recent years been nearly given up. It has been suggested that the Pallavas represent a dynasty of Chōla and Nāga origins, who, in historical times, were at first feudatories of the Sātavāhanas of the Deccan and subsequently succeeded them in a part of their territory. The first Pallava king, according to tradition enshrined in Tamil classical works, (*Chilappathikāram*, *Manimēkhalai*, *Perumbānappadai*) was the illegitimate son of Killivalavan, the Chōla king of Uraiyūr and a Nāga princess of Manipallavam, identified with the peninsula of Jaffna, which at about the time referred to (the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D.), was an island off the coast of Ceylon. It has been suggested that Jaffna has been known locally as *Manipuram* and *Mani-Nāgadīpa*, and that the Tamils of the mainland of India called it *Mani-pallavam*, the word, *pallava*, or sprout, being added in allusion, it is said, to the island, which to persons sailing from India to Ceylon would have looked very like a sprout or branch from the parent island. Attention in this connection has been drawn to the fact that the Pallava kings called themselves *Pōt-rāyar*, from the Tamil word *pōttu*, a synonym of *pallavam*. The later Pallavas adopted Sanskritic titles ending in *ankūra*, which also means a *sprout*. The illegitimate prince, called

Tondaimān Ilantirāyan became, it would appear, the first king of Tondaimandalam, with his capital at Kānchi. His dynasty took, it would appear, its name after the second part of the name *Manipallavam*, the home of his Nāga mother. If this story of the origin of the Pallavas is to be credited, it is a dynasty connected with the Chōlas of Uraiyūr on the one side and with the Nāgas of Jaffna on the other. The first Pallava king was called Tondaimān because, it is said, on his way from Manipallavam to the Chōla capital, he was ship-wrecked and washed ashore on a *Tondai* creeper. Sir Vincent Smith suggests that "the name probably indicates the name of the tribe or community." However this might be, there is no doubt that the term *Tondaiyar* is the name of the Pallavas in Tamil literature. In inscriptions of a later date (8th century A.D.) and in the writings of Tamil Vaishnava saints (*e.g.*, Tirumangai Ālvār in his *Periya Tirumoli*) and poets (*e.g.*, Nachchinārkkiniyar, the great commentator), Pallava kings are termed *Tondaiman*, *Tondaiyarkōn*, while the Pallava territory is termed *Tundaka Vishaya* or *Tondakarāshtra*. As Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has cautioned, it seems right, in the absence of more satisfactory evidence, not to place too much reliance on this story of the Pallavas which connects them with the Chōlas and the Nāgas. "It is," he says, "doubtful if this story explains the origin of the Pallavas, or if it only shows how they got possession of Kānchipuram, and the surrounding country at some stage of their history." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906-1907, page 220.). In any case, seeing that the Pallavas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Vishnu Purāna*, *Manu*, and other works, they will have to be treated as much older than the 2nd century A.D. to which the story above referred to would assign their rise as a dynasty. Since they are not mentioned in Asōka's inscriptions, and as they are later than the Sātavāhanas, their rise may be set down approximately to about the 1st century A.D. It should be remembered that they were admittedly at first feudatories of the Sātavāhanas and after the decline of the latter, set up independent rule in a part of the territory of their old masters. The term *Tondan*, in Tamil, means a *slave*, which is suggestive, when we consider the position of the Pallavas—whose alternative name, as above stated, was Tondaiyar—bore to the Sātavāhanas. The Tondaiyars were at first the governors—probably of local origin—of the Sātavāhanas in their conquests as far south as Kānchi. Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar has suggested that the Sātavāhana province in the south extended from Amarāvati on the Krishna to Kānchi on the Pālār. The Tondaiyars—literally the servants or slaves of the Sātavāhanas—governed the province on behalf of their masters and later, after the fall of the Sātavāhanas, about the 3rd century A.D., succeeded in annexing a great part of the Chōla country as far as Pudukkōtai. Their territory came to be known subsequently, appropriately enough, as *Tondaimanadalam* or the province of the servants (of the Sātavāhanas), in contradistinction to the *Chōlamandalam* of the more ancient Chōlas. *Tondaiyar* in this sense would be the equivalent of the Sanskrit term *Bhrītya*, thus bringing the Tondaiyars as a section of the Āndhrabhrityas. Sātavāhana and Pallava coinage show remarkable affinities which have been referred to by Rapson. Apparently the Pallava coinage was essentially based on the Āndhra model, both as to style and as to the use of the ship as a reverse type, testifying to the foreign trade for which the Pallavas were famous. Coins of this type have been traced on the Coromandel Coast (Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Plate II, 55-58), while genuine Sātavāhana coins, with the ship and the Ujjain symbol, indicating the Sātavāhana connection with that ancient city before its Saka conquest, found in about the same area, show that this part of the country passed in the natural order of events from the Sātavāhanas to the Pallavas, who continued not only their coinage but also their traditions for conquest and trade. It seems thus fair to infer that the Pallavas were closely connected with, if they were not actually a dynasty of, the Sātavāhanas themselves. The people resident in their dominions called themselves, after their rulers, Palli, the name by which the generality of the agricultural castes are still known in the Tamil districts of Madras Presidency as far south-west as Bangalore in this State. (*Cf. Gangadikāras* in the ancient Ganga dominions and *Nonabas* in the ancient Nolamba territories). That the Pallavas succeeded and were even closely connected with the Sātavāhanas is testified to by tradition as well. (*Vide* Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection* I. cxx, cxxiv).

Theory of Brahma-Kshatriya origin.

Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has thrown out the suggestion that the possibility of the Pallavas "being a class that originated from an inter-mingling of the Brāhmanas with the indigenous Dravidian tribes is not altogether precluded." This presumption, he says, "is confirmed partly by a curious statement made in the Rāyakōta copper-plates that Asvatthāman, the Brahman founder of the race, married a Nāga woman and had by her a son called Skandasishya. Other copper-plates, which relate a similar story, mention in the place of Skandasishya the eponymous king Pallava, after whom the family came to be called Pallava. Hence it appears almost probable that the Pallavas, like the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Nolambas of Mysore, the Matsyas of Oddavādi (Oddādi in the Vizagapatam District) and other similar dynasties were the products of Brāhmana inter-connections with the Dravidian races, as the stories related of their origin indicate." (*E.I.* XV. 246). The Pallavas belonged thus to the class of Brahma-Kshatriyas, *i.e.*, a line of kings who were Brahman in origin and Kshatriya by *dharma* or profession.

Dynasties of Pallava kings.

Recent researches show that there were several dynasties of Pallava kings who bore rule in Southern India, either simultaneously or successively. Of these, four are definitely known from inscriptions, the first three of which seem to have ruled one after the other, with intervals of little over a century between them. Towards the close of the 9th century, the kingdom proper of the Pallavas, *i.e.*, Tonda-mandalam, was conquered by the Chōlas of Tanjore. The continuity of Pallava rule during these different periods has not yet been clearly established. It may, however, be generally stated, that the kings of the first dynasty (of the Prākrit charters) came quickly after the Āndhra or Sātavāhana kings, but they were eventually thrown out of Kānchi. The second dynasty (of the Sanskrit charters) ruled from a capital other than Kānchi, their grants being dated variously from Palakkada, Dāsanapura, Mēnmatura, etc. —all unidentified places, probably situated somewhere to the north of Nellore. One of these kings, Kumāra-Vishnu I, retook Kānchi, evidently from the Chōlas who had been in possession of it since their last capture of it, sometime after Samudragupta's conquest of it. Then came the third dynasty, called the line of Simhavishnu. They were distinguished as the first builders of lithic monuments (*chaityakāras*—builders of *chaityas* or temples) in Southern India. They were the bitter enemies of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, and distinguished themselves as the establishers of Pallava power in the heart of the Chōla country. These facts have been finally settled with the aid of the evidence derived from their own copper-plate grants, the copper-plate grants of their adversaries, the Western Chālukyas and from the many Pallava stone inscriptions which have been traced in Southern India and at Bādāmi, the Chālukya capital. During the rule of the fourth dynasty, tracing its descent from the usurper Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, descended from a collateral line, the kingdom apparently fell to pieces owing partly to internal dissensions and partly to foreign invasions, with the result that we find during this period a number of local chiefs with pretensions to sovereignty ruling in different parts of the kingdom.

(i) That mentioned in Prākrit charters from about 3rd to 4th century A.D.

Altogether these four dynasties ruled for nearly five centuries extending from about the 3rd to about the end of the 9th century A.D. The earliest of these is the one to which the kings mentioned in three well-known Prākrit copper-plate charters belonged (see *E.I.* I, 2; *E.I.* VI, 84; and *E.I.* VIII, 43). These grants present to us the following succession list of kings:—

Bappa Dēva: He is said to have cleared the forest, converted it into arable land and dug tanks and provided for irrigation.
His son Sivaskandavarman (or (?) Vijayaskanda Varman).
His son Yuvamahārāja Vijaya Buddhavarman, husband of Chārudēvi. He made Kānchi his capital.
His son Buddhyānkura.

These copper-plate charters prove that there was a time, even in Southern India, when the court language was Prākrit. Sir Vincent Smith was inclined at one time to assign Sivaskandavarman of this dynasty to the middle of 2nd century A.D., the correctness of which date Rai Bahadur Venkayya doubted. Recently, however, Sir Vincent Smith has veered round to the view that the dynasty to which Sivaskandavarman belonged could not have originated earlier than "the beginning of the third century." According to Mr. Venkayya, this dynasty belonged to a period long posterior to the rise of the Pallavas, "whenever that might have been." Its kings are described as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. One of the grants was issued from Kānchi, the capital, while the order contained in it was addressed to the Provincial Governor of Dhanakada, *i.e.*, Amarāvati, in the modern Guntur District, and the village granted was situated in the Āndhra country (Āndhrapathā). At this time, therefore, the Pallava dominion should, as Mr. Venkayya suggests, have included not only Tondaimandalam in which their capital Kānchi was situated, but also the Telugu country as far north as the Krishna river. In another charter, Sivaskandavarman is said to have performed the *Agnishtōma*, *Vājapēya* and *Asvamēdha* sacrifices. The last of these could, according to the Hindu religious code, have been undertaken by Sivaskandavarman only after conquering all his neighbours. That he ruled over an extensive territory is clear from the grant which is addressed to "lords of provinces, royal princes, generals, rulers of districts, custom-house officers, prefects of countries," and others. The king's father, we are told, had granted many crores of gold and one huudred thousand ox-ploughs. The land granted by Sivaskandavarman was to be "free from taxes . . . . from the taking of sweet and sour milk, from troubles about salt and sugar, from forced labour, from the taxing of oxen in succession, from the taking of grass and wood, from the taking of vegetables and flowers." It thus appears, as Mr. Venkayya remarks, unless specially exempted by the king, the villagers were liable to all these taxes and imposts. The earlier grant threatens with corporal punishment those who transgress the terms of the royal order. The system of administration of the time was apparently of an advanced type, partaking of the character of the one familiarised by Asōka and the *Arthasāstra*. This by itself should suffice to show that the early Pallavas were the successors of the

Sātavāhanas in the south and followed them in their administrative system. This is not strange when we remember that in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates the Pallavas claim one Asōkavarman, identified by Dr. Hultzsch with "the ancient Maurya king Asōka," as their ancestor. (*S.I.I.* II, 302).

After Buddhyāmkura of this dynasty, came probably Vishnugōpa, who is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya thinks this king was later than the dynasty mentioned in the Prākrit charters. Professor Dubreuil suggests that he was the immediate successor of Buddhyāmkura, the last of the line referred to in the Prākrit charters (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, 54). If the initial date for the Gupta era is, as suggested by Fleet and Smith, taken to be 319-320 A.D., Samudragupta's date would be 350 A.D., but if Dr. Shama Sastri's proposed initial year of 200 A.D. for the Gupta era is taken, his date would be 242 A.D. In the former case, Vishnugōpa would have to be assigned to about the middle of the 4th century A.D.; in which case he would come at the end of the kings mentioned in the Prākrit charters. If Dr. Shama Sastri's date is accepted, then Vishnugōpa would have to be assigned to the middle of the 3rd century and thus would fall within a period anterior to the Pallava kings mentioned in the Prākrit charters. The other Pallava kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription, Hastivarma of Vēngi and Ugrasēna of Palakka, were probably ruling simultaneously with Vishnugōpa, other parts of the old Sātavāhana Empire.

Connection of this dynasty with Āndhras.

On this subject of the exact connection of this dynasty with the Āndhras, whom they seem to have succeeded, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri writes thus (*E.I.* XV. 247-248):—

"What position these early Pallavas occupied under the Āndhras and under what particular circumstances they rose into supreme power are questions which could not be answered at present, but must await future research. The earliest document of these early Pallavas is that of Siva-Skandavarman, issued while the latter was yet a crown-prince (*yuvamahārāja*). It is dated from his capital Conjeeveram and is addressed to his Viceroy at Dhannakada (Dhanyakataka, Dharanikōta, near Amarāvati) in Āndhrapatha, the Āndhra country. The next is a copper-plate record of the same king after his accession to the throne and the assumption of the title *dharma-mahārājādhirāja*, 'the righteous supreme king of great kings.' This was also issued from Conjeeveram. It refers to the grant of a village in Satahani-Rattha, a territorial division which is evidently to be located in the Bellary District. The mention of Satahani-Rattha in this record of about the 3rd century A.D., and of Satavaghani-hara in an Āndhra record of the 2nd century A.D., recently discovered by the Madras Epigraphist's office at Myakadoni in the Adoni *talūka* of the Bellary District, plainly indicates not only the possible identification of the two territorial divisions, but further suggests by inference the political succession of the Āndhras by the Pallavas of Kānchi (Conjeeveram). Still another record of this same early Pallava period is that of queen Chāru-dēvi, the wife of the *yuvamahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman and mother of Buddhyānkura. It comes from the Guntur District and is dated in the reign of Vijaya-Skandavarman, who was evidently the grandfather of prince Buddhyānkura and the ruling sovereign at the time of the grant. It is doubtful what relationship this Vijaya-Skandavarman bore to Siva-Skandavarman of the two records mentioned above. Anyhow, it is gathered from the three early Prākrit records quoted above that the Pallavas of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* were the political successors of the Āndhras; that they had their capital at Kānchi (Conjeeveram), and that their kingdom roughly included at that period the Tonda-mandalam and the Āndhra country right up to the river Krishna, including the Bellary District in the west. Another name might still be added to these early Pallavas, *viz.*, that of Vishnugōpa of Kānchi, mentioned in the famous Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This powerful Gupta king of about the middle of the 4th century A.D. is stated to have captured and then liberated among others the king Vishnugōpa of Kānchi

It is not made clear in the Allahabad pillar inscription whether this subdued Vishnugōpa was a king of the Pallava dynasty or not. But as the name is quite popular with the later Pallava kings, and as we do not know of other kings of that name who ruled at Kānchi at this early period, it may be presumed that the Vishnugōpa mentioned as a contemporary of Samudragupta was a Pallava. If so, the question arises how this Vishnugōpa was connected with the kings Siva-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman, already mentioned. New inscriptions dated prior to the 4th century A.D., such as those of the Āndhras, are always in Prākrit; and it is consequently not unreasonable to suppose that the Prākrit charters of Siva-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman do actually belong at least to the beginning of the 4th century A.D., if not earlier. Vishnugōpa, the contemporary of Samudragupta, was perhaps, therefore, of a somewhat later period, when already Prākrit was beginning to be replaced by Sānskrit in the language of the documents. In a stone inscription at Vayalur, not far from Sadras, is given a long list of early Pallava names with, however, no apparently definite plan of supplying a regular genealogical succession. I have noted in detail the contents of this record at page 77 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1909, paragraph 17. The name Vishnugōpa is there mentioned thrice; and it is not unlikely that one of these three, perhaps the earliest of them, is identical with Vishnugōpa, the contemporary of Samudragupta, who was still ruling with his capital at Kānchi. From what follows it will be apparent that now, *i.e.*, about 350 A.D., the Pallavas—perhaps on account of the disturbances caused by the victorious campaign of Samudragupta from the north or owing to the rise of the Kadambas mentioned in the Tālgunda inscription—were dispossessed of their territory round Kānchi and pushed back farther into the interior. Still another cause is to be found in the rise of the Chōlas under Karikala, who is stated in the unpublished Tiruvālangadu plates of Rājēndra-Chōla I, to have made Kānchi new with gold. The date of Karikala has been roughly fixed to be the 6th century A.D. But, since after Vishnugōpa of Kānchi of the middle of the 4th century we do not know, so far, of any Pallava rulers of that town until the time of Kumāravishnu I, a son of Skandasishya (Skandavarman II), who, according to the Velurpālaiyam plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II. P. 502), re-captured Kānchi in about the 6th century, the possibility of Karikala or his immediate ancestors having taken possession of Kānchi in the period between the middle of the 4th century and the 6th becomes apparent."

(ii) That mentioned in Sanskrit charters, 5th and 6th century A.D.

The next dynasty known is the one referrred to in certain Sanskrit charters (*E.I.* III. 142; VIII. 233; and XV. 246 and *I.A.* V 50. See also *S.I.I.* II. Part v. 504). Between it and the dynasty mentioned in the Prākrit charters there is an unfilled gap of about a century. Of this dynasty, the following succession list of kings has been worked out mainly on the authority of the writings of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri (in *S.I.I.* II. v. 504-517):—

Kālabhartri, descended from Asōkavarman, identified with the Maurya king Asōka. This king (Kālabhartri) has been suggested to be the same as Kānagōpa, who is mentioned in the Kāsākudi plates, in the group of kings that ruled after Asōkavarman. Kālabhartri has also been identified with Kumāravishnu, the first Pallava king mentioned in the Ōmgōdu grant. (*E.I.* XV. 250-251).

His son Chūtapallava, a name indicating connection with the Chūtukudānanda and Mudānanda of the lead coins of Chandravalli (Chitaldrug). This king, Chūtupallava, has been surmised to be the same as Skandavarman I, mentioned in the Uruvupalli grant. In that case, the term *Chūtupallava* is only a surname of Skandavarman I. In the Omgōdu grant he is described as having acquired the kingdom by his own prowess.

His son Vīrakūrcha, identified with Vīrakōrchavarman mentioned in an odd Pallava grant published by Dr. Hultzsch (*E.I.* I. 397), and Vīravarman of the Pīkira, Māngadūr, Uruvapalli and Chendalūr plates, all of which belong practically to the same period, and in the Ōmgōdu grant of Skandavarman II, made in his 33rd year. He is said to have married the daughter of a Nāga chief—the connection of the Pallavas with the Nāgas has been narrated above—and through her to have acquired the insignia of royalty. The Ōmgōdu plates describe him as having been victorious in many battles and as having subdued the circle of kings.

His son Skandasishya (Skandavarman II), perhaps identical with the Pallava king of that name who is referred to in one of the Tirukkarukunram inscriptions as having made a gift to the temple of Mūlasthāna at that village (*E.I.* III 277). He is also called Vijaya-Skandavarman and was the donor of the Ōmgōdu grant dated in the 33rd year of his reign from his royal camp at Tāmbrapasthāna, an unidentified place in the north of the present Nellore District. (*E.I.* XV. 250). He is described in the Ōmgōdu plates as a king true to his word, as one who made religious gifts of cows, gold and land, who always desired to serve God and Brāhmanas and ably understood the purport of the *Sāstras.* He is said, in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, to have seized from Satyasēna the *ghatika* of the Brāhmanas. The king Satyasēna referred to has not been identified. The term *ghatika* has been variously interpreted—a place of assembly for Brāhmans (Rice), a religious centre (Pathak) and a Brahmapuri (Keilhorn). The term occurs in the famous Tālgunda inscription where Mayūrasarma, on going to the Pallava capital, Kānchi, for his studies, is said to have frequented every *ghatika* (*E.C.* VII Shikarpur 176); also in Sira 23 (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur), where the Nonambēsvara temple is described as the great *ghatika-sthāna* of the City of Henjera. In Shikarpur 197, dated in 1182 A.D., *ghatika-sthānas* are described as supports to *dharma* and mines for enjoyment (*bhōga*). In Chennarayapatna 178, dated in 1442 (*E.C.* Hassan V) contains the statement that a *ghatika* was established in a certain place "in accordance with the saying (or directions) of Uttanka in the Sāmavēda." According to the Kānchi inscription of Vikramāditya II, Kānchi continued to be the seat of a *ghatika* in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. (*E.C.* III. 360, note 4). Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has suggested that the hill at Sholingpur in the present North Arcot District is known as *Ghatikāchala,* "perhaps on account of its having been the seat of a *ghatika.*" If *ghatika* may be taken as the name for a seat of Brāhmanical learning, the chief seat of such learning in the South would be Kānchi and its capture from king Satyasēna, would mean its dispossession by Skandasishya from its rightful ruler. Satyasēna, perhaps, belonged to the original dynasty which ruled over Kānchi and the surrounding country—called *Satiyaputra* in Minor Rock Edict II of Asōka. The frontier State of Satiyaputra, grouped with the Southern kingdoms of Chōla, Pāndya and Kēralaputra, can only be looked for in the South. It cannot be *Satyamangalam*, in the present Coimbatore District, as suggested by Sir Vincent Smith (*E.H.I.* 171, Note 3), for there is not the smallest tradition of a royal capital about the place or any remains of a historical or antiquarian character connecting it with any kingdom. The Satyamangalam province of Nāyak times was practically Coimbatore and the surrounding country and no more. Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara's suggestion that *Satiyaputra* might refer to Kānchi seems correct not only because it is mentioned with the other Southern States in Patanjali and that it is known even to this date among Brāhmans as Satyavrata-kshētra but also because if it were not so meant there would be no reference in Asōka to so famous a Brāhmanical seat as Kānchi. The fact that in later times—until the 9th century or so—Kānchi was a Buddhist centre as well and the seat of a Royal family shows that the possibility of its being referred to under the name of *Satiyaputra* in Asōka's edicts is not ruled out. The reference to king Satyasēna as ruling over Kānchi in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates and its capture by Skandasishya indicates that in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., it was still the most important *ghatika* of the Brāhmans, as it is actually described. Skandasishya probably extended his conquests as far as the Krishna river, his sons Simhavarman and the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa apparently taking part in the campaigns, as some of the grants are made by them in the conquered area. This reconquest of Kānchi by Skandasishya shows that Kānchi was not the capital of the Pallavas for some time during the interval between the periods covered by the Prākrit and Sanskrit charters. Kānchi probably reverted to its original rulers represented by the family of Satyasēna during this period.

His son Kumāravishnu I, who is said to have captured —or rather re-captured—Kānchi, for either its fresh capture is a boast, for it had already been captured by his father Skandasishya from Satyasēna or it should have been temporarily lost to Satyasēna or his family and recaptured once again. From a reading of the Chendalūr, Vēlūrpālaiyam and the Vāyalūr pillar inscription of the time of Rājasimha, Mr. Krishna Sastri tentatively suggests that Kumāravishnu I had two brothers, Simhavarman I and Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa (or Vishnugōpa Varman). Simhavarman I probably ruled for a time before Kumāravishnu I. He may be the ruler Simhavarma of Kānchi mentioned in copies of the Jaina author Simhasūri's work *Lōkavibhāga*, which state that the copying of that work was finished in the Sakavāhana era 380, which was the 22nd year of a Simhavarman's reign. He should, therefore, have commenced to rule in Saka 359, *i.e.*, 438 A.D. Dr. Fleet and Mr. Krishna Sastri have suggested that the Simhavarman of the *Lōkavibhāga* should be identified with Simhavarman II mentioned below and the suggestion seems fairly sustainable on the grounds mentioned by them.

Kumāravishnu was succeeded by his son Buddhavarman, " who was a submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the Chōlas." The Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa, who granted the Uruvapalli village in the 11th year of his brother Simhavarman's rule, probably never ascended the throne.

Buddhavarma was succeeded by his son Kumāravishnu II who is credited with the conquest of the Chōla country. Then came Simhavarma II, son of the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa. He was the donor of the Pīkira grant of his 5th year and the Uruvupalli grant of his 8th year, and the Ōmgōdu grant of his 4th year, which is the earliest known so far. Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarman's Mangadūr grant, is dated in the 10th year of Simhavarman's reign. He is said to have had a " victorious" reign. If the synchronism recorded by the Penugonda plates of the Western Ganga Kings Ayyavarman (Harivarman) and Mādhava (III) with the Pallava Kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman is interpreted with the aid of the date mentioned in the *Lōkavibhāga*, the initial year of the reign of Simhavarman II would be 436 A.D., which, in the opinion of Mr. Krishna Sastri, "tallies with the palæographical indications, which place his inscriptions in about the 5th century of the Christian era." The statement in the *Lōkavibhāga* that Simhavarman II was the Lord of Kānchi is also an indirect confirmation of the fact that Kumāravishnu, the uncle of Simhavarman II, recaptured, as stated in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, the capital town of Conjeevaram, which the immediate predecessors of Kumāravishnu had evidently lost,—their grants being dated from Tāmbrapa, Mēnmatura, Palakkada and Dāsanapura, while their still earlier predecessors referred to Kānchi as their capital. Simhavarma II was followed by his son Vishnugōpa Varma. Then came Skandavarma III and finally Nandivarma (see *E.C.* III. 142 and *Madras Epigraphy Report* for 1914, Para 82). Some at least of the kings of this dynasty professed the Buddhist faith, which was at the time in a flourishing state in Southern India. Several of them issued their grants from places far beyond Kānchi; in fact, from a number of places situated in the Telugu country between the Northern Pennar and the Krishna rivers. Among the places connected with them are Tāmbrapa, Chendalūr, Pīkira, Māngadūr and Dāsanapura and Mēnmatura. The Ōmgōdu grant of Skandavarman II was made at Tambrapa, while he was encamped there. Professor Dubrueil suggests that there were two dynasties of Pallavas during this period ruling simultaneously, one at Kānchi and another at Palakka. He adds that the Palakka dynasty later got possession of Kānchi, to which the later Pallavas claiming descent from Simhavarman and Simhavishnu, to be mentioned below, belonged. There is, however, no evidence for this speculation; in fact, the uniform agreement disclosed in the succession lists of the grants above mentioned show that Kings belonged to the same family and that it was a single one.

(iii). That mentioned in lithic inscriptions, 6th century to, 8th century.

The next dynasty that we know of is the one mentioned in stone inscriptions. Between this and the one referred to in the Sanskrit grants there are two gaps which require to be made up. The genealogy of this dynasty has been re-constructed with the aid of the lists of succession furnished by the Kāsākudi, Kūram, Udayēndiram and Vēlūrpālaiyam plates (see *S.I.I.* II. Part V. 504). The exact relationship which this dynasty bore to the preceding one is not known. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates say that "after a host of kings including Vishnugōpa (identified with Vishnugōpa II of the Sānskrit grants) had passed away, was born Nandivarman, who with the favour of (the god) Pinākapāṇi (Siva), caused to dance a powerful snake whose poison was in (its) eyes (*Drishti Visha*)." Apparently we have once again here the influence of the Nāgas, so closely connected with the Pallavas, in settling the succession. The Nāgas were, it is clear, compelled to aid Nandivarman in his attempts to gain the throne. But Nandivarman's descendants are not mentioned; nor is there anything to show in what relationship they stood to their successors, the family of Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu, who conquered the Chōla country which was fertilised by the Cauvery river, and from whom the dynasty mentioned in stone inscriptions claims descent. These stone inscriptions, which commence from this period, are found engraved in the Pallava-Grantha characters, a fact which suggests that, with the conquest of Simhavishnu, the Pallavas must have extended their dominion further south of Kānchi into the Chōla country and adopted the Dravidian language generally found mixed up with Sanskrit in the later stone inscriptions. The following is the succession list of this and the preceding dynasties combined:—

Nandivarman I, who came after Vishnugōpa II, but whose relationship to Vishnugōpa is not known.

Then a gap, which remains to be cleared up.

Then Simhavarman; his exact relationship to the family of Nandivarman being not known.

Simhavarman's son Simhavishnu, styled "the victorious" and described as one "whose prowess was widely known on earth." He is described in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates as having "quickly seized the country of the Chōlas embellished by the daughter of Kavira (*i.e.*, the river Kāvēri) whose ornaments are the forests of paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant groves of areca (palms)."

His son Mahēndravarman I.

His son Narasimhavarman I, who took Vātāpi (Bādāmi).

His son Paramēsvaravarman I, his brother Mahēndravarman II perhaps having pre-deceased him. (In this, the argument of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri is followed. See *S.I.I.* II. v. 504-505). Paramēsvaravarman I defeated the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I.

His son Narasimhavarman II, who re-organized the *ghatika* of Brahmans and built the temple of Kailāsanātha at Kānchi.

His son was Paramēsvaravarman II, who "governed the earth according to the rules laid down by Manu."

He (Paramēsvaravarman II) had a brother Mahēndravarman III, but he was superseded by Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, who usurped the throne. Nandivarman II was sixth in descent from Bhīmavarman, brother of Simhavishnu, the conqueror of the Chōla country and virtual founder of this dynasty, and thus belonged to a collateral line.

Nandivarman's usurpation is thus clearly referred to in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates:—

"After him (*i.e.*, Paramēsvaravarman II), the repository of the aggregate (good) qualities of all ancient kings, got possession of the prosperity of the family together with the earth whose garments are the four oceans."

His son by Queen Rēva was Pallava-Mahārāja Dantivarman, who married the Kadamba princess Aggalanimmati.

His son by Queen Aggalanimmati was Nandivarman III, also called Vijaya-Nandivarman, in the sixth year of whose reign the Vēlūrpālaiyam grant was made. As he is stated, in this grant, to have "acquired the prosperity of the Pallava kingdom by the prowess of his (own) arms," it may be inferred that the sovereignty over that kingdom had, during his time, been keenly contested either by outsiders or by some direct descendants of the Simhavishnu line.

In the Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and Trichinopoly Districts, there have been discovered a number of stone records, more or less of the same age as the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, which refer themselves to the reigns of Dantivarman, Dantivarma-Mahārāja, Dantipōttarasar or Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, and also of Nandivarman with similar variations in the name (*S.I.I.* II. v. 505). Again, the Bāhūr plates supply the names Dantivarman, (his son) Nandivarman and (his son) Nripatungadēva or Vijaya-Nripatungavarman, as members of the Pallava family among whose ancestors were Vimala, Kōnkanika and others (*ibid* 513). From this latter statement, Dr. Hultzsch inferred that the kings mentioned in the Bāhūr plates were different from the Pallavas of Kānchi and were only "Pallava by name but Western-Ganga by descent." Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that it is therefore difficult to say if the Dantivarmans and the Nandivarmans of the stone records mentioned above, are to be identified with those mentioned in the Bāhūr plates, or with those of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates or with both. (*S.I.I. ibid* 505). The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya was inclined to connect the names in the Bāhūr plates with those of the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates. He suggested that Vijaya-Nripatungavarman of the former was apparently the son of Nandivarman III of the latter. Against this, Mr. Krishna Sastri urges :—

"The only objection is the ancestry which, in one case includes the clear Western-Ganga name (or surname)

Kōnkanika, while in the other it does not. If, however, Mr. Venkayya's suggestion is accepted, we must presume two facts to arrive at a concurrent genealogy, and to connect the kings of stone records with those mentioned in the Vēlūrpālaiyam and the Bāhūr plates. The prefix *Ko-Vijaya* and the suffix *Vikrama-Varman* which are invariably found appended to the names of the kings in this series must have been introduced for the first time by the usurper Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who, we know, literally won the kingdom by victory (*vijaya*) and by prowess (*vikrama*), and that Nripatungavarman who was decidedly the most powerful of this last branch of the Pallavas (see *E.I.* VIII. 293 and f. n. 3), and a son of the Rāshtrakūta princess Sankha, must have contracted new relations with the Western Gangas to justify the insertion of one or more of the names of that dynasty among his Pallava ancestors. Even with these suppositions granted, the identification of kings mentioned in stone records with the Nandivarmans and Dantivarmans of the copper-plate grants presents peculiar difficulties. The script of the copper-plates, though of the same age with that of the stone inscriptions, often differs from it, and the information supplied by the latter is so meagre that hardly any points of contemporaneous nature that could help us in such identification are forthcoming. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it may be hypothetically presumed that kings of names of Nandivarman and Dantivarman with or without the prefix *Kovijaya* and the suffix *Vikramavarman*, may be taken to be one or the other of the immediate ancestors of Nripatunga-Vikramavarman; while kings described as Dantivarma Māhārāja of the Bhāradvāja-*gotra*, Dantivarman and Nandivarman of the Pallavatilaka-kula (hero of the Tamil work *Nandi-kkalambagam*, *I.A.* XXXVII. 171) and Nandivarman who conquered his enemies at Tellaru have to be kept distinct."

To the above view of Mr. Krishna Sastri, it might be added that the titles *vikrama* and *vijaya* appear to be added to the names of this series of kings in their technical sense. *Vikrama*, in ancient Indian International Law, means a war which ends in an unequal peace;

apparently Nandivarman's victory against his opponent was one of this character. *Vijaya* means, likewise, *conquest* and is in that sense a shortened form of *digvijaya.*

iv. Line of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla: also called Ganga-Pallava.

With Nandivarman II Pallavamalla is reached the fourth period in Pallava history. The following is the list of his ancestors and successors, as worked out by Mr. Krishna Sastri, with the aid of the Vēlūrpālaiyam and Bāhūr plates :—

Bhīmavarman, brother of Simhavishnu, founder of the Simhavishnu line.
His son Buddhavarman.
His son Ādityavarman.
His son Gōvindavarman.
His son Hiranya or Hiranyavarman I.
His son Nandivarman II Pallavamalla—the usurper and founder of the new line.
His son Dantivarman or Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (Hiranyavarman II).
His son Nandivarman III, Vijaya-Nandivarman or Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.
His son Nripatungavarman or Vijaya-Nripatungavarman.
His son Aparājita, who was subdued by the Chōla king Āditya, about the close of the 9th century A.D.

This branch of the Pallava dynasty from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla to Aparājita has been termed Ganga-Pallava to distinguish it from the Simhavishnu and other branches (*E.I.* IV. 182).

History of the different branches of Pallava Kings: (i) Those of the Prākrit Charters, 3rd and 4th century.

The history of these different branches of the Pallava dynasty still remains, for the most part, to be written up. Of the kings mentioned in the Prākrit charters, all that is known has been mentioned above.

(ii) Those of the Sanskrit Charters: *Circa* from about 5th century to beginning of 7th century.

Of the kings mentioned in the Sanskrit charters, it has been remarked by Mr. Venkayya that as the earlier of these charters are not dated from Conjeeveram that place cannot have been their capital. He suggests that they might have been driven out of it for a time. He writes:—

"The kings of this series are generally described as fervent Bhāgavatas meditating on the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu) and as being devoted to the feet of their fathers. They belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and were the rightful *Mahārājas* of the Pallavas, who were the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour and who, according to rule, had performed many horse sacrifices. Several kings of the series bore names connected with Vishnu, such as Vishnugōpa and Kumāravishnu. Perhaps it was a time when the Vaishnava creed was in the ascendant. Future researches may prove that some of the Vaishnava Ālvārs flourished during the period. Vaishnava tradition has it that Tirumangai-Ālvār, one of the early saints, was ill-treated by the contemporary Pallava king, who had subsequently to repent of his conduct. The boast of these Pallava kings to have performed horse-sacrifices may prove to have been borrowed from Sivaskandavarman of the Prākrit charters, who must have actually undertaken the task. If my surmise prove correct, the Pallavas must have regained Conjeeveram towards the close of the period with which we are now dealing. The time when the kings who issued the Sanskrit charters flourished is not known. But, roughly speaking, they may be assigned to the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The chief characteristic of Pallava history so far is that it has to be made out solely from copper-plate grants. No stone monuments of the period have been hitherto unearthed. Perhaps, the temples which did exist were of wood or some other perishable material. Mr. Fergusson says:—" The conclusion seems inevitable that all buildings anterior to the year A.D. 700 or thereabouts were erected in wood or with some perishable materials, and have perished, either from fire or from causes which, in that climate, so soon obliterate any but the most substantial erections constructed with the most substantial materials."

The Pallava dominions during this period probably comprised of the districts of Nellore, Guntur, Kistna, Godavari, and perhaps also Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur, besides parts of Mysore. The Kadambas of Banavāsi defied the Pallavas under Mayūrasarman—afterwards Mayūravarman—and gained their independence of them. (The probable date of this event has been discussed above under *Kadambas.*) The later Kadambas appear to have been not over friendly to the Pallavas. One of them Mrigēsivarman boasts of having been the fire of destruction to the Pallavas and another, Ravivarman, is said to have conquered Krishnavarman and other kings and overturned Chandadanda, lord of Kānchi. A Nanakkarasa Pallavarāja is also mentioned to have overcome the Kadamba king Krishnavarman, about the middle of the 5th century. However this might be, the Kadambas undoubtedly proved a serious obstacle to Pallava expansion in the north. The Bānas, who played an important part subsequent to the decline of the Pallavas, were, about this period, but feudatories of the Pallavas. Later Eastern Chālukya tradition refers to a battle between the Pallava king Trilōchana and the Chālukya Vijayāditya, who claims to have come from Ayōdhya, in the north. The latter is said to have been victorious but lost his life. His queen took refuge at a place called Mudivēmu, which has been identified with Peddamudiyam in the present Cuddapah District. The event has been assigned approximately to the end of the 5th century A.D. Though this story is not found in inscriptions earlier than the 11th century, it shows that belief current about that time recognized that the Pallava kingdom extended in those early times as far as Cuddapah.

The Penugonda plates of the Western Ganga king Mādhava-Mahādhirāja *alias* Simhavarman, identified with the early Ganga king Tadangāla Mādhava, disclose the close intimacy that existed between the Gangas and the Pallavas of this period. The genuineness of these plates has been admitted even by Sir John Fleet (*J.R.A.S.* 1915, 475). It is stated in these plates that the Ganga king Āryavarman (*i.e.*, Harivarman of other plates) "was duly placed on the throne by Simhavarma-Mahārāja, the lord of the prosperous Pallava family" and that his son "the banner of the Gāngēya race," the Ganga king Mādhava Mahādhirāja (*alias*) Simhavarman, "was duly installed on the throne by the illustrious Pallava (king) Skandavarma-Mahārāja." This Skandavarman may be Skandasishya, also known as Skandavarma II, the donor of the Ōmgōdu grant, in the 33rd year of his reign (*E.I.* XV. 249). The Simhavarman mentioned in these plates has been identified with Simhavarman II of the Sanskrit Pallava charters (of about 5th and 6th century A.D.) in whose 8th year were issued the Mangadūr plates. (Mr. Krishna Sastri, *Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1913-1914, Paras 3 and 4). The Skandavarman mentioned in these plates may be identified with Skandavarman III, son of Simhavarman I of the Sanskrit charters. Messrs. Rice and Krishna Sastri both agree in these proposed identifications (*M.E.R.* 1913-1914, Paras 3 and 4 and *E.I.* XIV. 333). That the Ganga kings of this period were feudatories of the Pallavas, as the assumption of their second names after Pallava kings and their being enthroned by the latter would indicate, there appears no reasonable doubt (*E.I.* XIV. 333). Mr. Rice thinks that as Pallava kings crowned the later Ganga kings Nirvinīta's (*i.e.*, Avinīta's) younger son and Sivamāra-Saigotta, the Pallavas should have laid claim to be overlords of the Gangas; if so, they appear to have asserted the claim on rare occasions (*ibid*).

The following facts may be taken as finally settled about this line of kings:—that they lost Kānchi, their capital temporarily and ruled over parts of the present

Madras Presidency, from about Nellore to Guntur; that their new capital is not known definitely though various places are mentioned in their inscriptions as their royal camping places; that one of the later kings of the line, Kumāravishnu I, re-captured Kānchi and apparently re-set up there; that they possibly followed the Brahmanical faith, both their names and their grants testifying to this fact; and that in the part of the country they ruled they seem to have been well and firmly established with a system of Government organized on the *Arthasāstra* model. In exemplification of this last statement, it might be added that king Simhavarman II—the king identified with the one mentioned in the *Lōkavibhāga*—in his Ōmgōdu grant, dated in the 4th year of his reign, threatens, as the king in one of the early Prākrit plates of the first Pallava dynasty does, corporal punishment (*Sarīra dandam arhati*) to transgressers of his edict. The order contained in the Ōmgōdu grant of Skandavarman II, dated in the 33rd year of his reign, is, it might be added, addressed to officers (*adhikrita*) and the *āyuktas* of *karma* (or *kamma*)-*rāshtra i.e.*, the northern part of the modern Nellore and Guntur districts.

(iii) Those of the stone inscriptions: Beginning of 7th to end of 9th century.

We next come to the period of stone inscriptions covered by the rule, in the first instance, of the time of Simhavishnu, the conqueror of the Chōla country. The records for this period are more numerous and less liable to suspicion, while chronology is not altogether a field of conjecture and doubt. Mr. Venkayya has ably put together the history of this branch (see *A.S.I.* 1906-1907) and what follows is mainly based on his account, which, as far as possible, has been brought up-to-date, in the light of recent research. The main features of their rule seem undisputed. The earlier kings of this line laid the foundations of Dravidian architecture, the earliest stone monuments in Southern India being assignable to them. They powerfully aided in the revival of the ancient Saiva and Vaishnava faiths and thus paved the way for the final absorption of Buddhism in the South. They were apparently mighty warriors, who for some unknown reason entered into a life-and-death struggle with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, which partly explains their own intrusion into the Chōla country. This warfare, which lasted almost a century, eventually exhausted both the parties and led to their ultimate downfall about the middle of the 8th century.

Simhavarman

The exact relationship that this line of kings bore to their immediate predecessors—those of the Sanskrit charters—is nowhere stated, though four of the latter are mentioned among the ancestors of the former in the Kāsakūdi plates of the 8th century. These are Vīrakūrcha, Skandavarman, Vishnugōpa and Simhavarman. Of Simhavarman, described as the father of Simhavishnu, in the Vēlūrpalāiyam plates, nothing more definite is known than that he "wiped off the pride of his enemies."

Simhavishnu.

Simhavishnu himself claims to have vanquished the Malaya, Kalabhra, Mālava, Chōla and Pāndya kings; also the Simhala king proud of the strength of his arms and the Kēralas. His chief exploit was the conquest of the Chōla country fertilized by the river Cauvery (Vēlūrpālaiyam plates, verse 10, *S.I.I.* II.v. 503, 510). The village of Manali in the Saidapet taluk of Chingleput district, in the present Madras Presidency, was in ancient times called Simhavishnu-chaturvēdimangalam according to an inscription of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I (*S.I.I.* III. 134). It is, however, not yet determined whether the village is so named after this Simhavishnu or his grandson Narasimhavarman, who was also known as Narasimhavishnu, according to a fragmentary inscription at Bādāmi. (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 328).

Mahēndravarman I: Beginning of the war with the Chālukyas

Simhavishnu was succeeded by his son Mahēndravarman I. The war against the Chālukyas apparently began during his reign. What actually led to the war is nowhere found stated. The hostility between the two dynasties became so intense that each looked upon the other as its natural enemy. Mr. Venkayya thinks that it is possible that the hatred had a religious basis. The Pallavas, he remarks, were Saivas and had the bull for their crest, while the Chālukyas were devotees of Vishnu and had the boar for their emblem. But, as he himself remarks, there is no reason to suppose that in those early days religious bigotry went so far. Mr. Rice, in the last edition of this *Gazetteer*, observed as follows:—"The name Chālukya bears a suggestive resemblance to the Greek name Seleukeia, and if the Pallavas were really of Pārthian connection, as their name would imply, we have a plausible explanation of the inveterate hatred which inscriptions admit to have existed between the two, and their prolonged struggles may have been but a sequel of the contests between the Seleucidæ and the Arsacidæ on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates." In support of this, Mr. Venkayya mentions the tradition that the Chālukyas are said to have come from Ayōdhya in the north and the first thing they did after going to the South was to defeat the Pallava king Trilōchana. If the theory of the foreign origin of the Pallavas is untenable, it follows that this suggestion of a transference of hatred from Mesopotamia to South India seems far-fetched. Sir John Fleet is of opinion that Bādāmi (ancient Vātāpi), from where the Chālukyas marched down to the South, "was originally the Western India stronghold of the Pallavas and that it was from them that the Chālukyas wrested it." The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates mention the fact that Narasimhavarman I defeated the Chālukyan king Pulakēsin II and his allies at Vātāpi and add that he took, at the same time, from them the

Its probable cause.

pillar of victory standing at Vātāpi (*S.I.I.* II. v. 504 and 511). Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests that it is not unlikely that the pillar of victory had been set up there by one of the ancestors of Narasimhavarman himself. A fragmentary rock inscription at Bādāmi published by Sir John Fleet (*I.A.* IX. 99) refers to Vātāpikonda (Narasimhavishnu), and a pillar of victory. Sir John Fleet infers from this inscription that Vātāpi was temporarily recovered by the Pallavas from the Western Chālukyas after (? in) the reign of Pulakēsin II. These facts suggest that originally the Pallavas were settled at Vātāpi, from where they were driven south. From their new abode they appear to have led expeditions to recover their lost northern capital and territory, and in the long-drawn struggle they and their adversaries were exhausted and easily fell a prey to their respective neighbours. The war apparently commenced with the Eastern campaign of Pulakēsin II, which began about 611 A.D. (*E.I.* VI. 3 and *B.I.A.* IV.i. October 1922). The last important event of the war was the invasion of Kānchi by the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II, who reigned from 733-734 to 746-747. Kīrtivarman II, son of Vikramāditya II, also claims to have led an expedition in his youth against the Pallavas. The Pallava king, unable to fight in open battle, took refuge in a fort, but was defeated by the Chālukya prince. The enmity thus appears to have lasted for over a century and only ended with the destruction of both the dynasties.

The first part of the War.

The first part of the War was fought during the reign of Mahēndravarman I. Pulakēsin II of Bādāmi, who was Mahēndravarman's contemporary, ascended the throne about 608 A.D., and was formally crowned king in the following year. He probably lived till 642 A.D. Among his several conquests was the conquest in 611 A.D. of Vengi, where he installed his brother Kubja-Vishnuvardhana as Viceroy in 611 A.D., with his capital at Pisthāpura, the present Pithāpuram in the Godavari District (*E.I.* VI. 11; *M.E.R.*, 1908, Paras 10-11 *et seq* and *B.I.A.*, 1922, IV. i. in which the Kopparam plates of Pulakēsin II are considered and the date 611 A.D. is fixed). In 615, Kubja Vishnuvardhana became an independent sovereign and the founder of the line of Eastern Chālukyas. He and some of his successors are mentioned in different copper-plate grants (see *M.E.R.*, 1908, Para 13 and *M.E.R.*, 1917, Paras 19-24 *et seq*).

Successful action at Pullilūra.

In this campaign against Vengi, Pulakēsin claims that he caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kānchipura. This might imply a previous encounter of Pulakēsin against the Pallavas. This invasion of the Chālukyas seems to be acknowledged by Mahēndravarman, who declares that he defeated his chief enemies at Pullilūra, the modern Pullalūr (Pōlilur), which later was the scene of two battles fought between Haidar Āli and the English. The Pallavas were apparently driven off from their possessions in the north—between the Krishna and the Godavari—and even their capital—Kānchi—threatened. Mahēndravarman beat off the invading hosts but lost permanently the northern part of his territory, which was occupied by Pulakēsin's brother. It is possible, as suggested by Mr. Venkayya, that the Pallavas tried to make good this loss in the north by an extension of territory in the south, which is supported by the fact that no Pallava monuments earlier than the 7th century A.D. have been, so far, found in the Tamil country.

Pulakēsin, his contemporary. Peace from 611 to 642 A.D.

In 620 A.D. Pulakesin II repulsed King Harsha of Kanauj, the hero of Bāna's *Harshacharita* and five years later, he sent an embassy to Khusru II, the Persian king, whose reception at his court is believed to be represented in one of the Ajantā frescos. Apparently so far as he was concerned, the war against the Pallavas was over, for we have no indication, in the inscriptions extant, of a renewal of the contest until the counter-invasion of Bādāmi itself was undertaken in or about 642 A.D. by Narasimhavarman I, son of Mahēndravarman. What actually led to this invasion of Bādāmi is not known, though it might inferentially be set down as a set off against Pulakēsin's renewed attack against Kānchi in 640 A.D. It is possible that Mahēndravarman could not himself undertake the arduous task of the reduction of Bādāmi for the time being and it was accordingly left to his son to carry the war into the enemy's country and repulse him there.

If this view-point is acceptable, Mahēndravarman may be taken to have settled down to a quiet rule after the victorious action at Pullalūr. This gives the time necessary for the advance he made in the peaceful arts with which his name is more closely connected than with war in Pallava history. Among these were the cutting of rock-cut cave temples in different parts of his territory and their dedication to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva; the excavation of a tank obviously for extending irrigation; and the laying out or building of towns. These are referred to in some detail below, but it may be stated here that Mahēndravarman was famous as an excavator of rock-cut caves. At least eight cave temples excavated by him or connected with him are known from inscriptions in them. They are to be seen from Pallavaram, a town named or founded after him, near Madras, to Pudukkōttai in the south. One of his titles mentioned in the Pallavaram cave inscription is *Chetthakāri* (*i.e.*, Chaityakāri) or creator of *chaityas*, the reference being to the monolithic cave temples excavated by him or under his orders in his dominions. Another *biruda* of his appearing in the same cave temple is *chitrakārappuli* which means "the tiger among painters," *i.e.*, of temples or towns. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 14). That he was well versed in painting is known to us from the Māmandūr inscription, referred to below. Mahēndravarman apparently imitated the cave temples north of the Krishna—*e.g.*, at Undavalli (see *M.E.R.*, 1909, Para 13)—in his own dominions in the south, and the *birudas* show that his claim to be an innovator in this respect is well founded. He was, it would seem, at first a Jain and was converted to the Saiva faith by the Saint Appar (or Tirunāvakkarasar). Though a Saiva, he was catholic enough to admit the worship of Brahma and Vishnu with that of Siva. The number of cave temples dedicated by him to Siva, however, are relatively greater, which shows that he was more particularly a devotee of Siva. This is confirmed by the Māmandūr inscription [*S.I.I.* IV. (Texts) No. 136], which though unfortunately badly damaged, still furnishes much useful information about this king. Though discovered as far back as 1888, it has not been critically edited, largely because its text is difficult of restoration. In view of its intrinsic importance—if restored, it is likely to prove invaluable for a proper appreciation of Mahēndravarman's pre-eminently great qualities—it deserves to be re-copied *in situ* and critically edited. There is scarcely any doubt that it is an inscription of Mahēndravarman, for he is referred to in it as *Satrumallēsa Bhūbhuja*, a title by which he was known according to other inscriptions of his. Among the personal details gleaned from it are that he was conversant with the *Gandharva Sāstra*, *i.e.*, music, which is confirmed by the Kudimiyāmalai inscription referred to below; that he wrote many works—all doubtless in Prākrit—connected with or having relation to the compositions of Vālmīki and Vyāsa, the *Mattavilāsa Prahasana*, the *Danduga*, etc. Of these, the *Mattavilāsa Prahasana* has been traced in Travancore and published in the *Trevandrum Sanskrit Series* (No. V). This work appears to be a genuine work of this king, as the information it gives about Mahēndravarman is confirmed from independent sources. As *Mattavilāsa* is known to be a title of Mahēndravarman from the Pallavaram cave inscriptions, there can be little doubt that the *Prahasana* is named after him and is his own, as declared in this (Māmandūr) inscription. His claim to the title of *Kavīnām prakāsa*, "Light of poets," mentioned in the Māmandūr inscription, is therefore fully deserved and not a mere boast. His queen is referred to as Chandrarēkha and compared to Kānti (*i.e.*, Durga). In this inscription, he is also referred to as *Niyāvinīta satyasandha* and as the pupil of some person whose name is unfortunately lost, and as delighting in the company of learned men, as great in painting and as having written on dancing. His knowledge of painting is borne out by the *biruda* he assumed, *chittrakārappuli*, "a tiger among artists," mentioned in the Pallavaram cave inscription, while his knowledge of music is testified to by his inscription at Kudimiyārmalai in the Pudukkōttai State. This inscription is a regular treatise on music, the *rāgas* mentioned in it being unknown to the earliest works on music which have come down to us. It is in characters of about the 7th century A.D. and in the very script in which the other undoubted inscriptions of Mahēndravarman are found. This treatise, according to the colophon at its end, was composed by a *king* who is described as *Parama Mahēsvara*, *i.e.*, a king who was a great devotee of Siva. This king describes himself as the pupil of Rudrāchārya, who, it is impossible to say, is or is not the same as Rudrata mentioned by Matanga in the *Sangīta Ratnākara*, a work of about the 12th century A.D. As will be seen, Mahēndravarman is described in the Māmandūr inscription as the pupil of some person, whose name it has apparently been impossible to read. If his name there could be read, perhaps it might help us to clear up the doubt whether Rudrāchārya is mentioned in it as well. As the name of the king who composed the treatise is not mentioned in the inscription, it is as well to emphasise the fact that he must be the Pallava king Mahēndravarman for the following reasons:—

(1) The character in which the inscription is recorded—which is the same as the one used in recording inscriptions definitely known to be those of Mahēndravarman; (2) the country in which the inscription is found, which was part of the dominion of Mahēndravarman, where his other inscriptions have been found; (3) the independent evidence available confirmatory of the fact that Mahēndravarman was a musician, both from the Māmandūr inscription, where he is described as one who knew the *Gandharva Sāstra*, *i.e.*, music, and from his work *Mattavilāsa Prahasana* which refers to his musical talents; (4) the independent proof we possess of his literary abilities as testified to by the Māmandūr inscription and *Mattavilāsa Prahasana*; and (5) the fact that the king who is described as the author of this treatise is described as a *Parama Mahēsvararājagna*, *i.e.*, "a king who was a devout follower of Siva," which Mahēndravarman certainly was, having, among other things, excavated a large number of cave temples and dedicated them to Siva.

The musical treatise composed by Mahēndravarman apparently relates, it may be added, to music as played on an instrument (of five strings), possibly the matchless *Yāl*, associated with the singers of the *Dēvāram* hymns, but now obsolete, or the *vīna*. The playing of musical instruments should, judging from this inscription, have reached a high state of perfection in South India by about the middle of the 7th century. Mahēndravarman and his two queens are represented by stone statues at Mahābalipuram. From the Māmandūr inscription, we infer that the name of one queen—probably the principal queen—was Chandrarēkka. The name of the other is not known. From the manner in which he is represented in the statue, it might be reasonably gathered that Mahēndravarman was physically a powerfully built man, tall, graceful in form, strong in limb and body, with a royal mien and a determined mind. His two queens also seem to have been graceful personages, slender in build and only a little less tall than himself. Their statues seem to have been set up by their grandson Paramēsvaravarman I. (*A.S.I.* 1926, No. 26).

Narasimhavarman I. Renewal of hostilities with the Chālukyas.

Mahēndravarman I was succeeded by his son Narasimhavarman I. He is said to have repeatedly defeated the Chōlas, Kēralas, Kalabhras and the Pāndyas. (*S.I.I.* I. 152). He also claims to have written the word "victory" as on a plate on Pulakēsin's back which was caused to be visible (*i.e.*, which was turned in flight after defeat) at several battles. These battles appear to have been fought at Pariyāla, Manimangala, Sūramāra and other places. If Pulakēsin was defeated at Manimangala (in the present Conjeevaram Taluk of the Chingleput District), he must have, in Mr. Venkayya's opinion, advanced into the heart of the Pallava territory. It is not unlikely, he adds, that these battles as well as the encounter at Pullalūr were fought in the same campaign and that Narasimhavarman I probably fought in it as Yuvarāja and drove back the invading army. (*A.S.I.* 1906-1907, 228). For this, however, there is no evidence, and the possibilities are that they belong to a renewed campaign in or about 640 A.D. against Kānchi, in which these battles were fought, with the result that Pulakēsin, being repeatedly defeated, withdrew to his capital, being pursued by the enemy. Narasimhavarman thus carried the war into the Chālukya territory and actually captured

Vātāpi, the capital of Pulakēsin II. This conquest of Vātāpi is proved beyond any doubt by an inscription found at Bādāmi—modern name of Vātāpi—from which it appears that Narasimhavarman bore the titles of *Mahāmalla* and *Narasimhavishnu.* (Fleet, *D.K.D.* 328 and *I.A.* IX. 100). The capture of the City was followed by its destruction and by the death (suggests Sir Vincent Smith) of Pulakēsin as well. The fall of the capital was signalised by the carrying away from the centre of the town where it was standing, the pillar of victory, which had been planted there by Narasimhavarma's ancestors. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 504. f.n.l.—Velurpalaiyam Plates, Verse 11, *ibid* 511). In virtue of this victory, Narasimhavarman came to be known in later times as *Vātāpi-konda* Narasigapottaraiyan. (*S.I.I.* III. 280). Sir John Fleet assigns the capture of Vātāpi to about 642 A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 359). This war of Narasimhavarman against Pulakēsin II is referred to in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* (Wijesinha's *Translation*, 41) and hinted at in the Tamil *Periyapurānam* (*E.I.* III. 277). In the former, it is related that the Singhalese prince Mānavamma helped Narasimhavarman to crush his enemy king Vallabha and that the grateful Narasimhavarman supplied Mānavamma twice with an army to invade Ceylon. He was successful on the second occasion, as the result of which he occupied Ceylon, which he is supposed to have ruled from 691 to 726 A.D. The Kāsākudi plates refer eulogistically to this conquest of Ceylon by Narasimhavarman's army and state that it excelled the glory of Rāma's conquest of that island. The well-known saint Siruttōnda, who, it is said, in the *Periyapurānam*, cut up and cooked his only son in order to appease the hunger of God Siva, disguised as a devotee, is said to have reduced to dust the city of Vātāpi for his royal master who could be no other, as Mr. Venkayya suggests, than the Pallava king Narasimhavarman.

Siruttōnda apparently was Narasimhavarman's principal general, and therefore a great military officer before he turned a religious devotee. Tirugnānasambandar, the great *Dēvāram* saint, is related to have visited Siruttōnda in his native village and the *Dēvāram* hymn dedicated to the Siva temple of that place mentions the latter and thus enables us to fix the date of the former as well as of the Saiva revival in which he played so prominent a part.

Narasimhavarman and his two queens are represented by stone statues in Ādivarāha temple at Mahābalipuram. These statues seem to have been set up by their son Paramēsvaravarman I, together with the statues of his grandfather and grandmothers, Mahēndravarman and his two queens (see above). It was apparently during the reign of Narasimhavarman I that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited Kānchipura. His visit might be set down to somewhere about 640 A.D. His itinerary began in 629 A.D. and ended in 645 A.D., so that 640 A.D. seems not improbable. Kānchi was, according to Beal, the last place in the South visited by Hiuen Tsiang. It was at that time the capital of Drāvida and the seat of a king, whom Hiuen Tsiang does not name. It seems to have been the capital town from which the traffic to Ceylon was conducted. The journey to Ceylon from Kānchi by sea occupied three days, Hiuen Tsiang was desirous of embarking here for Ceylon but when he heard from the priests who had come from that country of the death of the king of that country and the famine and disorder prevalent there, he desisted from proceeding to it. This probably refers to the disturbances which ended in Mānavamma's seeking the aid of Narasimhavarman and eventually occupying Ceylon as mentioned above, Hiuen Tsiang's account of Drāvida and its capital Kānchi indicates the high state civilisation had reached at the time in South India. He says:—

"This country—of Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Drāvida)—is about 6,000 *li* in circuit (a *li* = $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile); the capital of the country is called Kānchipura (Kin-chi-pu-lo) and is about 30 *li* (=10 miles) round. The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth and highly esteem learning; in respect of their language and written characters, they differ but little from those of Mid-India. There are some hundreds of *Sanghārāmas* and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthavira School belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Dēva temples and more heretics called Nirgranthas." (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* II. 228-229).

A few further facts about Kānchi, the capital city, are mentioned by Hwui Li in his *Life of Hieun Tsiang* (Beal, 138-139). It is there mentioned that the city is "situated on the mouth (bay) of the southern sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Simhala, distant from it three days' voyage." Hiuen Tsiang notes:—

> "To the south of the city not a great way is a large *sanghārāma*, in which men of the same sort, renowned for talent and learning assemble and stop. There is a *stūpa* about 100 feet high which was built by Asōka-rāja . . . . . ." (Beal, II. 230).

Hiuen Tsiang mentions the fact that Kānchipura was the native place of Dharmapāla Bōdhisattva, who, he says, was the eldest son of a great minister of the country. He gives at length the story of how he, with the aid of friendly spirits, escaped from his marriage feast, which the king and queen had arranged for him and how he was deposited in a distant mountain convent, where he joined the order and became a great teacher of Buddhism. Hwui Li supplements the information by giving the names of a number of works he wrote, which altogether, he says, were "several tens." Among the works mentioned are *Sabdavidyā-samyukta-sāstra* in

25,000 *slokas*; a commentary on the *Satasāstra-vāipulyam*; on the *Vidyā-mātra-siddhi*; and on the *Niyāya-dvāra-tāraka-sāstra*. He describes his works as "very extended and highly significant of his eminent virtue and great talent." There is, moreover, he adds, "a personal narrative of his history," which, if found, would throw much light on contemporary history. It may be inferred from Hiuen Tsiang's account that in Kānchi, Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmanism flourished during the time of his visit and that there was constant connection between Ceylon and Kānchi. The form of Buddhism current was Mahāyāna. Kānchi apparently enjoyed a great fame as a city of learning. The great Buddhist teacher Dharmapāla, who was born in it, subsequently proved himself not only a great writer and metaphysician but also attained to the headship of the great monastery at Nalanda, in which he preceded Sīlabhadra, the teacher of Hiuen Tsiang (Beal, II. 110-111). From the way in which he notes the fact of Kānchi being his birth-place, we are led to infer that the one object of his visit to that place was because it was the birth-place of so famous a Buddhist teacher. It will be seen that the Chinese pilgrim calls the territory ruled by the Pallavas *Drāvida*, not *Tondamandala*. It is possible that the older name of Drāvida had not been ousted by the new name Tondamandala. Even now the former is more popular than the latter, though it signifies generally the south of India, while Tondamandala means Kānchi and the country surrounding it. That Kānchi was about the 9th century still an important Buddhist centre is testified both by tradition (*vide* story of Akalanka and disputation with them described below) and by the discovery of Buddhist images reported to have been found in it. (*I.A.* 1915, 127-129).

Paramēsvaravarman I.

Narasimhavarman I appears to have been succeeded by his second son Paramēsvaravarman I, his elder brother

Mahēndravarman II probably predeceasing him. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 504-505 and table on 506). During his reign the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakēsin I, invaded the Pallava territory. Though there are many references to this war, neither the origin of it nor its course is clearly indicated in any of them. The Kūram copper-plates, which record a gift by Paramēsvaravarman I, give the details of the fight that ensued. The invasion was successfully beat off, Vikramāditya being defeated at a fearful battle which was fought at Peruvalanallūr, an unidentified place, situated apparently in the Tamil country. Vikramāditya's army, which consisted of many lakhs of troops, took to heels, leaving the spoils of the war to the victors. (*S.I.I.* I. 153 and *S.I.I.* II. 344). On the other hand, the Gadwāl plates of Vikramāditya I, dated in 674 A.D., and issued from Uragapura on the southern bank of the Cauvery, furnish a graphic account of the invasion by the Chālukyas of the Pallava country (*E.I.* X. 101). In opposition to the Chālukyas, all the southern kings, including the Kēralas, Kalabhras and the Simhalas combined and defeated Vikramāditya I (*E.I.* IX. 205). In other records, Paramēsvaravarma I is said to have destroyed the city of Ranarasika, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya I. (*S.I.I.* I. 13). If so, he could have only repulsed a counter-invasion undertaken in consequence of his attack on the Chālukyan capital. It has been suggested that the city of Ranarasika referred to should be identified with the Uragapura—Uraiyūr, the capital of the Chōlas—where Vikramāditya I was encamped. As Uraiyūr was the capital of one of the confederate chiefs, it could not have been the place destroyed by the Pallava king. Moreover, the words "city of Ranarasika" could only apply to Vikramāditya's permanent, not temporary, capital. If this be so, it would follow that Paramēsvaravarman invaded or attempted an invasion of Vātāpi once again in about 674 A.D. and this brought on a further war of aggression against him, for meeting which he set up a combination of all the southern kings. But before he was finally defeated at the bloody battle of Peruvalanallūr, *i.e.*, in the earlier stages of the war, Vikramāditya appears to have been fairly successful. He claims, indeed, to have "received by surrender the town of Kānchi after defeating the lord of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of his famliy," apparently a reference to the defeat and destruction inflicted on Pulakēsin I at Vātāpi about 642 A.D., by Narasimhavarman I. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 362). But this success was of a short-lived character, for at the decisive battle of Peruvalanallūr, Vikramāditya's forces were so badly beaten that they apparently retreated in confusion leaving everything on the field. The Kūram plates describe them as flying before the pursuing forces covered only by a rag! One result, however, of this war was that the Pallavas lost to the Chālukyas a further part of their territory in the north. The modern district of Kurnool, or a good part of it, passed out of their hands as testified to by several copper-plate grants issued by Vikramāditya and his son Vinayāditya and found in it. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 363 and 369; *E.I.* IX. 98). Among the temples connected with his name are the Mūlasthāna temple at Tirukkalikunram, near Madras, which, dating from the time of Skandasishya, was restored by him; the Orakal *mantapa* at the same place with fine figures of Brahma and Vishnu in it; and the *rathas* at Māmallapuram, called after him (or rather after his title Mahāmalla), which were begun during his reign.

Narasimhavarman II.

Narasimhavarman II, also called Rājasimha, son of Paramēsvaravarman, succeeded him. Among his chief surnames are Chitrakārmukha and Ēkavīra. He married Rangapatāka. He appears to have had a long and peaceful reign, undisturbed by the Chālukyas. He reorganized the *ghatika* of the Brāhmanas at Kānchi and distinguished himself as a religious devotee. He claims to have washed away his sins by walking on the path of the Saiva doctrine. In keeping with his title *Chitrakārmukha*, he made himself famous by building (some of the earliest) structural stone temples, which were beautified by sculptural work. Among these is the central shrine of the Rājasimhēsvara or the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram, which has been described as "comparable with the mountain Kailāsa." (*S.I.I.* II. v. 504 and 511 and *S.I.I.* I. No. 24). He built this in consequence of a dream he had. The other structural stone temples built by him are the Airāvatīsvara at Kānchi, the shore temple at Māmallapuram (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para), temples at Vayalūr and Tiruppōrūr in Chingleput District, which have disappeared but whose pillars are in existence (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 16) and the temple on the Panamalai rock. The last of these is much like the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchi and an inscription on the outer part of the wall that runs round it explains the title of "Rājasimha" as applied to Narasimhavarman II. It designates him as a royal lion to his enemies, as a terror to them and as having never been defeated in war and as being famous. This description cannot be mere praise, for it seems clear from this and other inscriptions of his that he was really a distinguished warrior. It is possible that he proved his worth in the military line, during his father's reign, and that the fear he inspired in his enemies, especially the Chālukyas, cowed them into silence during his own reign. The absence of any details of the wars fought by him seems to lend some support to this view. He seems to have patronised Brāhmans by founding town-ships for them. Ukkal in Chingleput was called Sivachūlāmanimangalam after him; so also a part of Kānchi itself seems to have been named after his *biruda* Ēkavīra. So great a benefactor of the Saiva faith cannot have gone without recognition. (*A.S.I.* 1906-1907. 229 f.n. 8 and 10). Mr. Venkayya suggests that he should be identified with one of the sixty-three canonized saints of the Saiva faith—either Kalarchinga-nāyanār or Aiyadigal Kādavarkōn, both of whom were Pallava kings. (*ibid* 229 f.n. 11). The Ganga king Bhūvikrama claims to have defeated him in a great battle at Vilanda and is said to have captured the whole of the Pallava kingdom. Some other details are given in *Mandya* 113 (*E.C.* III, Mysore) and *Tumkur* 23. (*E.C.* XII Tumkur). Two grandsons of his were apparently brought up by the Gangas. These, however, are unknown to Ganga genealogy. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 506 Table).

Paramēsvaravarman II.

Narasimhavarman II was succeeded by his son Paramēsvaravarman II. Not much is known about his rule. He seems to have built the Vaikunta Perumāl temple at Kānchi, which is called Paramēsvara Vishnugriha in one of its inscriptions and Paramēchchuravinnagaram in one of the hymns of the Vaishnava saint Tirmangai Ālvār. His death is referred to in an inscription on the wall of the verandah of the Kailāsanātha temple. (*S.I.I.* II. 244).

Mahēndravarman III.

Mahēndravarman III is known to have built the shrine close to the Kailāsanātha temple. (*S.I.I.* I. 23). Mr. Venkayya suggests that it is possible that he did not succeed to the throne and that therefore he is not mentioned either in the Udayēndiram grant or in the Kāsākudi plates.

Struggle for the Throne.

After the death of Paramēsvaravarman II, there seems to have been a struggle for the throne. The exact cause of this struggle is not, however, clearly known.

The Kāsākudi copper-plates hint that there was some dispute about the succession after Paramēsvaravarman's death. These plates also suggest that the dispute had relation to the purity of descent of the two parties. Of Nandivarman, who actually succeeded to the throne, it is said that he was *suddhamātr-anvayāya*, *i.e.*, pure on his mother's side, thereby suggesting by implication that either Paramēsvaravarman II or Simhavishnu, from whom he was descended, was of illegitimate descent. Apparently there was some fear of the old kingly line becoming extinct and hence an attempt seems to have been made to bring a new king from a royal family elsewhere. This is in accordance with the principles enunciated in Hindu polity. (*Vishnu-smriti* ii, 31 and 49). This Nandivarman, distinguished in history as Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, is known, from the self-same plates, as a distant cousin, from a collateral branch, of Paramēsvaravarman II. In the Udayēndiram plates, Nandivarman calls himself the son of Paramēsvaravarman; but this seems wholly incredible in view of the disputed succession after the death of Paramēsvaravarman II, which actually occurred, as testified to by many inscriptions. A fairly full account of the circumstances under which Nandivarman II succeeded to the throne after the death of Paramēsvaravarman II is depicted in twelve sculptured scenes, with explanatory labels on the south wall of the verandah running round the central shrine of the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram. It is stated therein :—

> "The race of the Pallavas commenced with the creator Brahma, and after the death of Paramēsvarappōttaraiyar (*i.e.*, Paramēsvaravarman II), the kingdom having become kingless, the ministers, senators and the assembly consulted together and approached *Hiranyavarma-Mahārāja* of the *Kādavēsa* family and asked him to grant them a king. Hiranyavarman

communicated this to some of the capable members of his family, who, however, refused to go. Then calling his own sons *Srīmalla*, *Ranamalla*, *Samgrāmamalla* and *Pallavamalla*, he enquired of them if any would accept. The first three having refused, the fourth, *Pallavamalla-Paramēsvara* consented. Though pleased with the noble resolve of this *Kāthaka* prince, the father was against sending this son who was then only twelve years old. At this stage, an old *agāmika* (āgamika?) of the court, called *Taranikonda-Pōsar* said: "This (prince) is one who is devoted to Mahā-Vishnu. He must become an emperor." On this the required permission was granted and the prince started in a palanquin with Hiranyavarma-Mahārāja himself and Taranikonda-Pōsar leading the guarding armies. After going some distance the prince got down from the palanquin and taking leave of them, went on his way crossing several mountains, rivers and impassable forests. Hearing of his approach *Pallavādi-Araiyar* received him with a vast army, placed the prince on an elephant, took him to *Kānchipura-Mahānagar* (the capital), but himself died (?). Pallavādi-Araiyar was perhaps some distant kinsman of the king with, however, no right to succeed to the throne. The Mahāsāmantas, the merchants (*nagarattār*) and the assembly and Kādakka *Muttaraiyar* having heard of the prince's arrival, met him with honours and and entered the Palace with him. (The merchant community of the Nāttukkōtta Chetties are even now known by the name *nagarattār*.) Then, under the name *Nandivarman*, the circle of ministers, the feudatory chiefs, the two assemblies of administrators and the senators, crowned him emperor and decorated him with the insignia of royalty such as the peacock (?) parasol, the conch Samudraghōsha, the Khatvānga banner, the Bull-crest, etc., and offered him the royal seal Videlvidugu."

This detailed description agrees, in the main, with what is hinted of him in the Kāsākudi plates. A recently discovered copper-plate record, to be soon published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, also confirms the very tender age of Nandivarman when installed on the Pallava throne. It says of him: "he of well established strength, received the kingdom while he was yet a youth."

The terms Kādavēsa, Kathaka and Kadakka which occur in the inscription are of much interest. The former, as the name of the family in which Hiranyavarman was born, gives us a clue as to what the position was of the descendants of Simhavishnu's younger brother Bhīmavarman, during the active rule at Kānchi of Simhavishnu's son Mahēndravarman I and his successors. Kādavēsa means 'the chief of the Kādava' which, in the Tamil *Periyapurānam*, occurs as a synonym for Pallava. The Tandalam inscription (*E.I.* VII, p. 25) uses Kādava and Pallava in identically the same sense. The term also occurs in the Velvikudi grant of the Pāndya king Nedunjadaiyan published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, No. 16, p. 308. Its interpretation as synonymous with Pallava was not hitherto based on any direct statement. Now we clearly see that the kings of the collateral line of Pallavas which descended from Bhīmavarman, were actually called Kādavas and ruled simultaneously with the Pallavas of the main line, somewhere over a distant part of the Pallava country. This latter fact is inferred from the statement that Pallavamalla had to go a long distance "crossing several mountains and impassable forests" to reach Kānchi. Perhaps, we can even conclude from the frequent occurrence of the name Kāduvetti and other allied forms of Kādava in records from the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and the Mysore State that the Kādavas of the Bhīmavarman line ruled in those parts, though, later on, they claim to have ruled over Kānchi also. A Pallava ruler of the Telugu country at the time of the Chālukya invasion from the north under Satyāsraya of Ayōdhya was Trinayana of about the 6th century A.D. He is often mentioned in Telugu inscriptions as Trinayana-Pallava or Mukkanti-Kāduvetti. (see *M.E.R.* for 1908, p. 70 and *E.I.* X, p. 58). The Nolamba-Pallavas of the Kanarese country also trace their origin to him.

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Kadakka-Muttaraiyar who joined with the chiefs and merchants of Kānchi in installing Pallavamalla on the throne must have been another near kinsman of the Pallavas and an ancestor of Kāduvatti Muttarasa who about the end of the 9th century A.D. laid siege to Koyatūr (Laddigam), a village included in the Punganūr Zamindari of the Chittoor district, in the time of the Bāna king Vijayāditya II. (see *E.I.* XVII, p. 3). We learn further that the term Kadakka, through the Sanscritized Kathaka, was also a form of Kādava. (*E. I.* VII, p. 167, f.n.2).

Line of Nandivarman II Pallava-malla, also called Ganga-Pallavas. Nandivarman II Pallava-malla.

Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, the usurper, thus began to rule while he was still young. He appears to have ruled for not less than fifty years. (*E.I.* IV. 137). His reign might have extended to the third quarter of the 8th century A.D. The Udayēndiram grant shows that, despite his choice by the subjects, his position was highly insecure. In this grant, we are told that the Pallava general Udayachandra "bestowed the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava," *i.e.*, by his repeated victories against the enemies. (*S.I.I.* II. 372). Udayachandra, indeed, is said to have killed with his own hand the Pallava king Chitramāya, who seems to have been allied with the Dramila princes (*ibid*). Pallavamalla was, it is stated, besieged at Nandipura by the Dramila princes. As Mr. Venkayya has suggested, it has accordingly to be inferred that the Dramila princes took up the cause of Chitramāya, who was probably the son of Paramēsvaravarman II or some one else who had a right to the Pallava throne. Among the Dramila princes allied with Chitramāya, the Pāndyas under Rājasimha Pāndya I, must have been prominent, as they claim to have defeated the Pallavas at Sankaramangai which, in the Udayēndiram grant, is Sānscritized as Sankaragrāma. (*A.S.I.* 1906-1907, 231 and *M.E.R.* 1907-1908, para 28).

Rājasimha Pāndya's successor Jatila Nedunjadaiyan Parāntaka, the donor of the Velvikudi grant, 769-770, also claims to have defeated the Pallavas at Pennagadam. (*M.E.R.* 1907-1908, para 28). Vikramāditya II, the then king of Bādāmi, took advantage of the disturbed conditions in the Pallava kingdom, and invaded it. He, having resolved, we are told, to uproot completely his natural enemy, the Pallava, who had robbed, of their splendour, the previous kings born from his (Chālukya) race, reached with great speed the Tundaka-Vishaya (Tondamandalam), attacked at a head of battle and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipōtavarman, who had come to meet him. Where this pitched battle was fought is not mentioned but there can be no doubt it was near Kānchi. Among the things captured (trophies of war), were the Pallava war trumpet, their drum called "roar of the sea," their Siva banner, many elephants and heaps of splendid rubies. (*S.I.I.* I. 146). The city of Kānchi was at the capturers' mercy, but was spared. Vikramāditya's treatment of the city was characteristically Hindu and humane to a degree. "Having made the twice-born, the distressed and the helpless rejoice by continual gifts, he acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the temple of Rājasimhēsvara," *i.e.*, the present Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchi. His treatment of the city and of its people was wholly in accordance with tradition and practice as codified in *Manu.* (VII. 201). His reduction of Kānchi probably took place shortly after his coronation in 733-734 A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 374). Sir Vincent Smith dates it "in about 740 A.D," but it might have been a few years earlier (*E.H.I.* 497). Vikramāditya's wife Lōkamahādēvi afterwards caused a temple to be erected at Pattādakal, in the present Bijapur district, to celebrate this victory. (*I.A.* VI. 85). This event, which marked the downfall of the Pallavas, is corroborated by an inscription of Vikramāditya II found on a pillar in the

Kailāsanātha temple (*E.I.* III. 339). Its immediate effect was to break the power of the Pallavas. Nandivarman being unable to face another Chālukya force, under the crown prince Kīrtivarma, fled for refuge to a hill-fort. The Ganga king Srīpurusha retook Kādavetti which the Pallavas had recovered and seized the Pallava umbrella assuming at the same time the title of Permānadi, which he took from the lord of Kānchi.

Dantivarman.

Nandivarman II Pallavamalla was succeeded by his son Pallava-Mahārāja Dantivarman, son of Rēva, daughter of an unnamed king. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 505.) Vēlurpālaiyam plates, verse 16, *S.I.I.* II. v. 511). He was also known as Vijaya Danti-Vikramavarman and Hiranyavarman II. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 518). No specific historical details are known about this king or his successor. His chief queen was the Kadamba princess Aggalanimmāti.

Nandivarman III.

Their son Nandivarman III (also called Vijaya Nandivarman and Vijayanandi Vikramavarman) next succeeded to the throne. In the sixth year of his reign the Vēlurpālaiyam grant was made. If Mr. H. Krishna Sastri's reasoning is correct, he was also the donor of the Tandanttōtam grant (*S.I.I.* II. v. 518). He had the surname Ēkadhīra. His reign, if the description given of it in the Tandanttōtam plates can be accepted, should have been a prosperous one. He appears to have encouraged learning. He is said to have snatched away from an unnamed Ganga king a necklace in which was a gem called Ugrōdaya. To his lot also fell, we are told, an excellent elephant named Pattavardhana, which Mr. Krishna Sastri identifies with the rutting elephant controlled by Lord Siva by a twig as mentioned in Saint Sundara's hymn on the Vadamūllaivayal temple. If so, Sundara cannot have been long distant from the time of Vijayanandi Vikramavarman III—middle of the

9th century. The unnamed Pallava king may have been Nītimārga I, who claims a victory over the Pallavas (Kolar 90, Nanjangud 269). He is stated to have "acquired the prosperity of the Pallava kingdom not easy for others to obtain," by "the prowess of his (own) arms by killing (his) enemies in the field of battle." This clearly shows that the sovereignty to the throne was keenly contested by outsiders or by descendants of the Simhavishnu line. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 505 and 511).

Nripatunga-varman.

His son and successor was Nripatungavarman (also called Vijaya Nripatungavarman), in the 8th year of whose reign the Bāhūr grant for *Vidyāsthāna* (College of learning) was made by his minister. He was, perhaps, the greatest of his line, as his inscriptions have been found over a larger extent of country than the rest. He seems to have been troubled by descendants of the old Simhavishnu dynasty. The latter seem to have proved obnoxious to the Pāndyas as well. In his Ambāsamudram inscription, we see the Pāndya king Varaguna Mahārāja advancing as far north as Araisūr on the Pennār in the Tonda-mandalam country. (*E.I.* IX. 84-94). In verse 16 of the Bāhūr plates, reference is made to a victory gained by a Pāndya king with the help of Nripatunga. The name of the Pāndya king is not mentioned in it, but it is inferred by Mr. Krishna Sastri that he must be the Varaguna Mahārāja of the Ambāsamudram inscription. As the Bāhūr inscription states that a victory was gained by the Pāndya king with the help of Nripatunga, it seems correct to infer that the Pallava and Pāndya kings made common cause against a king of the Simhavishnu line who was ruling simultaneously with Nripatunga in some portion of Tonda-mandalam. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 513). Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests that this king was Nandippōttaraiyan of the *Pallava-tilaka Kula*, whose queen Mārambāvai figures as the donor in two inscriptions at Tiruchchennampūndi, Tanjore District, dated in the 18th and 22nd years of the reign of Nripatunga. (*M.E.R.* 1901, Stone inscriptions Nos. 303 and 300). This subordinate position of Mārambāvai suggests, in Mr. Krishna Sastri's opinion, either the defeat or death of her husband at the hands of Nripatunga. Therefore, Nandippōttaraiyan of the *Pallava-tilaka* family should have been the enemy against whom Varaguna Mahārāja and Nripatunga jointly fought.

Aparājita-varman.

Nripatunga's successor, and possibly son, was Aparājitavarman. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Part II, Para 9 and *A.S.I.* 1906-1907, 239). It has been suggested that Aparājita is only another name of Nripatunga. It is true that the dates of the other kings do not, as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya, leave any margin for this king. This, however, is not a sufficient justification for saying that Aparājita was another name for Nripatunga. It is quite possible he was co-regent for Nripatunga for some time and reigned independently a short time after the death of Nripatunga. Unless the identity is independently established, it seems safer to treat them as two distinct kings, the more so as there are several inscriptions in the name of each of them. Aparājita, with the aid of the Western Ganga king Prithivīpati I, defeated Varaguna Pāndya in the battle of Srīpurambiya, identified with Tiruppurambiyam near Kumbakōnam in the Tanjore district (*S.I.I.* II. 381; *M.E.R.* 1906, Part II, Para 9). Apparently Prithivīpati I was a feudatory of Aparājita and the latter checked the oppression of the Pāndyan king Varaguna by fighting him out and defeating him. This Varaguna is the Varaguna-varman of the Pāndya line who began to rule in 862-863 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Part II. 66, Table). In Aparājita's reign the stone temple of Virāttānēsvara at Tiruttani was built by one Nambi Appi, while an unnamed king is recorded to have written a verse (*venbā*) in honour of it (*M.E.R.* 1906, Stone inscriptions Nos. 435 and 433). It is possible that Aparājita himself was the author of the verse, though it is difficult to imagine why, in that case, he should have preferred humble anonymity and left out his name from the inscription. It was probably after him that Ukkal, in the North Arcot District, was called Aparājita-chaturvēdimangalam. He was, apparently after a successful rule lasting for some years, defeated in battle by the Chōla king Āditya I, who annexed his territories. This event probably occurred about the close of the 9th century A.D. and practically terminated independent Pallava rule in the south (*E.I.* IX. 88; *M.E.R.* 1906, Part II, Paras 10 and 16). What became of Aparājita after the battle is not known. But as the Tiruvālangādu plates mention that he was conquered in battle "with his brilliant army," it might be presumed he was taken prisoner by Āditya I and ended his days in prison. If he had fallen in battle, the fact would have been mentioned in the inscription.

The probable successors of Ganga-Pallavas.

How the kings of the Ganga-Pallava line above mentioned are connected with the kings Vijaya Narasimhavikramavarman, Vijaya Skandasishya Vikramavarman and Vijaya Īsvaravarman in the Salem and North Arcot Districts and in the areas immediately adjoining these districts in the Mysore State, it is not yet determined. They were probably the successors of the Ganga-Pallavas. Mr. Rice connects them with the Ganga-Pallavas (*Mysore and Coorg*, 8). In Mysore we have inscriptions of these kings in the Mulbagal Taluk of the Kolar District (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 227, 221). One is of the 24th year of Narasimhavikramavarman, and the other of the 12th year of Īsvaravarman. Mr. Rice assigns them to about 880 A.D. as they contain references to Bānarasa and Mahēndra. Mr. Venkayya thinks that these kings might, judging from their names, have belonged to the same family as the Ganga-Pallavas (*A.S.I.* 1906-1907, 239). He infers from the localities where the inscriptions relating to them have been found that they were probably governing some province between the Ganga and Pallava territories. From the fact that some of their inscriptions are in Vattelattu, it has been inferred that either they themselves or the country over which they ruled, was under the influence of the Chēras, who used that alphabet. Whatever the relationship of these kings to the Ganga-Pallavas, the Ganga-Pallavas were the over-lords of the Western Gangas of Mysore and of the Bānas.

Pallavatilakakula Line of Kings.

Apart from the Ganga-Pallavas, there seems to have flourished another family who claimed descent from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla and who ruled over part of Tondai-nādu and the Chōla country. Dantivarma Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription; Vairamēgan mentioned in the *Nālāyiraprabhandam* as the king of the Tondaiyār; Tellarrerinda Nandipōttaraiyan, whose inscriptions have been found in Conjeeveram and a few villages in the Tanjore District; and Nandipōttaraiyar, who belonged to the Pallavatilakakula, are the known names of this series of kings. The last of these has been surmised to be a contemporary of the Ganga-Pallava Nripatunga mentioned above. Their relationship to the Ganga-Pallavas has not yet been determined. Dantiga, ruler of Kānchi, from whom the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III levied tribute, in or about 804 A.D., might have been either a Ganga-Pallava or a regular descendant of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (*E.C.* VII. 292). A Pallava king Nandivarma is also found associated with Gōvinda III in replacing on his throne the Ganga king Sivamāra II, in about 813 A.D. (*E.C.* IV. Yedatore 60 and *E.C.* IX. Nelamangala 60).

Pallava kings mentioned in Amarāvati Pillar inscription.

The Amarāvati pillar inscription mentions another series of Pallava kings. Seven names are mentioned in it. Among these is Mahēndravarman, apparently a reference to Mahēndravarman I. Some others referred to in it figure among the ancestors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The last of them Simhavarman is credited with planting a pillar of victory at Sunēru. He is also said to have visited the Buddhist shrine at Dhānyaghata (*i.e.*, Amarāvati in the modern Guntur District) where he listened to a discourse on the law. The connection of these kings with the other dynasties is not yet known. The inscription in which they appear seems to be a copy of an earlier record, as for the events mentioned in it, the alphabet is of later date. Mr. Venkayya thinks that if it is an original document, the kings mentioned in it must belong to a local family, not mentioned elsewhere. (*A.S.I.* 1906-1907, 240). He throws out the suggestion that on the disruption of the Chōlas in the 12th century, several local families came into prominence claiming relationship with the Pallavas of Kānchi and the Chōlas of Uraiyūr. Simhavarman II of the Amarāvati inscription may, perhaps, be assigned to that period, if it is held to be an original document.

NOLAMBA PALLAVAS.

On the disruption of the Pallavas, the greater portion of the northern and north-eastern portions of Mysore, comprising generally the modern districts of Chitaldrug and Bellary, passed under the rule of the Nonambas or Nolambas, their kingdom being called after them the Nonambavādi or Nolambavādi 32,000. Inscriptions found at Dharmapuri, in the Salem District, show that Nolambavādi extended far into that district. (*M.E.R.* 1911, para 14). The original capital of this kingdom seems to have been Henjēru (or Penjēru) or Hēmavati, on the northern border of the Sirā taluk, in the present Anantapur District. The existing Nonabas, a large and important section of Vokkaligas (cultivators) in the State represent its former subjects.

Their genealogy.

The Nolambas claim to be Pallavas. Though their exact relationship is not yet clearly established, they by inter-marriages with the Gangas on the one hand and with the Chālukyas on the other, grew to be a powerful line of kings, who during the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. extended their sway over the whole of the Ganga dominions and drove the Bānas into a corner. A princess named in Chāmarājnagar 10 (*E.C.* IV) is said to be of the Nolamba-*vamsa* and Pallava-*kula*. Modern scholars have called this line of kings as Nolamba-Pallava, to distinguish them from other Pallava families. The genealogy of the line is given in the Hēmāvati pillar. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 28). They are described as belonging to the Īsvaravamsa and as descended from Trinayana, through Pallava, the king of Kānchi. The first king named is Mangala or Nolambādhirāja, praised by the Karnātas. His son was Simhapōta, whose son was Chāruponnēra, whose son was Pōlalchōra Nolamba, whose son was Mahēndra, whose son was Nanniga or Ayyapadēva, whose sons were Anniga (or Bīra Nolamba) and Dilīpa or Iriva Nolamba. Trinayana Pallava, the founder of the family, has been identified by Mr. Venkayya with the king of the same name, who was defeated by the early Chālukya king Vijayāditya, according to the later tradition. (*S.I.I.* I. 50 and *A.S.I.* 1906-1909, 241). One of the Virūpākshipuram pillar inscriptions also mentions Pallavādhirāja. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 14). Simhapōta or Singapōta was subordinate to the Ganga king Sivamāra Saigotta. Saigotta sent him against his younger brother Duggimāra, who tried to become independent. (*E.C.* XI Challakere 8). On Sivamāra being taken prisoner by the Rāshtrakūtas and his country being occupied by them, Simhapōta's son and grandson passed under their protection. (*ibid*, Challakere 33,34). These set up rule over Nolambalige 1,000 and other provinces. Mr. Rice suggests that this must have been the nucleus of the Nolambavādi province. Rājamalla Satyavākya I, the Ganga king, married, on his restoration to his possessions, Simhapōta's grand daughter and gave his own daughter Jāyabhe, the younger sister of Nītimārga, in marriage to Nolambādhirāja Pūlalchōra. (*E.C.* XI, Sira 38). Simhapōta's son Chāruponnēra is probably identical with Ponnēra mentioned in an inscription of about the 8th century at Sravandanahalli, Maddigiri Taluk. He is mentioned with a Chōla-mahārāja, apparently an early Chōla king ruling the country around Hēmavati and Nidugal. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 81). A Biyalchōra is mentioned in three fragmentary *vīrgals* at Sātanūr, Kankanhalli Taluk. One of these mentions a Chōrayya and his son and another a Rāchayya but their relationship, if any, to Pōlalchōra is not known. (*M.A.R.* 1922, Para 40). Pōlalchōra is described as ruling over the Ganga 6,000 under the Ganga king Nītimārga. (*E.C.* X., Kolar 79). His alternative name or surname was Nolambādhirāja. His son by the Ganga princess was Mahēndra or Bīra Mahēndra or Mayindamma (= Mahēndravarma), who is probably identical with Mayindra mentioned in many *Vīrgals*. (*e.g.*, *M.A.R.* 1919, Para 72). He is described as ruling over the Ganga 6,000 as his father did, under the Gangas. (*E.C.* X. Bowringpete 64). He appears to have also been known as Nolambādhirāja and Nolamba Nārāyana. He had apparently an younger brother, Nolambādhirāja-Nolipayya ruling in 897 (*E.C.* IX, Maddagiri 38 and 52) who had a son Ankayya. (*E.C.* IX, Maddagiri 27). Evidently he was a great conqueror. (*E.C.* X, Chikballapur 26 of 880 and *E.C.* III, Mandya 13 of 895). Several inscriptions indicate the progress he made towards independence. In Srinivaspur 30 (*E.C.* X) he appears as ruling in conjunction with two others over a territory up to the Kirudore, or little river, as its boundary. Sira 38 (*E.C.* XII) represents him as assuming independence in 878 A.D., while Dodballapur 3 (*E.C.* IX) says he was ruling as king and fighting with the Gangas. He is said to have destroyed the Mahābali family (*i.e.*, the Bānas), which conquest brought him the title of *Mahābali-kula-vidhvamsanam.* (*E.I.* X., 65). According to one of the Virūpākshipuram pillar inscriptions, engraved in beautiful arrow-headed Kannada characters, Mahēndra is described as "the sole lord of the lady Ganga-mandala, which consisted of 96,000 (villages)." This is a clear statement of Mahēndra's extensive conquest in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. which brought about the ruin of the Mahābali race (*i.e.*, the Bānas). The sway of Mahēndra over Dharmapuri (the ancient Tagadur) and the adjoining country appears to have been remembered even in the time of the Hoysalas in the name Mahēndramangalam, which was evidently conferred by Mahēndrādhirāja-Nolamba on the present village of Adhaimankōttai, and in a Siva temple referred to in inscriptions as Mayindīsuram-Udaiyār or Mayindiram-Udaiyār. Mr. Krishna Sastri adds:—"To-day it is seen in the Mallikārjuna temple whose unique architecture is undoubtedly to be attributed to the Nolambas of the 9th century A.D. The temple of Bhōga-Nandīsvara at Nandi in the Kolar District of the Mysore State also belongs to the same period. A comparison of these structures with the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram will corroborate the possibility of my surmise." (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 14). A number of inscriptions found in the border districts of Chittoor and Anantapur refer to the Nolamba conquest of the former, which in those days included, what is now the Zamindari of Punganūr, under the name Puli-nādu. The conquest is attributed to Nolambādiyarasa, which is a corruption of Nolambādhirāja, which may refer either to

Polalchōra Nolambādhirāja, the father of Mahēndra or to Mahēndra himself, both of whom, were the subordinates of the Ganga kings, as above stated. The invasion is stated to have taken place in the reign of the Bāna king Bānavidyādhara. Mr. Krishna Sastri is inclined to attribute this to Mahēndra, who, as above-mentioned, receives the title of "the destroyer of the Bāna race." In an inscription at Kambadūru dated in 883 A.D., he is called Tribhuvanadhīra, *i.e.*, "the hero of the three worlds." This invasion of Pulinādu is confirmed by another inscription as well. This record, which comes from Kalakkottūr, in Chittoor District, says that Nolambādhirāja, under the orders of the Ganga king, started on a conquest of Talakād, which was then evidently in the hands of a rival Ganga king and in the course of the campaign asked his chiefs Kāduvetti and Maduva to capture Pulinādu. These, accordingly, took the town of Permādi and burnt it. On hearing this, Vīra-Chūlamani (*i.e.*, the Bāna king Vijayādityan Vīra-Chūlamani Prabhumēru) started with his army, dispersed the enemy's forces and stabbed several chiefs in a tumultuous conflict. Another inscription at Punganūr mentions the name of the Bāna king Prabhumēru, and refers to an attack on Kōyārrur, identified with Laddigam near Punganūr, by one Kāduvatti Muttarasa, who is probably the same Kāduvetti referred to above as burning Permādi. In a mutilated Ganga inscription found at Hindupur—included in the ancient Nolamba kingdom—the Nolamba subordinate of the king is stated to have "ruled as far as Kānchi." The record is dated (in words) in *Saka* 775 (=853 A.D.) and thus leaves it doubtful whether this Nolamba is to be identified with Mahēndra himself, whose earliest record, as stated above, is 878 A.D., or his father Nolambādhirāja Polalchōra. "The possibility of the latter alternative is suggested," writes Mr. Krishna Sastri, "by an undated inscription of Nombādhirāja (Nolambādhirāja) at Kambadūru, which refers to the construction of a tank at Beddugonde and to some early Nolamba (Pallava) names such as Singapōta, Ponnēra (Chāru-Ponnēra) and Dharmma-Mahādēvi. If thus the dominion of Nolambādhirāja Polalchōra was not strictly confined to the petty territorial division of Gangarusāsira in the Kolar District, there is no reason why he should not have extended his sway as far as Kānchi. This, however, requires confirmation; for, as stated above, the first Nolamba king, hitherto known to have actually extended his dominion, on all sides, was Mahēndra I." (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 13). Mahēndra was opposed by Būtuga, the Ganga Yuvarāja, and finally slain by Būtuga's son Ereyappa, who thence obtained the title Mahēndrāntaka.

Mahēndra seems to have had a step-brother Nolipayya (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 1). He appears to have married a Kadamba princess of the name of Dīvabbarasai or Dīvāmbike (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 38). According to the Virūpākshapura pillar inscription, he appears to have married a Ganga princess as well. Her name is given as Gōmabbe. By Gōmabbe he had a son named Ayyapa, of whom this record says that, like his father, Ayyapa was a devotee of Siva. Besides, he had an enemy in a certain Ammanarāya, who, in all probability, is identical with the Eastern Chālukya king Ammarāja I (918-925 A.D.) and was involved in war with many other kings. This statement agrees with what is stated of Ayyapa in contemporaneous records of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Gangas, it being hinted in the Kalachumbarru grant of Aruma II that Ayyapa fell in a battle with the Eastern Chālukya king, Chālukya-Bhīma II, between 934-945. He was ruling in 919 A.D. (*E.I.* X. 62). In Jagalur 29 (*E.C.* XI) of 920, he is described as ruling the Nolambavādi 32,000 with Annaya, his son, under him as a governor. He must have been an independent ruler as all Nolamba-Pallava inscriptions from Mahēndra in Pāvagada 45 (of about 880) to Nanni Nolamba in Mulbagal 122 (*E.C.* X) of 969 represent the kings as ruling the kingdom of the world, *i.e.*, as without acknowledging any paramount power over them. Nolambavādi seems to have been the main portion of their kingdom, which, we learn from inscriptions, to have extended as far south-east as the Srinivaspur Taluk and as far south as Dharmapuri. Apparently after the death of Ayyapa in battle, about 945 A.D., the kingdom was divided, for Sorab 474 (*E.C.* VIII of 954 A.D.) speaks of the time in the (near) past when the 32,000 was under one king. Ayyapa is also known from inscriptions as Nanniga, Nannigāsraya, Nōlipayya Nolambādhirāja. (*M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 81; *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 81; and *M.A.R.* 1924, In. No. 104) and as Bīra-Nolamba (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 1). We have for him the dates 918 A.D., 920 A.D. and 929 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 9, *E.C.* XII, Sira 39 and *E.C.* VI, Kadur 6). As he fell in a battle with Chālukya-Bhīma, who reigned between 934-945 A.D., he must have died some time after 934 A.D. and some time before 945. He married the Ganga princess Pollabbarasi, by whom he had a son Anniga (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 14), who succeeded him, having first been a governor under him, as stated above. He was also known as Annayya or Bīra-Nolamba. In an inscription dated in 931 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Chintāmani 43 and 44) he is described as being at peace and in the enjoyment of sovereignty. As his father should have been still alive and ruling in 934 A.D., it can only be inferred that he was joint ruler with him in 931 A.D. An inscription at Gunimorubagal, in the border district of Anantapur, gives him the *Saka* date 858 (=936 A.D.). This inscription mentions a Siva temple of Nolambēsvara and a Siva teacher named Varunasiva Bhatōra and the grant he made with the *mahājans* of the village in connection with the cultivation of certain lands under certain tanks. Anni, a son of the Ganga prince Prithivīpati II, was killed in battle when fighting in his army (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 4). Another fight is referred to in an inscription at Tattankere, Goribidnur Taluk (*M.A.R.* 1925, No. 86) in which one Aniyagaunda is said to have fallen after piercing hostile warriors in a Nolamba invasion under Anniga of the Ganga kingdom. Anniga, however, was defeated by the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna or Kannara III in 940 A.D. (*E.I.* IV. 289; V. 191). A *vīrgal* to commemorate his death is to be seen at Hiregundagal, Tumkur Taluk (*M.A.R.*, 1909-1910, Para 66). It is a simple, unpretentious one with only one word *Srī-Anigana* on it. Seeing that he is mentioned in widely distant parts of the State (as at Hosahalli, Marale, Chamarajnagar Taluk, *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 69, and Lakshmēsvara temple at Āvani in the Kolar District), he must have continued to rule over the large extent of territory acquired by his grandfather Mahēndra. Near the inscription at Lakshmīsvara temple, is another mentioning the name of Tribhuvanadēva, the famous *guru* Tribhuvānakartaradēva, who according to Mulbagal 65 dated in 961 A.D. (*E.C.* X) is said to have presided over the religious establishment at Āvani for forty years and to have built fifty temples and two big tanks during that period. (*M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Paras 82-83). From the inscriptions of Anniga and Tribhuvanadēva appearing close together on the basement of this temple, it might be presumed that the Lakshmanēsvara temple was caused to be built by Tribhuvana with the aid of king Anniga, about 940 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 81). Seeing that his father Ayyapa is described (see above) as a great devotee of Siva, this inference seems fairly sustainable.

Anniga married the Chāluki queen Attiyabbarasi, and to them, we are told (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 14), was born "the jewel of the Pallava family," whose name has been tentatively read by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri as Irula. From the date recorded, he infers that Irula should have been a predecessor of Diliparasa, said to be the last of the line. What became of Irula and how long he ruled is not known. He was apparently succeeded by his nephew —Anniga's son—Dilipa or Iriva Nolamba. He was also known as Nolapayya or Nollipayya. He had the Vaidumbas and the Mahāvalis under him. (*E.C.* X Bowringpet 4; Kolar 4; and Mulbagal 126). For him we have the dates 943, 948, 961 and 966 (*E.C.* XII, Sira 28 and 35; *E.C.* X, Chintamani 49; Mulbagal 126; and Kolar 245). An inscription dated in *Saka* 885 (=A.D. 963) has been found at the choultry at Agali, just across the Mysore State border, in the Madaksira taluk of Anantapur District (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 21). Tribhuvanakartaradēva, the Saiva *guru* of Āvani, lived in his time and was probably his *guru*. He was called Kaliyuga Rudra and died in 961 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 65). Dilipa fought a battle against the Ganga king Būtuga or his son Mārasimha (*M.A.R.* 1917, Para 85). An inscription of the 20th year of his coronation on the sluice of the tank at Banahalli, Hoskote taluk, records its construction by some local *gavundas*. If his earliest inscription, dated in 943 A.D., is his coronation year, then the date of this inscription would be 963 A.D., which is well within the period of his rule. Apparently he fought against the Chōlas, under the banner of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III, whose occupation of the Tondaimandalam part of the Chōla kingdom is well-known. An inscription at Madaksira, Anantapur District, dated in 948 A.D., records the interesting fact that Dilipa fought the battle of Ipili against Gajānkusa-Chōla (identified with Rājāditya, the son of Parāntaka I, who was killed by a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III), and that some of the best archers of the time served under him in obedience to the commands of the Ballaha king (identified with the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 1). The Commander of the Ballaha (Rāshtrakūta) army appears to have been one Kōtaya Dandanāyaka, who is recorded to have made some gifts of land to a temple of Vishnu at Agali, in Madaksira taluk, Anantapur District. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 21).

The succession after Dilipa is not quite clear. According to the Karshanapalli stone inscription, it was as follows:—Dilipa; his son Nanni-Nolamba; his son Polalchōra; and his son Vīra-Mahēndra Nolambādhirāja. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 14). This is confirmed by other inscriptions found both in and outside the State. According to Hiriyur 1 (*E.C.* XI), Nanni Nolamba was Dilipa's son and according to Mulbagal 122 (*E.C.* X) he had assumed the crown by 969 A.D. The Kambadūru inscription mentioned below calls him Chaladankakāra and Pallava-Rāma. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 14). There was, however, according to certain inscriptions found at Hēmavati and at Honnerahalli, Madaksira Taluk (*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix C, Nos. 17 and 58) dated in 966 and 963 A.D., one Iriva Nolambādhirāja or Irivi Nolamba Nolapayya ruling about the years mentioned. As his dates come immediately after Dilipa, he may be taken to have succeeded him, followed by Nanni Nolamba, whose known earliest date is 969 A.D. This Irivi Nolambādhirāja seems to have had a queen of the name of Pariyabbarasi and a son Ayyapadēva (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 1). Of Nanni Nolamba's son Polalchōra II, an inscription dated in 965 A.D. in the Mallikārjuna temple at Kambadūru, Anantapur District, styles him "lord of Kānchi," and as grandson of the ruling king. As regards his son Vīra-Mahēndra Nolambādhirāja, who may be called Mahēndra II, the Karshanapalle record, which is not dated but has been assigned to the middle or end of the 10th century, which is supported by its palæography, states that on returning from his conquest of the Chōla country, he entered

Nolambavādi, encamped at Kolar in the Gangasāsira district and conferred on a private individual the rank of an officer with a village in Puli-nādu (Punganūr) as a personal gift. Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that this statement of Vīra-Mahēndra's campaign in the Chōla country may be accepted as a fact. He suggests that it indicates that during "the slack rule of the Chōla kings subsequent to the death of Parāntaka I and the sweeping conquest of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III, who took Kānchi and Tanjore and planted a pillar of victory at Ramēsvaram," the Nolamba descendants of the great Mahēndra I took service under the Rāshtrakūtas and perhaps helped the latter in their invasion of the Chōla country. Future researches must clear up the exact relationship that existed between Vīra-Mahēndra and the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. The Chōla country said to have been invaded by him may not refer to the Chōla territory proper, but to the province of Tondamandalam, which formed the northern portion of the Chōla kingdom and was completely overrun by Krishna III. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 14). As Krishna III ruled from 939-968 A.D., the period of Vīra-Mahēndra might have extended to the end of that reign, seeing there is an inscription of Polalchōra II dated in 965 A.D. (see above). This Vīra-Mahēndra has been identified with the Nolamba-Pallava king Maydammarasa, who is said, in an inscription copied at Kalugod in the Rāyadrug Taluk, Bellary District, dated in 977 A.D., as ruling at Eraguru (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 4). But this suggestion has to be doubted because the Gangas had overrun the Nolamba-Pallavas before 974 A.D. The Maydammarasa of this inscription should be a later king of that name, probably a son of Vīra-Mahēndra, who assumed his father's best known title. Similarly it has been suggested that the Indra or Indradēva, who is referred to as "ruling over Nolambanādu" in inscription No. 47 found at Madigere in Chintamani taluk, Kolar

District, and in inscription No. 70 found at Mudigere in Bairakur hobli, Kolar District, both of which are in characters of about the 10th century, is a son of Vīra-Mahēndra. (*M.A.R.* 1924, Inscriptions Nos. 47 and 70). In No. 70, he is described as "ruling over the earth," *i.e.*, independently, while in No 47, he is spoken of as "ruling over Nolambanādu." Probably the former description is a rhetorical one while the latter signifies the actual position.

The Ganga conquest.

Apparently by the time of the latter inscription, which may be dated sometime before 974 A.D., the Nolamba-Pallavas had been overrun by the Ganga king Mārasimha, who boasts of having destroyed the Nolamba family, whence he had the name Nolambakulāntaka. He was ruling, among other provinces, over the Nolambavādi 32,000 (*E.I.* IV. 352). As Mārasimha ruled till 974 A.D., this conquest of the Gangas may be set down to about that year. In Mulbagal 84 (*E.C.* X) dated in 974 A.D., we have the mention of three Nolamba princes, who had escaped and were, perhaps, hiding, hearing with relief the news of Mārasimha's death. The conquest was, however, more nominal than real. For we have evidence enough in Rakkasa Ganga's inscription dated in 985 A.D., to infer that the Nolamba-Pallavas continued even after the Ganga conquest to rule over Nolambavādi 32,000. (*E.C.* X, Srinivaspur 59).

Chōla conquest and after.

Not long after the Ganga conquest, the Chōlas appear to have secured a foothold about Bijayati-Mangala. (modern Bētamangala in Bowringpet Taluk, Kolar District). From Hoskote 47 (*E.C.* IX) we might infer that in the reign of Nolambādhirāja—perhaps the Maydammarasa of the Kalugōdu inscription abovementioned—the Chōla king fought with Nolambarasa's army stationed at Bijayati-mangala with the result that Nolambarasa fell in the action. His son apparently succeeded him. Hoskote III (*E.C.* IX) shows that the Chōla king Rājarāja had established himself in the Bijayatimangalam area and that Gannarasa, son of Ayyapa, was acting as governor under him. But a Nolambādhirāja Chōrayya continues as a Nolamba-Pallava ruler under Rājarāja in 1010 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 208, and Chintamani 118). Mr. Rice identifies him with the one of the same name mentioned in Mulbagal 84 (*E.C.* X) as having escaped the general massacre of his family.

Under the Western Chālukyas.

About this period (*Circa* 1010 A.D.), the Nolamba-Pallavas went over from the Chōlas to the Western Chālukyas. Kampili on the Tungabhadra, in the west of Bellary, became now the capital of the Nolambas. One Jagadēkamalla Nolamba-Pallava was ruling the kingdom in 1022 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru). He was apparently subordinate to the Chālukya king Jayasinga Jagadēkamalla. Udayāditya, entitled Nolamba-Pallava Permmānadi, was ruling in 1035 A.D. under the same Chālukya king. (*Ibid* Davangere 71). Then came Nolamba-Pallava Permmānadi II under the same Chālukya king. He was ruling in 1037 A.D. (*Ibid* Davangere 126). Next we hear of Nanni-Nolamba-Pallava ruling Kadambalige in or about 1042 A.D. The then Chālukya king was Trailōkyamalla, after whom he calls himself. This Trailōkyamalla has been identified with Sōmēsvara or Āhavamalla, who ruled from 1040 to 1069 A.D. (*Ibid* Davangere 124). He was ruling with extended authority in 1045 A.D. (*Ibid* Davangere 20). Perhaps Narasinga followed him, as we see him ruling over Kadambalige and other provinces under the same Chālukya king in 1054 A.D., with his son Chōraya as governor under him at Uchchangi. The Chālukya king Sōmēsvara, entitled Trailōkyamalla, married a Pallava princess, by whom he had a son Jayasimha, who took the title Vīra Nonamba (or Nolamba) Pallava-Permmānadi. He was governor of various provinces under his father from 1048 to 1054. (*Ibid* Holalkere 107 and 119). The next king Sōmēsvara II, his elder half-brother, by a Ganga princess, made him governor of the Nolamba-Sinduvadi province in 1068. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 136). We have two records of him dated in 1072 and 1074 respectively. (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 28 and Chitaldrug 82). His another elder half-brother Vikramārka, also by the Ganga mother, on coming to the throne in 1076, made him Yuvarāja, and he made some important conquests for the kingdom. In 1080 A.D., he was ruling Banavāsi and other large provinces for his brother. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 293). But his eventual rebellion against his brother ended in his defeat and imprisonment. A curious inscription of his is Bangalore 9 (*E.C.* IX), which is ante-dated in 444 A.D. and is the model on which the professed Janamējaya grants (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 45, Sorab 183, etc.—see *ante*) were framed. His third half-brother, Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, the son of an Eastern Chālukya princess, was ruling the Nolambavādi 32,000 in 1064 and 1066 A.D., with Kampili as his capital. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 18). He is described as about to sink into the ocean of the Chōlas, but this fate was averted by Rājarāja and Chōla-Ganga of the Kalinga-Ganga line. Then we hear of another Udayāditya ruling over the Nolambavādi 32,000 in 1072 A.D. It is said of him that he extended the Penjuru—Henjeru—kingdom on all sides. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 9). He was apparently under the Chōlas, as he has a sub-title Vīra-Rājēndra, as well as Vīra-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmānadi. Apparently the Chōla inroads on the Chālukyas during the reign of Vīra-Rajēndra led to the transference of the suzerain power to them after the battle of Kūdal-sangamam. Henjeru appears to have been the capital at the time. Udayāditya seems to have continued his rule till 1109 A.D. He now appears not as a Chōla feudatory but as Chōla-marāja. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 57). Apparently the Chālukyas viewed with disfavour the assertion of Chōla supremacy. Probably with their aid, the Pāndyas of Uchchangi, came into view as governors of the Nolambavādi province. Tribhuvanamalla-Pāndya was ruling it about 1083 A.D., and he is described as the defeater of the designs of Rājiga Chōla. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 33). He was the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmānadi, the Jayasimha above mentioned. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 155). About this time, the capital of the kingdom had been transferred to Beltūr, identified by Mr. Rice with Bettūr, near Davangere. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 3). In 1124, Rāya Pāndya was ruling the province from the same place. (*Ibid*, Davangere 2). In the succeeding year, the capital was moved back to Uchchangi, where it remained. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 61). Rāya Pāndya had a Pallava (*i.e.*, Nolamba-Pallava) feudatory under him. Vīra Pāndya ruled apparently from 1143 to 1149 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 4; *E.C.* VII, Channagiri 38 and 39). At the rise of Bijjana, the Kālachūrya king, in 1156 A.D., Palatta-Pāndya was ruling Nolambavādi. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 56). A Pallava (*i.e.*, Nolamba-Pallava) is mentioned in 1160 A.D., but no name is given. (*Ibid* Davangere 113). In 1184 A.D., Vijaya-Pāndya appears to have been ruling Nolambavādi. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 13). In 1205, we have a Pallava prince, Machi-Dēva, as a feudatory to the Hoysala king Ballāla II. (*Ibid* Chitaldrug 23). His descent is given for three generations. He was ruling over Holalkere-nād (Chitaldrug District) and the adjacent parts. (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, 57 to 59). There is epigraphical evidence to show that Nolamba-Pallavas exercised some sort of power over parts of the present Bellary District. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 333). In the Tamil country, the Pallavas appear to have taken service under the Chōlas after Āditya's conquest of the Ganga-Pallavas, about the end of the 9th century A.D. Mr. Venkayya has fully set out this part of their career in his paper on the Pallavas. (*A.S.I.*, 1906-1907, 241-242). In the Telugu Districts, local chiefs claiming Pallava descent seem to have ruled down to the middle of the 13th century. (*M.E.R.* 1905-1906, Part ii, Para 7).

Social life in the 9th century A.D.

The Vēlūrpālaiyam and Tandantōttam plates throw some light on the state of society that prevailed about the 9th century A.D. The Brāhmanical religion had re-asserted itself. Temples for Siva and Vishnu had come into existence, and grants to Brāhmans were on the increase. Settlements of learned Brāhmans were apparently encouraged by gifts of land. Learned Brāhman priests became the spiritual preceptors of kings. Thus Nandivarman Pallavamalla had for his teacher Bappa-Bhattāraka. (Kāsākudi plates, text, line 78). In the 6th year of Nandivarman III, a Siva temple was built at Tirukāttupalli by Yagnabhatta, surnamed Bappa-Bhattāraka, who was probably the spiritual preceptor of Nandivarman III. The village itself was made over to the temple assembly (called *paradin*, *i.e.* Sanskrit *parishad*) which enforced the conditions of the grant. The *vyavastha* or written declaration effected the transfer and the *parihāra* mentioned the exemptions to be enjoyed by the residents of the village. These related mainly to those obligatory services which they could enforce on the people for the benefit of the community. These duties the residents of the village were exempted from. The donees were permitted by the *vyavastha* to build without any special license, mansions of burnt brick; grow red lilies and other plants in their gardens; to plant cocoanut trees in groves; sink reservoirs and wells; use large oil-presses; and prohibit toddy-drawers from tapping for toddy the coconnut and the palmyra trees planted within the four boundaries of the village. Apparently none of these things could be done without Royal license. (See *S.I.I.* II.V. pp. 506-507).

The Bāhūr plates show that the kings of the time encouraged high Sanskrit education. In Bāhūr (called Bāhūrgrāma in the inscription) was a *vidyāsthāna* or college, to which three villages in the neighbourhood were granted by a member of the Basāli family and a descendant of the Kuru race. He was the minister of Nripatunga, who issued the order for the grant. The college referred to appears to have consisted of 14 *ganas* and was controlled by the learned men of the village, being organised and maintained by them as "the Ganges descending from the sky with all the fury of its rushing waves is borne by god Siva on one of his matted locks." The order conveying the grant, which as usual excluded all previous grants and expropriated former owners, was communicated to the assembly of *Bāhūrnādu* (nāttār) who on receiving it, obeyed it by placing it on their heads, circumambulated the village, planted stone and milk bush and drew up the necessary document (*araiyōlai*). This grant for the advancement of learning is interesting as indicating the esteem in which learning was held at the time.

The Tandantōttam plates refer to a grant of land which being converted into a village was made over to the donees, who were 308 Brāhmans of different *gōtras* and *sūtras*. To judge from their names and titles they should have been all learned men, specially selected as fit persons for receiving the gift. The temple (probably of Vishnu) got 5 shares, while the Siva temple received 2 shares. One share was allotted to the reader of the *Bhārata*, which was apparently recited in the Assembly Hall. At this Hall, we are told, provision was made for "pouring water" and for "lighting fire," for which a share was reserved in the grant. The donees seem to have belonged to different parts of the country, some coming from the Telugu country and some from the Tamil. As the village granted is near Kumbakonam, the settlement of Brāhmans from the Telugu country in the heart of the Chōla country shows that the kings of olden days induced Brāhmans to settle in their new acquisitions. The Telugu *birudas* of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman found in the Trichinopoly cave inscription testify to the influence of the Telugu people in the Chōla country already in the 7th century A.D. (*S.I.I.* II. V. 519).

GANGAS.—*Circa* 2nd century A.D. to 11th century A.D. Period and extent of their rule.

The Gangas were a line of kings who ruled over the greater part of Mysore State and of the Cauvery basin (excepting the delta of Tanjore) from about the 2nd century A.D. to about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Their grants—of which some fifty-two are on copper-plates—have been found in all parts of the State and the neighbouring British Provinces, from Coorg in the West to North Arcot and Tanjore in the East, and from the extreme South of the Mysore State in the South to the Belgaum District of Bombay in the North. To about the time of Sivamāra I—who reigned about 680 A.D. according to Mr. Rice and 750 A.D. according to Sir John Fleet—these are mostly on copper-plates, though a few such as Mulbagal 263 (*E.C.* X, Kolar District) and Chikmagalur 50 (*E.C.* VI, Kadur District) are on stone. From his time, lithic inscriptions become more numerous.

The country ruled by them and its capitals.

The country occupied or ruled over by the Ganga kings was known as Gangavādi, a Ninety-six Thousand province, and the existing Gangadikāras (a sub-division of the Vokkaligas, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of the State) represent its former subjects, their name being obviously a contraction from Gangavādi-kāra. At the time of the foundation of the Ganga kingdom, its chief city was Kuvalāla (Kolar), but the capital was removed in the 3rd century to Talkād, on the Cauvery, in the south-east of the Mysore District. This remained the permanent capital, although the royal residence was fixed at Mankuda, west of Channapatna, in the 7th century and at Mānyapura (identified with Manne, north of Nelamangala) in the 8th century.

Origin of the name, *Ganga*.

The name, Ganga, of the dynasty is not an ordinary one. How it came to be its designation is not accounted for. It is impossible to avoid noticing that the only other occurrence of such a name in history is in the Greek accounts relating to the times of Alexander the Great and Seleucus. The Nandas and Chandragupta, after them, are described as ruling over the Prasii and the Gangaridæ. Ptolemy locates the Gangaridai in all the country about the mouths of the Ganges, with their capital at Gangē, which has not been identified. They are also mentioned by the Latin authors Virgil, Valerius Flaccus and Curtius. Pliny, on the other hand, calls them Gangaridæ Calingæ, Gangas of Kalinga, who, as he terms them *gens novissima*, cannot have been very ancient. (Mc Crindle's *Ptolemy's Geography I.A.* XIII 365). We know from inscriptions that there was an important line of Ganga kings in Kalinga in the 7th and 8th centuries, and Ganga kings continued there down to as late a period as the 16th century. The connection of the Kalinga Gangas with the Mysore (or Western) Ganga kings, who were earlier, is admitted by the Kalinga Gangas themselves, but there is nothing to show that the name originated with the Gangaridæ Calingæ. Both branches trace their name to the river Gangā or Ganges, but the traditions on which the stories of their connection with the river (see below) seem to be based, appear to lack credibility. They appear, as suggested by Mr. Rice, to have been only invented from the name.

Traditionary stories.

Though Ganga inscriptions professing to be of the 3rd century A.D. have been found, the earliest which contain a detailed account of the origin of their family are stone inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries in the Nagar and Shimoga Taluks, the chief being Nagar 35 and Shimoga 10, 4 and 64. (*E.C.* VIII.). Lithic inscriptions of an earlier date have been found but none so far with the details about the origin of the dynasty. According to the stone records mentioned above, which were inscribed in the time of the great Chālukya king Vikramāditya or Vikramārka, the son of a Ganga princess, the Gangas were of the Ikshvāku and therefore Solar race. In the Ikshvāku-vamsa arose Dhananjaya, who slew the king of Kanyākubja. His wife was Gāndhāridēvi, by whom he had a son Harischandra, born in Ayōdhyāpura. The first two inscriptions referred to above make Dadiga and Mādhava (see below), the sons of Harischandra. The other two make them the sons of Padmanābha, descended from Harischandra and interpose a number of steps Thus Harischandra's wife was Rōhinidēvi, and their son was Bharata, whose wife, Vijayamahādēvi, having bathed in the Ganga at the time of conception, the son she bore was called Gangādatta (the gift of Ganga), and his posterity were the Gangas. The account given in the Kalinga Ganga inscriptions is that Purvasu, the son of Yayāti, being without sons, practised self-restraint and propitiated the river Ganga, the bestower of boons, by which means he obtained a son, the unconquerable Gāngēya, whose descendants were victorious in the world as the Ganga line. From him was descended Vishnugupta (also called Vishnuvarman in the Narasimharājapura Plates, *M.A.R.*, 1919-1920, Para 61), who ruled in Ahichchhatrapura (said to be in the Bareilly District, Rohilkhand), to whom Indra, pleased with his performance of the Aindra-dhvaja-pūja, presented him an elephant. Vishnugupta, by his wife Prithuvimati, had two sons, Bhagadatta and Srīdatta. On Bhagadatta was bestowed the government of Kalinga, whence he became known as Kalinga Ganga; while to Srīdatta was given the ancestral kingdom, together with the elephant, which thence forward became the crest of the Gangas. Subsequently a king named Priyabandhuvarma was born in that line, to whom Indra appeared and presented him with five royal tokens or ornaments, at the same time uttering a warning that if any king of the line should prove an apostate they would vanish. Giving to Vijayapura the name of Ahichchhatra, Indra departed. Vijayapura appears as the place from which a Chālukya grant of the 5th century was issued, and was probably in Gujarat. (see *I.A.* VII, 241). The Ganga line continuing to prosper, there was born in it Kampa, whose son was Padmanābha. Being in great distress on account of his childless condition, he supplicated the *sāsana dēvati* of Padmaprabha and obtained two sons, whom he named Rāma and Lakshmana. Mahīpāla, the ruler of Ujjaini, now made a demand for the delivery to him of the five royal tokens presented by Indra. Padmanābha indignantly replied that they could not be given up, and would be of no use to another; also that if the demand were persisted in, it would be met by force. He then prepared for war, but first sent an army to the south, the five tokens, along with his two sons, whose names he changed to Dadiga and Mādhava, accompanied by their sister Ālabbe (Shimoga 64), and forty-eight chosen attendant Brāhmans. The further history continues only in connection with the two brothers. Their line was the Ganga line—*tad anvayō Gangānvayah.* (*E.C.* Nagar 35). On arriving at Perur, Dadiga and Mādhava there met with the great Jain Āchārya Simhanandi, of the Kānūrgana (or Krānurgana), and explained to him their circumstances. He took up their cause, gave them instruction, and obtained for them a boon from the goddess Padmāvati, confirmed by the gift of a sword and the promise of a kingdom. Mādhava, with a shout, at once laid hold of the sword and struck with all his might at a stone pillar, when the pillar fell in two. What this pillar (*silā-sthambha*) was, it is difficult to understand, but in one place it is described as the chief obstacle in the way of his securing the throne. (Sravana Belgola 54). This feat is mentioned in nearly all the inscriptions that refer to Dadiga and Mādhava. The *āchārya* recognized this as a good omen, made a crown from the petals of the *karnikāra* blossom, and placed it on the heads of the brothers, giving them his peacock fan as a banner, and in due course, providing them with an army, invested them with all kingly powers. The kingdom thus founded was named Gangavādi, a Ninety-six Thousand country. He also impressed upon them the following counsel:—

> If you fail in what you promise, if you dissent from the *Jina sāsana*, if you take the wives of others, if you are addicted to spirits or flesh, if you associate with the base, if you give not to the needy, if you flee in battle;—your race will go to ruin.

Thus, with Nandagiri as their fort, Kuvalāla as their city, the Ninety-six Thousad country as their kingdom, Victory as their companion in the battlefield, Jinēndra as their god, the Jina *matha* as their faith,—Dadiga and Mādhava ruled over the earth. The north, touching Marandale; the east, Tonda-nād; the west, the ocean in the direction of Chēra; the south, Kongu;—within these limits of the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand did the Gangas undertake the subjection of all enemies.

Most of this is no doubt legendary, but some truth may perhaps underlie the narrative, and with the arrival of Dadiga and Mādhava at Perur we seem to be on solid ground. For, Perur must be the place in

Cuddapah District still distinguished from other Perurs as Ganga-Perur; Simhanandi is known from literature, and is expressly stated in various inscriptions to have helped to found the Ganga kingdom. He is named by Indrabhūti in his *Samayabhūshana* along with Ēlāchārya (Padmanandi, the *guru* of Sākatāyana) and Pūjyagapāda. (*I.A.* XII 20). In Sravana Belgola 54, he is mentioned next to Sāmantabhadra, who belongs to the 2nd century A.D.; and the Bāna plates say the Ganga dynasty obtained increase from the great Simhanandi. (*S.I.I.* II 387). In Nagar 35 and 36, he is described as *Ganga-rājyamam mādidı Simhanandyāchārya*—the *āchārya* Simhanandi who made the Ganga kingdom. The succession of kings as given from Dadiga and Mādhava is in general accordance with numerous records found in all parts of Mysore. Several inscriptions, however, carry the foundation of the line back to Kānva, and the Gangas are described as of the Kānvāyana *gōtra* (see below). Of the places mentioned in connection with the Ganga possessions, Nandagiri can only be Nandi-durga, and Kuvalāla is Kolar: but though the Gangas are called lords of Kuvalāla-pura, we know that from an early period their capital was at Talavanapura (Talkād on the Cauvery). Marandale, the place given as the northern limit of Gangavādi, has not yet been identified though one or two places whose names sound something like it are found in the north of the Kolar District, but the other limits are well-known places. Tondanād, a Forty-eight Thousand province, is Tonda-mandala, the Madras country to the east of Mysore; the ocean for the western boundary seems to be a stretch of the imagination, as Gangavādi, so far as we know, did not extend below the Western Ghats; Chēra corresponds with Cochin and Travancore; and Kongu, with Salem and Coimbatore. It has been mentioned above that the Gangas are described in many inscriptions as of the Kānvāyana *gōtra* being descended from Kānva. Mr. Rice has, in the last edition of this work, thrown out a faint suggestion that the Kānva of the Ganga dynasty might be traced back to the Kānva of the Kānva dynasty. The Kānva dynasty succeeded the Sunga dynasty about *Circa* 73 B.C. (see *ante*) and ruled according to Purānic tradition for some forty-five years. They were apparently of Brāhman descent and are known also as Sungabhrityas or Kānvāyana kings. The Kānvas, as has been seen, were the successors of the Sungas, who were the successors of the Mauryas. Seeing that parts of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties held away over Mysore, it is possible that the Kānvas, as indeed their successors the Āndhras, did also secure a footing in the State in very early times. If this suggestion proves acceptable, the Gangas might represent a Kānva off-shoot in the south. Their connection with the name *Ganga* would, in view of the northern origin of the Kānvāyanas and their close connection with and rule over the Maurya Empire, be well justified. The change of religion of the early Ganga kings from the Brāhmanism of the Kānva kings cannot prove an insuperable objection to the consideration of this suggestion, for such change seems not only common on the part of dynasties and kings but also seems to have been insisted upon by the Āchārya Simhanandin as a *sine qua non* for his taking any interest in the two boy-princes Dadiga and Mādhava. The Kānvas ruled during disturbed times and it is not wholly impossible that some scion of the family emigrated South in search of a throne. The last of the Kānvas having been slain about 28 or 27 B.C. by a king of the Āndhra dynasty, then in possession of a large tract of country extending from sea to sea, the emigration cannot have been later than the close of the 1st century B.C.

Chronology of the Ganga Kings

This brings us to the question of the chronology of the Ganga kings and to the allied one of the genuineness of certain of their copper-plate grants. The total number of Ganga copper-plates so far discovered and published is about fifty. These plates generally agree in regard to their text and the succession lists of kings they enumerate, except that four of them differ from the rest and from one another in certain respects. These four are the following :—

(1) The Penukonda Plates of Mādhava III, whose genealogical list is short. (*M.E.R.* 1913-1914; and *E.I.* XIV. 331);

(2) The Chikballapur Plates of Jayatēja Dattiya, which really concerns itself to a collateral line descended from Bhūvikrama. (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Plate XII; also pages 29-30 and paras 59-61);

(3) The Tagare Plates of Polavīra, which confines itself to three generations from Mādhavavarma III and his son and grandson, his great-grandson being called Polavīra instead of Mushkara as in the other plates. (*M.A.R.* 1917-1918, Plate XII; also Paras 73-75); and

(4) The Chūkuttūr Plates of Simhavarma which also mention only three stages in the succession from Konkanivarma but describe as Krishnavarma's son one Simhavarma. (*M.A.R.* 1923-1924, Plate XIV; also page 79-80; No. 81).

Some of the differences are, it is true, capable of explanation; but the fact that they *differ* has to be noted, especially in view of the fact that these differences have led in certain quarters to doubts being cast on the genuineness of most of these copper-plate grants. Another serious difficulty in regard to a number of them is that they are either not dated, or if dated, the details mentioned in them do not work out satisfactorily. Thus the following Plates are not dated :—The Nandi Plates of Mādhava II, the Bendiganahalli Plates of Krishnavarma, the Nonamangala and Melkote Plates of Mādhavavarman (Mādhava III) and the Penukonda Plates of Mādhava (III) Simhavarman, the Hebbur and the British Museum Plates of Navakāma (Sivamāra), the Sargur Plates of Prithivikongani (Srīpurusha), the

Ganjam Plates of Mārasinga Ereyappa Lōka-Trinētra Yuvarāja (Mārasimha), Galigekere Plates of Ranavikramayya (Nītimārga I), the Tagare Plates of Polavīra (either identical with Mushkara or a brother of his), the Narasimharajapura Plate of Srīpuṛusha and his son Sivamāra, the Kondunjeruvu Plates of Avinīta, the Nallala Plates of Durvinīta, the Chūkuttūru Plates of Simhavarma, son of Krishnavarma, the Kulagāna Plates of Sivamāra and the Kandasala Plates of Mādhavavarma. The following are wrongly dated, in the sense that the particulars given for the dates do not work out correctly:—The Tanjore Plates of Arivarman are dated *Saka* 169 Prabhava, Phālguna Amāvāsya Bhrigu. But it is found on checking that Phālguna Amāvāsya of *Saka* 169 (=248 A.D.) fell on Sunday 12th March, 248 A.D., but not on Thursday as stated in the Plates. Similarly the Tagare Plates of Mādhava III are dated *Saka* 272 Sādhārana, Phālguna Amā Ādivāra. But Phālguna 30 of *Saka* 272 (=350 A.D.) fell on Thursday the 14th March 350 A.D. but not on Sunday. The Merkara Plates of Avinīta are dated *Saka* 388 Māgha Suddha 5 Sōmavāra. But Māgha Suddha 5 of *Saka* 388 (=466 A.D.) fell on Tuesday the 27th December, 466 A.D. and not on Monday as stated in the Plates. Likewise the Jāvali Plates of Srīpurusha are dated in *Saka* 672 Vaisākha 5 Sōmavāra of *Saka* 672 (=750 A.D.), which however, fell on Thursday the 16th April of 750 A.D. and not on Monday. Similarly the Hosur Plates of the same king are dated *Saka* 684 Vaisākha Suddha 15 Sukravāra. But Vaisakha Suddha 15 of *Saka* 684 (=762 A.D.) fell on Tuesday the 13th March, but not on Friday as stated in the grant. Likewise, the Manne Plates of Mārasimha are dated *Saka* 719 Āshādha Suddha 5 Sōma. But Ashādha Suddha 5 of *Saka* 719 (=797 A.D.) fell on Sunday the 4th July and not on Monday. The Narasāpura Plates of Rājamalla are dated *Saka* 824 Phālguna Suddha 5 Budha. But

Phālguna Suddha 5 of *Saka* 824 (=903 A.D.) fell on Friday the 4th February and not on Wednesday. The Sūdi Plates of Būtuga are dated *Saka* 860 Vikāri Kārtika Suddha 8 Ādivāra. Kārtika Sudha 8 of *Saka* 860 (=938 A.D.) fell on Thursday the 4th October and not on Sunday as stated in the Plates. The Kūdlūr Plates of Mārasimha are dated *Saka* 884 Rudhirōdgāri Chaitra Suddha 5 Budha. But Chaitra Suddha 5 of *Saka* 884 (=962 A.D.) fell on Tuesday the 13th March and not on Wednesday as mentioned in the grant. On the other hand, however, there are copper-plate inscriptions in which the details of the date mentioned work out quite correctly. Thus the Gattavādipura Plates of Rājamalla Satyavākya and Nīti and Nītimarga Eregappa is dated *Saka* 862 Mārgasira 15 Sūryavāra. Mārgasira 15 of *Saka* 862 (=904 A.D.) actually fell on Sunday the 25th November as specified in the inscription. The Alūr grant of Yuvarāja Mārasimha is dated *Saka* 721 Srāvana Suddha 15 Sōmavāra Sōmagrahana. Srāvana 15 of *Saka* 721 (=799 A.D.) corresponded to Monday the 22nd July on which also occurred a lunar eclipse, as stated in the grant. The Bedirūr Plates of Bhūvikrama are dated *Saka* 556 Chaitra Sukla Pakshe, 10, Bhrihaspativāra. On verification, the particulars given are found to be correct. The date *Saka* 556 (=634 A.D.) has, therefore, to be accepted as correct. Judged by the same test the Kūdlūr Plates of Mārasimha, dated *Saka* 884 (=962 A.D.) seems a genuine grant.

Apart from the different accounts given of the genealogy of kings in certain of the plates and the discrepancies found in many of them, in regard to the dates mentioned in them, a few other arguments have also been advanced for rejecting most of them as spurious. Among these are :—

(1) the corrupt language of the records;
(2) the occurrence of serious errors in orthography;

(3) the general rudeness of execution of the plates;

(4) the disagreement of palæography with the given period;

(5) the unduly long periods of reign assigned to several of the kings;

(6) suspicious forms of the names given to the engravers of and the witnesses to the grants; and

(7) the lack, in some cases, of external or internal evidence corroborative of the statements in them.

It is some of these defects, coupled with the want of dates or the inaccurate character of the dates given which induced the late Sir John Fleet at one time to condemn the whole series of Ganga Plates as spurious and even stigmatise the dynasty itself as the fabrication of interested persons. His criticism of Mr. Rice's attempts to resuscitate this long-forgotten dynasty is too wellknown to need further iteration here (see *E.I.* III. 171-3), the more so as he, just before his much lamented death, showed an inclination to recede from the extreme position he had taken. What inclined him to revise his views was first the discovery of lithic inscriptions of undoubted Ganga kings, *e.g.*, of Srīpurusha (788 A.D.) whom he treated as a historical personage, though he consigned his predecessors as mythical characters, and then the discovery in 1913 of the Penukonda Plates of Mādhava III by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, whose characters, language and orthography—though it is undated like many other Ganga plates—impressed him so highly that he pronounced it as "genuine" and assigned it to about 475 A.D. His words (see *J.R.A.S.* 1915, 471-472) are worth quoting as they succinctly sum up his views in the matter:—

"This new record from Penukonda is in Sānskrit . . . and in characters of an early type of the alphabet of Western India. It gives a short pedigree . . Its object is to recite that Mādhava II granted to a Brāhman . . . 65 plots of land in Paruvi district. The charter was written by Apapa, son of the Goldsmith Arya. In its characters, language, and orthography, this record stands all the usual tests and its execution is good throughout. In all respects it contrasts very favourably with the other records of the same series, of which some are plainly spurious and others are, to say the least, doubtful. And my conclusions about it are that we have here at last a genuine early Ganga record and that on the Palæographic evidence it is to be placed about 500 A.D. and somewhat before that year rather than after it; 475 A.D. seems a very good date for it."

Mr. Rice's latest remarks on Fleet's views are summed up by him in *E.I.* XIV. 340 and they deserve to be set down here as they may be taken to finally dispose of this long contested point of the authenticity of Ganga records generally. After giving a tabular list of 39 copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty, he writes :—

"This array of documents provides us with the inscriptional chronicles of the Ganga kings of Gangavādi or Mysore. They have been found in all parts of the country, and of various dates throughout the period to which they relate, a period for which but for them, the local history is a blank. They present a consistent and consecutive account, not discredited by contradictory statements or anachronisms. They are supported and confirmed by scores of stone inscriptions of all periods, and by references in contemporary records of neighbouring and other dynasties. They are thus entitled to acceptance as credible and authentic, though it would be unreasonable to expect that chronicles for so extended a period of antiquity should be free from all difficulties.

"Objections have been raised to them, by Dr. Fleet, who prefixed the epithet 'spurious' to the whole series, and this has been simply repeated by others, following his authority. But the grounds of his opposition mainly relate to faults that may be in some cases detected in style or orthography. These, however, are not such as to affect the veracity of their contents. The basis of his sweeping dictum that all the Ganga inscriptions on copper plates are 'spurious,' and only those on stone genuine, is on the face of it unsound and paradoxical. Why should a line of kings issue chronicles of their past which are true and to be accepted as such when on stone, but false and to be rejected when on metal? Especially when, as here, such stone inscriptions as have survived, even for the early periods, confirm, so far as they go, the accounts on the metal plates, which, being portable and indestructible, have more easily been concealed and preserved. In fact, it is not uncommon for a stone inscription to state that the grant recorded in it was also engraved on a copper-plate.

"Then a condemnation, perhaps for a discrepancy in the week day of the date, as sometimes happens, is not a sufficient reason for rejecting them as altogether false. Dr. Fleet has himself said that 'the fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious.' This completely cuts away the ground from under the feet of those who insist unduly upon the value of such testimony, though it is not to be disregarded.

"As regards the palæography, again, although changes have undeniably taken place in the forms of certain letters from time to time, it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line, as Dr. Fleet does at the year 804, for instance, and to lay it down that a particular form cannot occur before that, in which particular he has been shown to be incorrect. The standards, therefore, by which he proceeded to judge the Ganga copper plate grants and reject them as 'spurious' were themselves in need of revision and correction. Approaching these grants with pre-conceived ideas, if he found that the facts did not support his views well, so much the worse for the facts."

Since he wrote this—and his list includes discoveries of Ganga Plates only up to and inclusive of 1917 and not later—many other discoveries have been made and some of these undoubtedly stand the test prescribed by Sir John Fleet. Prominent among these are the Plates of Polavīra Kāntāvinīta, who was probably either Mushkara or his brother, which has been pronounced genuine by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar. Similarly, the Keregodi-Rangapura Plates of Rājamalla II, the Narasimharajapura Plates of Srīpurusha and his son Sivamāra, the Kūdlūr Plates of Mārasimha, the Kondunjeruvu Plates of Avinīta, the Nallala Plates of Durvinīta, the Chūkuttūru Plates of Simhavarma, son of Krishnavarma, and the Bedirūr Plates of Bhūvikrama have been, from the point of view of orthography, palæography and language, declared genuine. Of these, Kūdlūru, Chūkuttūru and Bedirūru are dated and the rest, though undated, furnish sufficient internal evidence to be set down as genuine. It will thus be seen that genuineness depends not in the specific mention of a date—right or wrong—in a grant but on its general character, *i.e.*, the evidence of orthography, language, execution, genealogical details and the like. Judged from this point of view, the generality of the Ganga grants stand the test fairly well and they establish beyond all reasonable doubt the existence of a line of kings in Mysore termed "Ganga"—*Janhaveya* or *Ganga-kula*—who bore honourable rule over it during some centuries together. As has been remarked, even those Plates which are plainly "spurious" and have to be definitely set down as such do not go far wrong in the details they furnish about the donor and his ancestors and the donee and his parentage. They may often copy matters of this kind from genuine grants. Where they may be expected to go wrong is in regard to the object or time of a grant, which are both capable of verification and check. The ascription of a number of forged grants to a whole dynasty and to almost every member of it, extending over a long period of time and containing a long line of descendants, seems as much opposed to reason as to well ascertained facts.

Recent discoveries of more Plates of the Penukonda type have unexpectedly still further narrowed down the issue involved in this half-a-century old controversy. As suggested by Dr. Shama Sastri, if the Chūkuttūr Plates of Simhavarma, son of Krishnavarma, the Kondanjeruvu Plates of Avinīta and the Nallala Plates of Durvinīta, which are similar in characters, language and orthography to the Penukonda Plates, from which the Kondanjeruvu and Nallala Plates are not far removed in point of time, and whose genealogical tables could—even without assuming the theory of "three different branches springing from Mādhava I" proposed by Dr. Shama Sastri—be reconciled, there is no reason to disbelieve the existence of a Ganga dynasty up to the time of Durvinīta. From Durvinīta to Srīvikrama is only two steps. Of Srīvikrama, we have a stone inscription at Kallur in Srinivaspur Taluk (*M.A.R.* 1916-1917, para 77); of his successor Bhūvikrama, we have a stone inscription dated in *Saka* 556, or 634 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1915-1916). Of Sivamāra, the next ruler, we have a lithic inscription at Bhaktarhalli, Hoskote Taluk. Of Srīpurusha, whose existence is accepted as proved from lithic inscriptions by even Sir John Fleet, we have stone inscriptions at different places. We have for him the *Saka* date 710, or 788 A.D., in the stone inscription at Halkūr in the Sira Taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1819, Para 76). Inscriptions of his 7th and 27th years have been found at Oddapatti, Salem District. Fleet assigns for him, as probable, the dates 765 to 805 A.D. The archaic character of the lithic inscriptions with which his name has been coupled supports this view. Thus, of the five kings mentioned from Durvinīta to Srīpurusha, four are found named in stone inscriptions and their existence cannot therefore be doubted, the more so as the existence of those who preceded them from Durvinīta upwards cannot now be doubted, as the Penukonda, Chūkuttūr, Kondanjeruvu and Nallala grants have to be accepted as genuine, and those who succeeded them from Sivamāra II downwards have been generally admitted as historical personages, because most of them are mentioned in lithic inscriptions.

Geneological Table cf Ganga Kings.

The following is a table of the Ganga kings of Mysore mentioned in copper-plate grants, with dates as mentioned in them and in lithic inscriptions. Dates from Copper-Plate grants are noted as *C.P.* and those of Lithic Inscriptions as *L.I.*

List of Ganga copper-plate inscriptions.

The following is a list of Ganga copper-plate inscrip- discovered. It brings up-to-date the table given by

LIST OF GANGA COPPER-

Name	No. of plates	Reference	Date		
			Saka	Regnal	A.D.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Nandi (1) ...	3	M.A.R., 1914 ...	...	...	c. 240
2. Bendiganhalli.	4	,, 1915 ...	...	1	...
3. Tanjore ...	3	I.A., VIII, 212 ...	169	...	247
4. Tagadur ...	3	E.C., III, Nj. 122.	188	...	? 266
5. (Mudiyanur)...	5	,, X, Mb. 157; I.A., XV, 172.	261	23 (Bana)	338
6. Tagarti ...	3	E.C., VII, Sk. 52; I.A., VII, 172.	279	...	? 357
7. Nonamangala (1).	3	E.C., X, Mr. 73 ...	...	13	c. 370
8. Melekote ...	5	M.A.R., 1910 ...	...	...	c. 390
9. Penugonda ...	3	M.E.R., 1914, J.R. A.S., 1915.	...	...	c. 400
10. Nonamangala (2).	4	E.C., X, Mr. 72 ...	...	1	c. 430
11. Sringēri ...	5	M.A.R., 1916 ...	...	2	431
12. Do ...	...	,, ...	...	...	...
13. Bangalore Residency.	6	M.A.R., 1911 ...	...	25	455
14. Mallohalli (1)...	3	E.C., IX, DB, 67; I.A., V, 136.	...	29	459
15. Merkara ...	3	E.C., I, Cg. 1; I.A., I, 362.	388	...	466
16. Bangalore Museum.	5	E.C., IX, Bn. 141.	...	3	485
17. Kadagatur ...	4	,, XII, Mi. 110.	...	4	486
18. Uttanur (1) ...	5	M.A.R., 1916 ...	...	20	502
19. Uttanur (2) ...	5	,, 1917 ...	...	20	502
20. Mallohalli (2).	5	E.C., X, DB. 68; I.A., V, 138.	...	35	517
21. Gummareddipura	5	M.A.R., 1912 ...	...	40	522

tions numbering 52 in all, which have been so far Mr. Rice in *E.I.*, XIV. No. 24, pages 337 to 339.

PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

King or Ruler	Donee	Engraver	Remarks
7	8	9	10
Mādhava (II).	Brāhman ...	Srīpala ...	...
Krishna-varman.	do ...	Matrivarman ...	...
Arivarman ...	do ...	Visvkaarm Āchārya.	...
Harivarman...	Gavunda ...	...	...
Do ...	......	Nandivarm Āchārya.	Inscribed on back of Pl. 1 of this Bana grant and effaced. Pl. 5 is blank.
Tadangala Mādhava (III)	Gavuda ...	...	At first called the Harihara plates.
Mādhava-varman.	Jain temple ...	...	...
Do ..	Buddhist ...	Charudatta ...	Pl. 2 missing.
Mādhava (II); Simhavarman	Brāhman ...	Apapa ...	A genuine Ganga grant of ? c. 475 (Fleet).
Kongani-varman (Avinīta).	Jain temple ...	Marishēna ...	...
Konkani-varman (Avinīta).	Brāhman ...	Papara ...	...
Senior Queen.	do ...	...	Follows, on Pl. 5.
Kongani (Avinīta).	do ...	Margi ...	Pl. 2 missing, Pl. 5. may belong to another grant (see M.A.R., 1911, para 72).
Do ...	do ...	...	...
Do ...	Jain temple ...	Visvakarman ...	Grant by Akālavarsha's *mantrin*.
Do (Durvinīta.)	Brāhman ...	...	Pl. 5 missing.
Do ...	Do ...	Chakkana ...	At first called the Maddagiri plates.
Durvinīta ...	48 Brāhmans.	Kongani Pendattara.	...
Do ...	80 do ...	do ...	...
Kongani-vriddha (Durvinīta).	Brāhman ...	...	...
Durvinīta ...	do ...	Kongani Perudattakara.	...

LIST OF GANGA COPPER-

Name	No. of plates	Reference	Date		
			Saka	Regnal	A.D.
1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Hebbur ...	6	E.C., XII, Tm, 23.	...	...	c. 680
23. Hallegere ...	5	,, III, Md. 113.	635	34	713
24. British Museum	7	I.A., XIV, 229 ...	...	...	c. 720
25. Nandi (2) ...	3	M.A.R., 1914 ...	...	3	728
26. Sargur ...	5	E.C., IV. Hg. 4 ...	...	...	? c. 730
27. Kondajji Agrahara.	5	M.A.R., 1907 ...	...	7	733
28. Javali ...	6	E.C., VI, Mg. 36...	672	25	750
29. Islampur ...	5	E.I., XII, 48 ...	...	30	756
30. Hosur ...	5	E.C., X, Gd. 47; Mad. J. Sc. L. 1878.	684	...	762
31. Devarhalli ...	6	E.C., IV, Ng. 85; I.A., II, 155, 370.	698	50	766
32. Manne (1) ...	7	E.C., IX, Nl. 60 ...	719	...	797
33. Ganjam ...	5	,, IV, Sr. 160...	...	...	c. 800
34. Chikballapur.	3	M.A.R., 1914 ...	...	17	810
35. Manne (2) ...	5	,, 1910 ...	750	12	828
36. Galigekere ...	5	E.C., IV, Yd. 60...	...	...	c. 860
37. Narasapura ...	7	,, X, Kl. 90 ...	824	...	903
38. Gattavādipura.	9	,, XII, Nj. 269.	826	...	904

PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.—*contd.*

King or Ruler	Donee	Engraver	Remarks
7	8	9	10
Nava-Kāma (Sivamārā.)	? ...	...	Pl. 3 and 5 missing.
Prithivi Kongani Sivamāra.	Brāhman ...	Visvakarm Āchārya.	Grant by request of the two sons of the Pallava *Yuvarāja*
Nava-Kāma ...	do ...	...	Grant by Ereganga.
Prithivi Kongani (Srīpurusha).	do ...	...	King has the title of Ranabhajana.
Prithivi Kongani (Srīpurusha).	12 Brāhmans.	Kunt Āchārya ...	...
Srīpurusha ...	Brāhman ...	Visvakarm Āchārya.	Ranavikramarasa (Vijayāditya), governing (? Keregod) *nād*.
Prithivi Kongani Srīpurusha.	do ...	do ...	...
Do ...	do ...	...	Grant by Vijayāditya when at Asandi.
Do ...	do ...	Visvakarman ...	...
Do ...	Jain temple ...	Visvakarm Āchārya.	At first called the Nagamangala plates.
Mārasimha Lōka-Trinētra *Yuvarāja*.	do ...	do ...	...
Mārasinga Ereyappa Lōka-Trinētra *Yuvarāja*.	Brāhman ...	...	With his permission, grant by a Pallava.
Jayatēja Dattiya.	Siva temple ...	...	The date is that of Rāshtrakūta Prabhutavarsha Jagattunga.
Satyavākya Konganivarman Rājamalla.	Brāhman ...	Madhurovajha...	...
Ranavikramayya (Nītimārga I).	do ...	Marikēsi ...	...
Rājamalla Satyavākya.	Jain temple ...	...	...
Rājamalla Satyavākya and Nītimārga (Ereyappa).	Brāhman ...	Visvakarman ...	Pl. 1 and 3 missing.

LIST OF GANGA COPPER-

Name	No. of plates	Reference	Date		
			Saka	Regnal	A.D.
1	2	3	4	5	6
39. Sudi ...	5	E.I., III, 164 ...	860	...	939
40. Tagare ...	3	M.A.R., 1917-18...	...	...	c, 6th cent. A.D.
41. Keregodi-Rangāpura.	5	,, 1918-19 ...	8	(Incomplete.)	*Circa* 9th Cent. A.D.
42. Rājapura ...	2 (Incomplete).	,, ,, ...	...	Middle plate missing.	...
43. Narasimharājapura.	5	,, 1919-20 ...	...	No date given.	*Circa* 8th Cent. A.D.
44. Kūdlūr ...	3	,, 1920-21 ...	? 188 Details don't agree.	...	...
45. Kūdlūr ...	7	,, ,, ...	884	...	962 A.D.
46. Kondunjerūvu.	4	,, 1923-24 ...	*Saka* not given. Year? *Vijaya.*	25th year (Vijaya)	c. 5th cent. A.D.
47. Nalālla ...	5	,, ,, ...	*Saka* date not given.	40th year	*Circa* 5th to 6th cent. A.D.
48. Alūr ...	7	,, ,, ...	721	3rd year.	799 A.D.
49. Chūkuttūr ...	5	,, ,, ...	Not given.	Not given.	...
50. Bedirūr ...	5	,, 1924-25 ...	556	25th year	634 A.D.
51. Kulagāna ...	5	,, ,, ...	Not given.	...	*Circa* 7th cent. R(ice) 750 A.D. (Fleet).
52. Kandasāla ...	3	,, ,, ...	...	9th	...

PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.—*concld.*

King or Ruler	Donee	Engraver	Remarks
7	8	9	10
Būtuga Nanniya Ganga.	Jain temple ...	...	Date may be 938.
Polavīra Kantāvinīta (?—Mushkara)	Brāhman ...	Not mentioned.	Genuine.
Rājamalla II (or his brother Būtuga).	do ...	Visvakarmāchārya.	Genuine (cf. Narasipur and Guttavādi plates).
Not known (middle plate missing).	Jain ...	...	The mixture of characters casts reasonable doubt on its genuineness—Nagari, Grantha and Old Kannada characters.
Srīpurusha and his son Sivamāra.	do ...	...	Genuine.
Harivarma.	Brāhman ...	Visvakarmāchārya.	Suspicious.
Mārasimha.	Jain ...	...	Genuine.
Avinīta.	Brāhman ...	Apāpa, lord of Bānapura.	,,
Durvinīta.	do ...	G. Ranambāchārya.	,,
Mārasimha I.	do ...	Visvakarmāchārya.	Suspicious.
Simhavarma, son of Krishnavarma.	do ...	Apāpa, lord of Bānapura.	Genuine.
Bhūvikrama.	Sūdra chief Prabhumāra gavunda Bānavidyādhara.	Ganganārāyanāchārya.	,,
Sivamāra called Sivakumāra.	Jain ...	Not given.	...
Mādhavavarma.	Brāhman ...	Not given: Composer. Sōmasarma of the confidential department.	

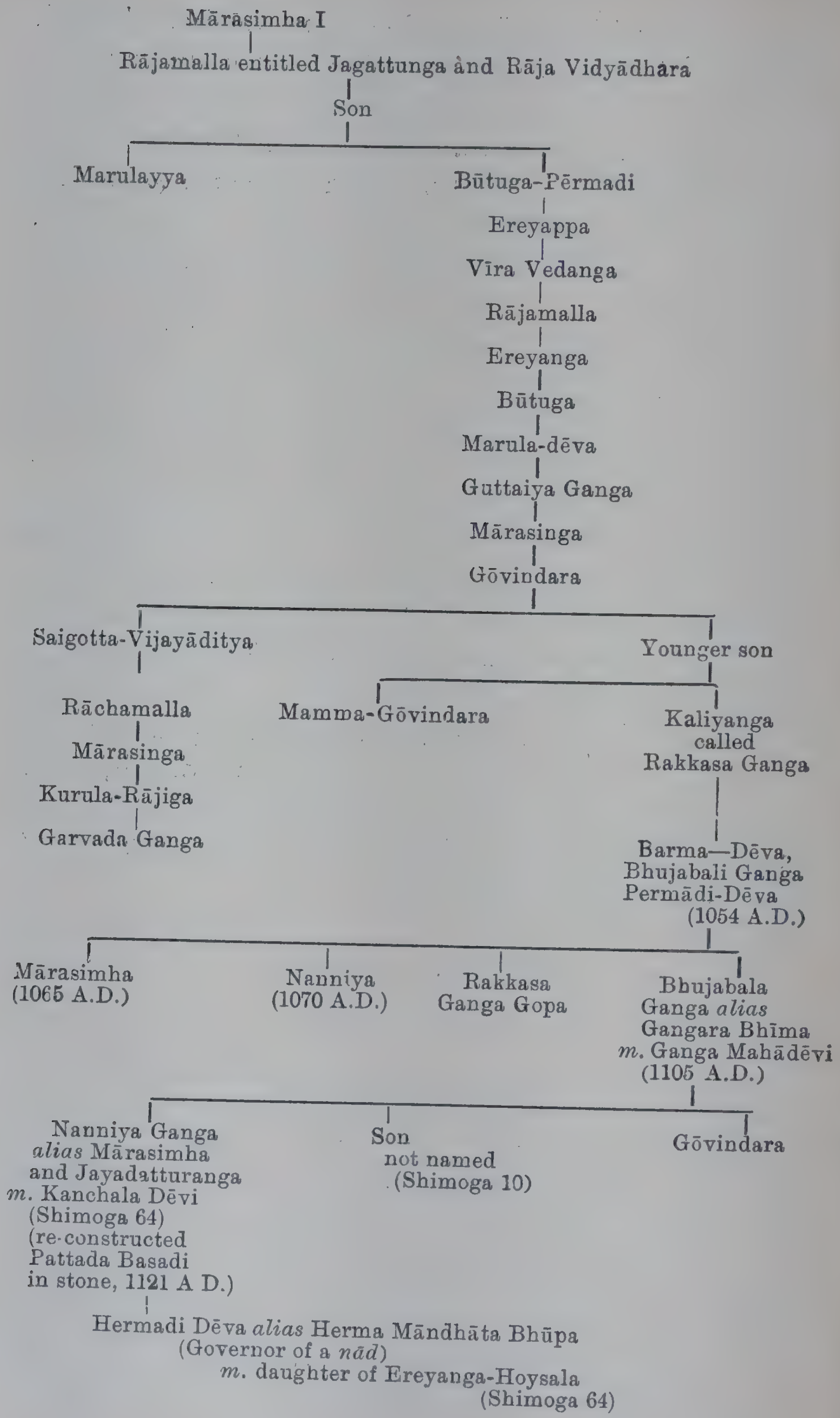
Difference between copper-plates and lithic inscriptions in regard to dates.

From the annexed table it will be seen that the dates as mentioned in the copper-plates do not always agree with those available from the lithic inscriptions. For the earliest kings, we have so far had no contemporaneous lithic or copper-plate inscriptions, *i.e.*, inscriptions of the time to which these kings themselves actually belonged. There are at least three different sections of the genealogical table which deserve to be differentiated from one another. The legendary part is made up of the kings up to Padmanābha. Even Dadiga and Hiriya Mādhava or Mādhava I belong to the same class, for both of them seem all but shadowy. The earliest lithic inscriptions which refer to them are of the 11th and 12th century A.D. and belong to the times of the Chālukyas. The Gangas had then ceased to be an independent ruling power. Among these the Kallurgudda lithic inscription (*E.C.* VII. Shimoga 4) which traces the descent of the dynasty from the legendary Ikshvāku, Harischandra, etc.; the Tattakere lithic inscription, dated in *Saka* 1001 A.D. (*E.C.* VII. Shimoga 10), which mentions Dhananjaya and traces the descent of Mādhava I and Dadiga from him; and the Parale lithic inscription (*E.C.* VII. Shimoga 64) assigned to 1112 A.D. which also traces the descent of the dynasty from Ikshvāku, Harischandra, etc., are the most important. The true historical section might be taken to begin from Kiriya Mādhava or Mādhava II. From Mādhava II to Mushkara, we have to depend almost entirely on copper-plate inscriptions. From Srīvikrama onwards, we have lithic inscriptions as well; while from the time of Sivamāra, we have an increasing number of the latter, with *Saka* dates in several of them.

Collateral Lines.

Descended from Bhūvikrama, we have a *collateral line* of seven generations, ending with Jayatēja. This line is mentioned in the Chikballapur copper-plates. A similar collateral line, descended from Rāchamalla III, is referred to in the undated Ichāvādi lithic inscription, which unfortunately is a great deal defaced and is therefore difficult to read. The main line, however, goes down, practically in unbroken descent, to something like 24 generations counted from Mādhava I, which, whenever it commenced, ended only about 1000 A.D.

Shimoga 4 furnishes the genealogy of a later line of Ganga rulers. The descent of this line is traced through Mārasimha I, while additional information on certain of those mentioned in it are to be found in Shimoga 6, 10 and 64. It may be remarked that the various steps from Mārasimha I to Garvada Ganga are not reconcilable with the descent as traced in the main line from Mārasimha I; secondly, after Kaliyanga *alias* Rakkasa Ganga, there is a break in the table set out below; thirdly, it is not stated how Barma-Dēva Bhujabala Ganga Permādi Dēva was related to Kaliyanga; and fourthly and lastly, Hermadi-Dēva *alias* Herma Māndhāta Bhūpa, who was the last apparently of Barma-Dēva Bhujabala Ganga's line, was, according to Shimoga 64, the son-in-law of Ereyanga of the Hoysala line.


Mārasimha I
Rājamalla entitled Jagattunga and Rāja Vidyādhara
Son
Marulayya
Būtuga-Pērmadi
Ereyappa
Vīra Vedanga
Rājamalla
Ereyanga
Būtuga
Marula-dēva
Guttaiya Ganga
Mārasinga
Gōvindara
Saigotta-Vijayāditya
Younger son
Rāchamalla
Mārasinga
Kurula-Rājiga
Garvada Ganga
Mamma-Gōvindara
Kaliyanga called Rakkasa Ganga
Barma—Dēva, Bhujabali Ganga Permādi-Dēva (1054 A.D.)
Mārasimha (1065 A.D.)
Nanniya (1070 A.D.)
Rakkasa Ganga Gopa
Bhujabala Ganga *alias* Gangara Bhīma *m.* Ganga Mahādēvi (1105 A.D.)
Nanniya Ganga *alias* Mārasimha and Jayadatturanga *m.* Kanchala Dēvi (Shimoga 64) (re-constructed Pattada Basadi in stone, 1121 A D.)
Son not named (Shimoga 10)
Gōvindara
Hermadi Dēva *alias* Herma Māndhāta Bhūpa (Governor of a *nād*) *m.* daughter of Ereyanga-Hoysala (Shimoga 64)

Reconciliation of dates in copper-plate and lithic inscriptions.

The differences observable in regard to dates as mentioned in the several copper-plates and in the lithic inscriptions are, in the present state of our knowledge, hard to reconcile, especially in the case of the early kings of the dynasty. The discovery hereafter of a greater number of lithic inscriptions of a contemporaneous character of the earlier kings might clear up the doubts and difficulties that now exist in this respect. The many new inscriptions, both copper-plate and lithic, which have been unearthed in recent years, encourage us to indulge in the hope that we have not yet exhausted this source of adding to our knowledge of these early kings. A systematic *villagewar* survey of the State and the British Districts in which the ancient Gangas bore rule would, perhaps, yield satisfactory results in this regard. These new discoveries might disclose to us, for instance, more kings between Mādhava I and Mādhava II and between Mādhava II and Harivarma, to enable us to bridge over the long hiatus of time that at present exists between these two sets of kings.

Dadiga and Mādhava I.

Leaving out of account the legendary kings up to Padmanābha, we have, to begin with, Dadiga and Mādhava I. Mādhava I was the first king and his distinctive title is *Konguniварma*, also called Kongulivarma, Kongonivarma and Konginivarma, and in a few cases in the Tamil form Konkanivarma. He seems to have acquired this title by his conquest of Konkana on the West Coast. Subsequent kings appropriated the title, who are also dubbed *Dharma-mahādhirāja* or *Dharma-māhārājādhirāja*. Mr. Rice has tentatively assigned him to about 103 A.D. This date is based on the Kūdlāpur stone inscription (*E.C.* Mysore I Nanjangud 10) dated in 1148 A.D. in the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha I. Though dated in 1148 A.D., this inscription recites the fact that a grant of Kudiyāla was made to one Gōvinda Bhatta by Kongunivarma Dharma-mahādhirāja, the first Ganga (*prathama Gangasya*), in *Saka* 25, *Subakritu*, the 5th of the bright fortnight of *Phalguna*, Saturday, under the asterism Rōhini. *Saka* 25 corresponds to A.D. 103, but as Mr. Rice justly remarks, "without corroboration from other sources," this can "hardly be accepted as deciding the matter, especially as the only other document which professes to give his (Mādhava I Kongunivarma's) date, namely, the Tamil chronicle called *Kongu-dēsa-rājakal* places his reign in *Saka* 111 (A.D. 189)." *Kongu-dēsa-rājakal* (see *M.J.L.S.* XIV. 1), moreover, is as an authority only of limited value; it cannot be accepted in any respect unless what it states in any matter is independently confirmed from creditworthy sources. One guide to fix the date of Mādhava I is to ascertain the date of Simhanandi, who, it is mentioned in many inscriptions as a collateral fact, helped him and his brother Didiga in establishing their power. As he is mentioned with Ēlāchārya Padmanandi, the guru of Sākatāyana, he might be inferred to have lived about the time of Sākatāyana, who, we know, is mentioned as one of his predecessors by Yāska. As Sākatāyana's theory of the verbal origin of names is the sheet-anchor, as it were, of Pānini's system, it may not be remiss to conclude that Sākatāyana belonged to a period anterior to Pānini, who has been assigned to "about 300 B.C." (Mac Donell's *Sanskrit Literature*, 431). In Sravana Belgola 54, (*Ins. at Sravana Belgola*), Simhanandi is mentioned next to Sāmantabhadra, who belongs to the 2nd century A.D. As Simhanandi is mentioned after Sāmantabhadra, the date of Simhanandi cannot be fixed earlier than the period ranging from about the 3rd century B.C. to about the 3rd century A.D. Probably the latter date is nearer the mark. Accordingly, Mādhava I might, until more satisfactory evidence is available, be tentatively assigned to *Circa* 3rd century A.D.

The following table of Ganga kings with dates has been worked out after a careful consideration of all the copper-plate and lithic inscriptions so far published and is given here for puposes of ready reference. The data on which the succession and dates are based will be found in the text below :—

	A.D.
Kongunivarma (Mādhava I)	? 300
Mādhava II	? 350
Harivarma	? 430 (450)
Vishnu-gōpa	?
Tadangala Mādhava, Mādhava III	450-475
Avinīta	? 480
Durvinīta	? 550-600
Mushkara, Makkara	? 550
Srīvikrama	650
Bhūvikrama, Srīvallabha	? 625-670
Sivamāra I	670-713
Ereganga, or Ereyanga	Did not reign
Srīpurusha, Muttarasa	726-776
Sivamāra II, Saigotta	788-812
Mārasimha I (Durvinīta II)	799-?853
Dindiga or Prithīvipati I	? 850
Mārasimha II	
Prithivipati II	921
Nanniya Ganga	921
Rājamalla I, Satyavākya	817
Nītimārga I	853-860
Rājamalla Satyavākya II	870-907
Būtuga I	870-907
Ereyappa, Nītimārga II	887-935
Narasimha Dēva Satyavākya	920
Rājamalla Satyavākya III	920
Būtuga II	? 925-960
Marula Dēva (contemporary of Rāshtrakūta Krishna III)	? 939-968
Mārasimha III	961-974
Rājamalla Satyavākya IV	977
Rakkasa Ganga	984-1024
Arumuli Dēva	Did not reign
Nītimārga III	989 ; 999

Mādhava I, Konguni varma.

To Mādhava I is invariably ascribed the feat of cutting through the stone pillar with a single stroke of his sword; he is therefore the Mādhava of the narrative before given, and in one place is described as but a boy at that time. The succession of kings, on the other hand, was through Dadiga, of whom it is said that with the Kaurava army he stopped the army of the Matsya king. Supposing the founders of the Ganga dynasty to have come from Central India, and matured their plans at Perūr, in Cuddapah District, for the acquisition of Kolar and the midland and southern parts of Mysore, they would soon encounter the opposition of the Mahāvali or Bāna kings, whose western boundary was probably the Pālār, which is close to Kolar on the east. We accordingly find Konguniyarma described as consecrated to conquer the Bāna *mandala*, and as a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest called Bāna. From the east the Ganga princes marched to the west, and are represented as engaged in leading an expedition to the Konkan or western coast, when they came to Mandali, near Shimoga, where, by the advice of Simhanandi, they established a *chaityālaya*. Probably there was a considerable Jain element in the population of Mysore at the time, over whom Simhanandi exerted his influence to gain their acceptance of the Ganga rule.

Mādhava II.

Dadiga's son, Kiriya Mādhava, or the younger Mādhava, succeeded to the throne. He is distinguished as Mādhava II by Mr. Rice, Dadiga's brother being termed Hiriya Mādhava or Mādhava the Elder or Mādhava I. He was born in Kōlāla and was the donor of the grant referred to in the Nandi copper-plates. These plates (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Paras 53-54) are not dated but have been assigned by Mr. Narasimhachar to about 240 A.D., on the basis of the dates to which Mr. Rice has referred the Tanjore and Tagadūr plates to

247 A.D. and 266 A.D. respectively. On linguistic and palæographic grounds, Mr. Narasimhachar, however, suspects the genuineness of the record. Though the grant mentioned in it may be a spurious one, the statements it makes about Mādhava I cannot be treated otherwise than as enshrining what was currently believed about the history of Mādhava I at the time the grant was made, whenever it took place. In this sense, a spurious or forged grant has to be, of necessity, as near a genuine grant as may be possible, if it is to carry weight as a document of title to the property mentioned in it. Apart from this aspect of the matter, the statements this record makes about Mādhava I are mentioned in numerous other grants including the Kandasala copper-plates of this very king (*M.A.R.* 1925, No. 115) dated in the 9th year of his reign. Accordingly the statements of personal history it makes about Mādhava I may be accepted as what was currently believed to be true of him at the time the Nandi record came into existence. Both the Nandi and Kandasala plates refer to him as the son of Konganivarma and describe him as having obtained the honours of sovereignty only for the good of his subjects, as a touchstone for testing gold—the learned and the poets—and as an active soldier who had sustained the family name for military prowess by putting down enemies by his own arms. From the words used in this inscription, Mr. Rice has suggested that he was not at all eager to fill a throne and that he occupied it only for the good government of his subjects. Whether this is so or not, there is little doubt that he held up to himself a high ideal of Government—the good of the ruled. This apparently was his political maxim. He was of a literary turn of mind, for both these plates—and many others of a later date—mention that he was a poet and that he had improved his knowledge by acquaintance with the best principles of various sciences. He was, it

is stated, specially skilled in the theory and practice of the lessons of political science (*Nīti-sāstra*) and—the Kandasale plates add—in the *Upanishads* as well. He was habitually devoted to the worship of the *gurus*, cows and Brāhmans and attached to his devoted subjects distinguishing between his admirers, feudatories, and loyal subjects and servants. The Bedirūr plates state that he was a *kalpa* tree to his followers. He was, we are also told, the author of Dattaka's aphorisms (*Dattaka-sūtravrittēh*). The Bedirūr plates refer to him as the expounder of the treatise by Dattaka. Mr. Rice took *Dattaka-sūtra* to mean the *law of adoption* and suggested that Mādhava II wrote a commentary on the law of adoption. This does not, however, appear to be the correct explanation. Dattaka is mentioned by Vatsyāyana, author of the *Kāma-sūtra*, as having written a separate work on one branch (called *Vaisika*) of the subject, at the instance of the dancing girls of Pātaliputra. Dattaka may be placed in perhaps the 1st century A.D. (*J.R.A.S.* 1911, p.183). Dattaka appears in Kannada as Jattaka. Thus the Hoysala Prince Ereyanga is described in Arsikere 102a as *abalā-Jattaka* or Jattaka to the weaker sex. Accordingly the *Vritti* that Mādhava II is said to have written should have been a brief commentary on the *Vaisika* portion of the *Kāma-sūtra* and not a treatise on the law of Adoption. Recently there has been discovered a *Vritti* or commentary on two *Padas* of the *Dattakasūtras*. (see Report of the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library for 1916-1917 to 1918-1919, page 6).

Harivarma.

Mādhava II was, according to various grants, succeeded by Harivarma. This is the name by which he is mentioned in the Tagadūr copper-plates dated in *Saka* 188 (or 266 A.D.), in the Mudiyanur (Bāna) copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 261 (or 338 A.D.) and in Kūdlūr copper-plates of *Saka* (?) 188 (or ? 266 A.D.). He is mentioned as Arivarma (Tamil form of Harivarma) in the Tanjore copper-plate grant dated in *Saka* 168 or A.D. 248; as Vijaya-Krishna-varma (Krishna being the same as Hari) in the Bendaganahalli copper-plates dated in the first year of his reign and assigned to about 400 A.D. by Mr. Narasimhachar; and as Āryavarma in the Penukonda copper-plates, assigned by Sir John Fleet to about 475 A.D. Of these different copper-plate grants, the Tagadūr, Tanjore and Kūdlūr ones have been treated as spurious. The Penukonda and Bendaganahalli plates have been accepted—the one by Sir John Fleet and the other by Mr. Narasimhachar—as genuine from almost every point of view. The period of Harivarma will have to be assigned to a time somewhat anterior to 475 A.D., the probable date of the Penukonda plates. These plates mention the fact that Harivarma was installed on the throne (*abhishikta*) by Simhavarma, the Indra (*i.e.*, king) of Pallavas. Simhavarma I of the Pallava line commenced to rule about 438 A.D. (see *ante*). It follows from this that Harivarma should have been anointed king somewhere about the middle of the 5th century A.D., which, if correct, would bring the date of the Bendaganahalli grant of this king closer to that of the Penugonda grant of Mādhava III, with which it palæographically, linguistically and otherwise also agrees so well. As the Bendaganahalli grant is of the first year of his reign, this disposal of the matter gives Harivarma sufficient time for his own rule and for the rule of his successors, Vishnugōpa and Prithvīganga, whom some accounts mention, before we reach to the time of Tandangāla Mādhava or Mādhava III, the donor of the grant mentioned in the Penukonda plates. Harivarma is stated to have removed the capital to Talkād, situated on the Cauvery in the South-East of the Mysore District. He is commonly described as having employed elephants in war, and having gained great wealth by the use of the bow. The Tanjore grant, already referrred to (*I.A.* VIII. 212), records a gift by him of the village of Orekōdu, in the Maisūr-nād Seventy (identified with Varakōdu in the east of Mysore Taluk, near where Hancha, one of the boundary villages mentioned in the grant, still exists) under circumstances which recall to mind stories of religious disputations recorded by Hieun-Tsiang. A Buddhist disputant named Vādimadagajēndra (literally, a rutting elephant as a disputant) in the pride of his learning affixed to the main door of the palace at Tālavana-pura (*i.e.*, Talkād) a *patra* (a written palmyra leaf) as a challenge in which he asserted the claim that he was the foremost scholar in logic, grammar, and all other branches of learning. On this a Brāhman named Mādhava-bhatta put his pretensions to the proof before the king, and when the opponent denied the existence of the soul, established its existence, and with the elephant-goad his speech forced him to crouch down like a vanquished elephant. The king being pleased, gave the victorious Brāhman adversary the title of *Vādibhasimha* (a lion to the elephant disputant) and with it the Orekōdu village. As Mr. Rice remarks, whatever objection may be taken to this copper-plate inscription on palæographical or other grounds, it must be admitted that "the details related in it are singularly in keeping with its professed period." With this story may be compared the disputation of Dēva Bōdhisatva, the disciple of the famous Nāgārjuna, with the heretics of Vaisali and of Asvaghōsha's disputation with a Brāhman mentioned in Hieun Tsiang's travels in India. (*Si-yu-ki* or *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* 97 and 100). As Hieun-Tsiang belongs to the 7th century A.D., this mode of disputation seems to have continued in India even at the time of Hieun Tsiang's visit to it. The Tagadūr grant (*E.C.* Mysore I, Nanjangud 122) records the gift of

Appogal village to a *gavunda* (or farmer) who had made important captures in a battle at Henjeru (Hemāvati). The Bendaganahalli plates mention a grant made by Krishnavarma of a village named Karaura in the Paruvishaya (or Paruvi-vishaya) which occurs in other inscriptions, including the Penukonda Plates. Paruvi has been identified with modern Parigi, 7 miles north of Hindupur in the Anantpur District, well-known for its capacious tank. It is mentioned in early inscriptions as the capital of Bānas (*q.v.*) and in the time of the Chōla king Rājarāja I, it was the chief place of the Parivai *nādu* in the Nulambapadi district. The Kūdlūr plates mention another grant of his to a Brāhman Vēdic and Vēdānta scholar. It is that of Bageyur in Badagadhe-nādu Three-Hundred. The *Kongu Chronicle*, abovenamed, also mentions a second grant of his at Tagadur (*i.e.*, modern Dharmapuri) in 288 A.D. to Brāhmans for the worship of Mūlasthāna Īsvara. (*I.A.* I. 361). This alleged grant has not so far been confirmed.

Vishnugōpa

Harivarma's son Vishnugōpa is, as his predecessors are, described as devoted to the worship of *gurus*, cows and Brāhmans. He was, according to the Bedirūr Plates, a meditator on the feet of Nārāyana (*i.e.*, Vishnu). His change of faith caused the five royal tokens given by Indra to vanish, as foretold in the original warning. In kingly policy, he was, we are told, the equal of Brihaspati and in valour equal to Sakra (*i.e.*, Indra). He must have lived to a great age, as he is said to have retained his mental energy unimpaired to the end of life. (Doddballapur 67).

Tadangāla Mādhava or Mādhava III.

His son or grandson was Tadangāla Mādhava, whose arms were grown stout and hard with athletic exercises. Of him it is said that he purchased his kingdom by his personal strength and valour. (Dodballapur 68). He married a sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarma, and is described as the reviver of donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brāhman endowments. The Tagarti grant of his, in an extraordinary jumble of alphabets, records a gift for bravery at Henjeru. (*I.A.* VII. 172 and *E.C.* VII. Shikarpur 172). It is stated in this inscription that he forced his way into Henjeru and rescued Rājamalla's wife and guards. This professes to be dated in *Saka*? 279 (=? 359). Among his other grants are the Nonamangala grant (*E.C.* X Malur 73) dated in his 13th year to a Jain temple; the Melekote grant (*M.A.R.* 1910) to a Buddhist *Vihāra*; and the Penukonda grant (*E.I.* XIV. No. 24) to a Brāhman. From the last of these, we learn that he was installed on the throne by the Pallava king Skandavarman and that he assumed the additional Pallava name of Simhavarman. The Skandavarman mentioned in these plates has been identified with Skandavarman III, son of Simhavarman I of the Sānskrit charters (see *ante*). The Ganga kings Mādhava III and his predecessor Harivarma were apparently feudatories of the Pallavas. Accordingly the earliest time to which Mādhava III can be assigned appears to be the middle of the 5th century A.D., though he might have been ruling about 475 A.D., the date to which this Penukonda grant has been assigned. A comparison of the genealogies furnished by the Penukonda, the Chukuttur and Kondanjeruvu Plates suggest that Mādhava III was the son of Vishnugōpa, who was himself the son of Harivarma; and that Vishnugōpa had two brothers (whether uterine or half, it cannot be said) named Simhavarma and Vīravarma Yuvarāja. These two are mentioned in the Chukuttur Plates. It is possible that Simhavarma of these plates ruled over a part of the country. (See *M.A.R.* 1924, Para 91). In the Shimoga stone inscription (Shimoga 4), however, Mādhava III is described as the grandson of Harivarma, his father being Prithvī Ganga, who could not have ruled. In the Melekote and Malūr grants, Mādhava III appears as Mādhavavarma. If the former grant may be taken to be a genuine grant, it is inferrable that in the fifth century A.D. there were many resident Buddhists in the Ganga kingdom. This grant records a land grant to a Buddhasatva, apparently in favour of a Buddhist *vihāra*. In another part of the grant, a hill or boulder known as *Sākyasila* (or the Rock of Buddha) is mentioned as one of the boundaries of the land granted, and it is specifically stated that the gold within the boundaries stated and the cloths covering the corpses in the cemetery were also included in the grant. While his grants show that he was tolerant to all the leading religions of his time, it is said of him that he favoured the worship of Tryambaka (Siva) and revived the donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brāhman endowments, being daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the Kaliyuga, in which it had sunk. (See Kondanjeruvu Plates, *M.A.R.* 1923-1924, Page 68; Bedirūr Plates, *M.A.R.* 1925, Page 87.). He is described as having been ever ready for battle and as skilled in the handling of the thirty-two weapons. This and the similar grant abovementioned point to encounters with the Pallavas.

Avinīta.

The son of Mādhava III, by the Kadamba princess, was Avinīta, who was crowned while an infant in his mother's lap. He married the daughter of Skandavarma, Rāja of Punnād. In the Manne Plates of Rājamalla I, dated in 828 A.D., he is called Kaliganga and there is a distinct suggestion in them to his being crowned while still an infant. Of him it is related that on coming to the Cauvery he heard a voice say *sata-jīvi* (a prediction that he would live for a hundred years), on which, to the consternation of his attendants, he plunged into the river and crossed over in safety, though it was in full flood, thus acquiring the name of Churchuvāyda Ganga. Both he and his son are said to have been like Manu in maintaining the castes and religious orders of the South. Five grants of his reign have been found of the 1st, 2nd, 25th, 29th and 36th years. The first and last are to Jain temples and the others to Brāhmans. In 1 he is called Kongunivarma, in 3 Konkanivarma, in 3 and 4 Kongani, and in 5 Kongani Avanīta. The Sīrgunda stone (Chikmagalur 50) calls him Nirvinīta. The Jain temples to which the grants were made were in the Punnād Ten Thousand and one of the grants was by the minister of Akālavarsha (a Rāshtrakūta king). The Punnād Ten Thousand formed the southern portion of Mysore, and seems to correspond with the Padi-nād or Ten-nād country of later inscriptions. A grant of the Pun-nād Rājas, the date of which cannot be determined, has been found, from which their capital seems to have been Kitthipura. It gives the following succession of kings:—Rāshtravarma; his son Nāgadatta; his son Bhujaga who married the daughter of Singavarma; their son Skandavarma; his son the Punnāta Rāja Ravidatta. (*I.A.*, XII, 13; XVIII, 366). Punnād seems idential with the Pounnuta of Ptolemy, where beryl was found. (Col. Yule's *Map of Ancient India*. See Dr. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography*. Qadiyur in Coimbatore district produced beryl—see *I.A.*, V. 237). The Jain grants are contained in the Nonamangala and the Mercara Plates. The Brāhman grants are on the Srīngēri (which includes the grant of his *brihaddēvi* or senior queen), the Bangalore Residency and the Mallohalli Plates. The grant referred to in the Kondanjeruvu Plates is also to a Brāhman donee. From Dodballapur 67, we may infer that 431 A.D. was the first of his year, but as this and Dodballapur 68 (both copper-plates) have been, in some quarters, held to be spurious, that date will have to be treated as doubtful. Moreover, as pointed out by Mr. Narasimhachar, the date of Dodballapur 67 has been based on a misreading of the inscription (*M.A.R.* 1911-1912, Para 68) which cannot be sustained. Nor does it agree with the later date we have now to fix for Mādhava III, from the standpoint of the Penukonda Plates, which have been held to be genuine on all hands. In the Srīngēri Plates he is described as the abode of heroism and in fame excelling Indra and as unrivalled in managing elephants, riding horses and wielding the bow, as ever ready to protect his subjects, and as, in short, a Yudhisthira of his age. Though Avinīta's chief queen is mentioned, her name is not given in her grant. In the Narasimharājapura Plates of King Srīpurusha, which, though not dated, are assigned to the 8th century and held to be genuine by Mr. Narasimhachar, the name *Avinīta* (literally ill-behaved) as applied to this king, who is called only Konkanivarma in some of the grants, is explained as meaning, " who was so only in respect of the hosts of ill-behaved kings." According to Malūr 72, it might be inferred he was brought up as a Jain, the learned Vijayakīrti being his preceptor. In Dodballapur 68, he is spoken of as first among the learned, of unstinted liberality, and devoted to protecting the South in the maintenance of castes and religious order. In Dodballapur 67, he appears as the donor of a village to a Brāhman of Tippur, in Dodballapur Taluk, with freedom from all the eighteen castes. He is, at this time, represented as holding Brāhmans in great respect and as being devoted to the worship of Hara (*i.e.*, Siva). This, however, did not interfere with making a grant to a Jain a little later. (Mercara Plates in *Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 1).

Durvinīta.

Avinīta's son was Durvinīta, one of the most interesting of the Ganga kings. There are seven copper-plate grants of his belonging to his 3rd, 4th, 20th (2), 35th and 40th (2). These are the Bangalore Museum, Kadagattur, Uttanur (2), Mallohalli, Gummareddipura and Nallala Plates. All these record grants to Brāhman donees. The name *Durvinīta*, which literally means "wicked" or "ill-behaved," is like, *Avinīta*, explained in the Narasimharājapura plates of Srīpurusha, as meaning "ill-behaved or wicked only in respect of *Durvinīta* Kali." A similar explanation is given in the Tagure Plates of Polavīra (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Para 61 and *M.A.R.* 1917-1918, Para 74). Of these, the two Uttanur, the Gummareddipura and the Nallala grants have been declared as genuine (see *M.A.R.*, 1915-1916, Paras 64-66; *M.A.R.* 1916-1917, Paras 75-76; *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, Paras 65-66 and *M.A.R.* 1923-1924, Para 93). The first set of Uttanur Plates of this king (*M.A.R.* 1915-1916, Paras 64-66) give us a clue to his date. The numerical symbol used for the date yields the date *Saka* 400 or 478 A.D. (see *M.A.R.* 1923-1924, Para 69). As the grant is of his 20th year, his first regnal year should be set down at 458 A.D., which, judging from the date assigned to the Penukonda Plates, seems obviously out of the question. Mr. Narasimhachar assigns the Gummireddipura grant of this king to about 550 A.D., which seems nearer the mark (*M.A.R.* 1911-1912, Para 68). He thinks that the reference to Jayasimha in this grant is to the Chālukya king Jayasimha, grand-father of Pulakēsi I, who is said to have been at war with the Pallavas and to have been eventually slain by a Pallava king. As this Jayasimhavallabha is described as the daughter's son of Durvinīta in this grant, this synchronism helps us to fix his date. His period may therefore be taken broadly, as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachar, as the first half of the 6th century A.D. Mr. Narasimhachar, however, in his remarks on the Kūdlūr Plates of Mārasimha III (*M.A.R.* 1920-21, Paras 58-59) has shifted Durvinīta to a slightly later date, following the synchronism (Durvinīta, Vishnuvardhana I (Eastern Chālukya) and Simhavishnu of the Pallava dynasty) suggested by the *Avantisundarī Kathā-sāra.* He has suggested that Durvinīta's period may be taken to be between 605 to 650 A.D. This seems a date rather much too late for him, though it is quite possible he might have lived quite up to the end of the 7th century A.D. This will agree with the dates of his successors arrived at independently. Several copper-plates tell us that he was set aside from the succession to the throne by his father, on the advice of his *guru*, in favour of another (apparently younger) son, no doubt by a different mother. This action was apparently supported by the Kāduvetti (or Pallava) and Vallava (or Rāshtrakūta) kings, who, (states Chikmagalur, 50) placed the younger son on the Ganga throne. But Durvinīta found means to defeat this conspiracy, for the Gummareddipura Plates tell us that Lakshmi (the goddess of Sovereignty) of her own accord came and embraced his broad chest. There is reason to believe that he may have allied himself with the Prince of the Chālukya dynasty, who then first appeared in the south, by giving him his daughter in marriage. The son by this union, named Jayasimha Vallabha, was placed on the Pallava throne by Durvinīta, who had captured the Pallava king on the field of battle. He seems to have extended the Ganga dominion to the south and east, for he is said to have waged sanguinary wars for the possession of Andari, Ālattūr, (in the modern Coimbatore District), Porulare (? in Chingleput District), Pennāgara (in Salem District) and other places, and is described as ruler of the whole of Pannād and Punnād as if he had annexed them (Tumkur 23). These were apparently fiercely fought battles, for the Bedirūr grant says of them that the number of those who fell in them was so great that it caused bewilderment to the fire of Yama. In the same grant, Durvinīta is referred to as endowed with the three constituents of regal power (*prabhāsakti*, *mantrasakti* and *utsāhasakti*, *i.e.*, imperial power, power of discretion and power of active will). It was not alone by victories that he gained a name, for he was distinguished also as a scholar. He is said to have written a commentary on the 15th *Sarga* of the *Kirātārjunīya*, the Sanskrit poem by Bhāravi. This *Sarga* is remarkable for being entirely composed in verbal puzzles and riddles. One stanza contains no consonant but *n*, with a single *t* at the end; in another, each half line read backwards is similar to the other half. The *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, discovered by the Madras Oriental MSS. Library (see *Report* for 1916-1917 to 1918-1919, page 69), mentions in its introductory chapter that Bhāravi stayed for some time in the court of Durvinīta and that he was a contemporary of Vishnuvardhana I, evidently the Easten Chālukya king and of Simhavishnu, the Pallava king of Kānchi. If Bhāravi did stay, as stated in this work, then it is possible that Durvinīta, who was a great Sānskrit scholar, might have exercised his skill in commenting on the 15th *Sarga* of his work, which is full of alliteration and other forms of verbal ornament. The story as told in this work has been thus summarized:—

"In the city of Kānchi in the south of India ruled a king of the Pallavas named Simhavishnu who was a great patron of learning. One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of the Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu. On hearing the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse, the king enquired of the stranger who the author of the verse was. He replied thus: 'In the north-west there is a town named Ānandapura, the crest-jewel of Ārya-dēsa, from which a family of Brāhmans of the Kausika-gōtra migrated and settled at Achalāpura. Nārāyanaswāmi, a member of this family, had a son named Damōdara, who became a friend of Vishnuvardhana. On one occasion he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin he set out on a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinīta. He is the author of this verse.' On hearing this account the king, desirous of seeing the poet, invited him to his court. The poet caused great joy to the king by reciting his poems. The king gave him a respectable dwelling to live in and supplied all his wants."

Mr. Narasimhachar remarks on this story thus:—

"This extract establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Simhavishnu, the Ganga king Durvinīta and the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana (I). This connection of Durvinīta with Bhāravi affords a clear explanation of the statement in most of the grants that Durvinīta was the author of a commentary on the 15th *sarga* of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*. The period of Durvinīta, according to the newly discovered work, will thus be the first half of the 7th century. And this is exactly the period assigned to the Gummareddipura Plates of Durvinīta by Dr. Fleet on palæographic grounds. Durvinīta had a long reign of more than forty years; his period may be taken to be 605 to 650."

But, as suggested before, this is a date much too late for him—by at least half a century—though he might well have lived quite up to the end of the 7th century A.D. (see *ante*).

He is also said to have been himself the author of a *Sabdāvatāra*, the name of a *nyāsa* on Pānini always attributed to the Jain grammarian Pūjyapāda. Possibly Pūjyapāda was his preceptor, as the latter's *Jainēndra* belongs to the latter part of the 5th century A.D. (*I.A.* XLIII, 211) and he was probably a contemporary. Durvinīta is besides said to have made a Sanskrit version of the *Vaddakathā*, that is, the *Brihatkathā*. which is written in the Paisāchi dialect. (Gummareddipura Plates, *M.A.R.* 1911-1912, Para 67 and Uttanur Plates, *M.A.R.* 1915-1916, Paras 65-66). This makes it clear that Durvinīta was an earlier translator into Sanskrit of the *Brihatkathā* than either Sōmadēva or Kshēmēndra.

There is, in Mr. Rice's opinion, a great probability that this Durvinīta is the one named in Nripatunga's *Kavirājamārga* among the distinguished early Kannada authors. If this surmise is confirmed more definitely, it will make Durvinīta a great Kannada prose writer as well, thus rendering his many sided scholarship really worthy of admiration. The Gummareddipura Plates say of him that he was the son of Jyēshtā; that he was adorned with, among others, the title of *Avinītasthiraprajālya*; that he was equal to Krishna, the ornament of the Vrishni race and of his lineage; and that he was an abode of matchless strength, prowess, glory, modesty, learning and magnanimity. It states that the grant was made on the anniversary of his birthday in the 40th victorious year of his reign. This inscription also confirms what is stated in Dodballapur 68 and Tumkur 23 and in both the Uttanur Plates that Durvinīta was the son of the daughter of Skandavarma (also called Skandavarma-durggāpirāja in the Bedirūr Plates), the king of Punnata; that daugther's name is given as Jyēshta. This princess, as of royal lineage, claimed, we are told in Dodballapur 68, the privilege of *svayamvara* by choosing a husband for herself, though from her birth she had been intended by her father, on the advice of his *guru*, for the son of another. The Uttanur Plates describe him as resembling Vaivasvata Manu in the protection he afforded to the castes and religious orders and as fully able to protect the southern region; as kind to all; and as possessed of loyal subjects. In the Tagare grant of Polavīra, he is called Nirvinīta instead of Durvinīta, while his father's name is correctly given as Avinīta. The name Nirvinīta occurs in the old Sirgunda stone inscription (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 50) which has been assigned to about 500 A.D. In Polavīra's grant the names Avinīta and Nirvinīta are explained by adding the prefixes *ahita* and *ari-narapa* to them, thus giving us to understand that the kings were wicked or ill-behaved only to their enemies. The full names according to this grant would be Ahitāvinīta and Arinarapa-Nirvinīta. In the Manne grant of Rājamalla I, dated in 828 A.D., Durvinīta is described as a Yudhishtira in virtuous conduct and an expert in the theory and practice of politics.

Mushkara or Mokkara.

Durvinīta was succeeded by his son Mushkara or Mokkara, of whom little is known. From the Tagare grant of Polavīra, it appears that Nirvinīta (as above the same as Durvinīta) had a son Polavīra, who made that grant. His name appears as Kāntāvinīta (probably meaning well-behaved towards women) in it. Mr. Narasimhachar, who thinks that this grant is a genuine one, despite the fact that it is undated, suggests that Durvinīta had either two sons Mushkara and Polavīra, or that Mushkara was identical with Polavīra. He assigns the grant to the middle of the 6th century A.D., which seems probable. Mushkara is said to have married the Sindhu Rāja's daughter. (*I.A.* XIV. 229). Savage kings are said to have rubbed against one another in paying homage at his feet. A Jaina (Ganga) temple (called Mokkara-vasati) was erected in his name at Lakshmēsvara in the Mirāj State in the Dharwar District. The erection of this memorial points to an extension of the Ganga kingdom in that direction. From this time the Gangas seem to have adhered more steadily to the Jain religion.

Srīvikrama.

Muskhara's son was Srīvikrama, of whose reign a stone inscription has been found. He was the son by the Sindhu princess. Of him no particulars are recorded, except that he was the abode of fourteen branches of learning and well versed in the science of politics in all its branches. The lithic inscription above referred to is a *vīrgal* recording a grant for the death of a hero

Perankōvan and the grant of a *nettar-patti* in his name (*M.A.R.* 1916-1917, Para 77). As Mr. Narasimhachar assigns the grant to the middle of the 7th century A.D., Srīvikrama may be set down to about 650 A.D. or thereabouts. Either he or his son Bhūvikrama may be the Vikrama-Ganga mentioned in the Manne Plates of Rājamalla I dated in 828 A.D.

Bhūvikrama. Srīvikrama had two sons, who in turn succeeded him. Of them, the elder, Bhūvikrama, was the son of a daughter of a Chōla king, descended, we are told, from the family of Karikāla, reputed for the construction of embankments to the Cauvery. (Bedirūr grant of Bhūvikrama, *M.A.R.* 1925, No. 105). This reference to Karikāla Chōla is interesting as his construction of the embankments to the Cauvery has been hitherto known only from tradition. This is an epigraphical confirmation of the ancient tradition. He is described in the Kulagana grant of his brother Sivamāra I that he was a skilful rider, beautiful in body and pleasing to the eye and hearts of beautiful women. He was apparently a great warrior, whose chest was, it is stated, marked with the scars of wounds inflicted by the tusks of elephants in countless battles. He defeated (? conquered) the Pallava king Narasimhapōtavarma in a great battle, and is said to have captured the whole of the Pallava kingdom. Some other details are furnished by *E.C.* III, Mandya 113 and *E.C.* XII, Tumkur 23. On account of his successes in war, he received the title of Srīvallabha, and in *E.C.* III, Seringapatam 16, he is called Dugga. He is said to have made Mankuda—in the present Channapatna Taluk—the royal residence. From Mandya 113, we obtain the date 670 A.D. for the end of his reign. His Bedirūr grant, dated in *Saka* 556 or A.D. 634, which has been described to be a genuine one, states that he fought a hundred battles with the Pallavas, whom he eventually vanquished at Vilanda. This grant is not to a Brāhman or a Jain but to a feudatory of his, a Sachchūdra of the Bānas, known as Mahāvīrabhata Vikramāditya gavunda. He was apparently a descendant of the Bānas. The date of the grant is the 25th year of Bhūvikrama's reign corresponding to *Saka* 556. Accordingly he must have commenced to rule from about *Saka* 531 or 625 A.D. If that was his last year, he must have ruled from about 625 A.D. to about 670 A.D.

His collateral descendants.

Bhūvikrama was, in the main Ganga line, succeeded by his brother Sivamāra I. But he commenced a collateral line as well which is referred to in the Chikballapur Plates of Jayatēja. (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Paras 59-61). Jeyatēja traces his descent from Srīvikrama and mentions amongst his ancestors, after Srīvikrama, Srīvallabha (*i.e.*, Bhūvikrama); Kannakari-Rāja, born in the race of Kannayya (? Kānva-yāna); Parmakulamahādhirāja; Ajavarma, entitled Kaduvishama; Singadi; Ajavarma; his son Nipatēja (probably Nripatēja); and then himself, as Nipatēja's son. Jayatēja's alternative name was Dattiya. The grant was made in the 17th regnal year of the Rāshtrakūta king Vrittabhuja Prabhūtavarsha Jagattunga, son of Dhārāvarsha Kalivallabha Vēna. The donor of the grant was Ratnāvali, the mother of Bānarasa Daddanarādhīpa and the beloved queen of Bāna-Vidyādhara-rāja. The donee was Īsvara-Dēva, the chief disciple of the Kālāmukha guru Kālasakti, the head of the *matha* in the temple of Nandi, who was to maintain it as a *dēvabhōga* in favour of the Siva temple, which queen Ratnāvali caused to be erected at Nandi. It is inferable from this grant that about the time it was made, part of the Ganga kingdom had been overrun by the Rāshtrakūtas and was actually in their possession. Jayatēja was apparently a Rāshtrakūta feudatory and the Koyatur 12,000 in which Nandi was included was under one Paddāge, a subordinate of his. Also Saivism had about this time come to hold its own against the dominant Jain religion and the Kālāmukhas were being patronised. As the 17th regnal year of Prabhūtavarsha Jayattunga falls in 810 A.D., Jayatēja may be set down to about the beginning of the 9th century and as such probably the contemporary of the Ganga king Prithvīpati I of the main line.

Attacks on Gangas.

Information is still meagre as to the attacks suffered by the Gangas at the hands of neighbouring rulers. We have referred above to the Rāshtrakūta invasion. During the 6th and 7th centuries, while the Gangas were engaged in their conquests to the east and south, we hear of attacks on them in the north-west. The Kadamba king Mrigēsavarma claims (*I.A.* VI. 24) to have overthrown (*utsadi*) the lofty (*tunga*) Gangas, which apparently indicates no more than some encroachment on their territory, as they were certainly not overthrown in the usual sense of that word. The more powerful Chālukyas, who were invading the South and subdued the Kadambas in the sixth century, naturally came into contact with the Gangas. Thus Kīrtivarma, who reigned from 566 to 597 A.D., is said (*I.A.* XIX. 17) to have inflicted damage (*avamardda*) on them as well as on a number of other kings. And in about 608 A.D. the Ganga and Ālupa kings (the latter belonging to South Kanara) are said (*E.I.* VI. 10) to have felt the highest pleasure in attending on Pulikēsi. In 694 A D., they are said (Davangere 66) to have been, along with the other principal kings of the South, brought into his service by Vinayāditya. But in this passage the Ālupas and Gangas are distinguished by the epithet *maula*, which means ancient, of long standing, and of original unmixed descent,—unimpeachable testimony to their having been long established in their kingdoms, and that their ancestry could be traced back for a considerable period. It also seems to show that they were entitled to special consideration.

Sivamāra I.

In the main Ganga line, Bhūvikrama was followed by his brother Sivamāra I. He is mentioned as Sivakumāra (also Avanimahēndra, Sthīra Vinīta Prithvīkongani) in his Kulagana copper-plates (*M.A.R.* 1925, No. 106), which might be assigned to about 725 A.D. For him we have, besides, the Hebbur copper-plates (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 23) which might be set down to about 680 A.D., the Hallagere copper-plate grant (*E.C.* III, Mandya 113) of his 34th regnal year, dated in *Saka* 635, or A.D. 713; the British Museum grant (*I.A.* XIV, 229) of about 720 A.D. and the Bhaktarahalli lithic inscription, which might belong to about 725 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1918-1919, Para 62). The donee of the Hebbur grant is not known as plates 3 and 6 are missing; while the donees of the rest of the grants are Brāhmans. In the Kulagana record, a grant to a Jain temple is mentioned. In the Hebbur and British Museum grants, Sivamāra receives the name of Navakāma. The Kulagana grant characterises him as "modest" in behaviour and "famous as Avani-Mahēndra" and terms him "lord of the whole of Pūnanta and Punnata country." In the Keregodi-Rangapura Plates of Rājamalla II, he is described in eloquent terms as *sishta-priya* and *nava-kāma* with the remark super-added that his fame in destroying the hosts of his enemies was the theme of song. The title *sishta-priya* (meaning "beloved of the god") occurs in Mandya 113 (*E.C.* III) and is the one by which he describes and signs himself. According to this grant, he had two Pallava princes in his charge, perhaps as hostages, or as their guardian, which goes to confirm—writes Mr. Rice—the account of his elder brother's conquests. They were the sons of the Pallava *Yuvarāja*, who is not named, and are called

Pallavādhirājas. Beginning with Nanjangud 26 of this reign, which records a grant in the Punnād 6000, stone inscriptions become the general rule. A *vīrgal* at Bhaktarhalli, Hoskōte Taluk, refers itself to Sivamāra. It mentions a Pallava incursion. This may have been a local raid. Mr. Narasimhachar assigns it to 750 A.D., but it may be more correctly set down to about 725 A.D.

Ereganga, his unnamed son.

Mr. Rice thinks that the Ereganga of the British Museum Plates (*I.A.* XIV, 229) who is described as governing Torenād 500, the Kongalnād 2000, and the Male 1000, and who is stated to have made a grant to Vinadi and Kēsadi, the chief temple priests of Panekodupadi, may have been Sivamāra's son, though not so stated and unnamed in the genealogical lists. As the heir-apparent seems often to have been appointed governor of Kengalnād, along with other western provinces, he suggests that Ereganga may have been Sivamāra's son. He might have died before ascending the throne.

Srīpurusha.

Srīpurusha, the grand-son of Sivamāra I, seems to have succeeded him. As Sivamāra's son Ereganga is not mentioned in the genealogies, Mr. Rice has suggested that he might probably have died before his father (see above). Srīpurusha's personal name was Muttarasa, though he is referred to by many different titles and appellations, *e.g.*, Muttaiya, a variant of Muttarasa; Prithvī-kongani; Konkani-Muttarasa; Permānadi; Srīvallabha; Baddane; Bhīmakōpa and Ranabhajana. Of these, Permānadi, wrested by him from the Pallavas and handed down to his descendants, seems to have implied supremacy. The Narasimharājapura Plates, held to be genuine by Mr. Narasimhachar, are alone in describing him as the *son* of *Srīvikrama*, who according to the rest of the plates, is the *father* of *Sivamāra*, his (Srīpurusha's) grand-father. The Narasimharājapura Plates, however, differ in other details also in matters genealogical. (See *M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Paras 61-62). For Srīpurusha we have numerous copper-plate and lithic inscriptions. Among the former are the following:—The Nandi Plates of his 3rd regnal year or A.D. 728 to a Brāhman donee (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914); the Surgur grant to 12 Brāhman donees (*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 4) which may be assigned to 730 A.D.; Kondajji Agrahāra grant to a Brāhman donee (*M.A.R.* 1907) in the 7th regnal year and falling in 733 A.D.; Javali grant to a Brāhman donee (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 36) dated in the 25th regnal year in *Saka* 672 or 750 A.D.; Islāmpūr grant to a Brāhman (*E.I.* XII, 48) in the 30th regnal year or A.D. 756; Hosur grant to a Brāhman donee (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 47 and *M.J.L.S.* 1878) dated in *Saka* 684 or A.D. 762; Devarhalli grant to a Jain temple (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 85 and *I.A.* II, 155, 370) dated in the 50th regnal year in *Saka* 698 or 776 A.D.; and Narasimharājapura grant to a Jain *Chaityālaya* (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920), which might be set down to about 780 A.D. Of lithic inscriptions there are the following: the Halkur one dated in *Saka* 710 or 788 A.D. and the Oddepatti one, dated in the 7th and 27th regnal years, or 733 A.D. and 753 A.D. Apart from these three lithic inscriptions actually dated in the *Saka* era or regnal years, there are many others giving no dates but clearly assignable to either about 750, 770, 775, 780 or 788 A.D. (See *Table*). Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 1 (*E.C.* III) is a stone inscription at Talakādu (Talkād) which though not dated is of his first year, and accordingly must fall in 726 A.D.; Nagar 85 is of his 50th year, or 776 A.D.; Kolar 78, of his 27th year or 752 A.D., is a stone inscription of his at Madivala (*E.C.* X); and Mulbagal 80 of his 42nd year or 768 A.D. (*E.C.* X). We have only one stone inscription with a *Saka* date for him and that is the Halkur pillar-like stone mentioned above, which is dated in *Saka* 710 or 788 A.D., which would be the 62nd year of his reign. (*M.A.R.* 1917-1918, Para 76). We have thus records of his, either copper-plate or lithic or both kinds of inscriptions, from his first to the 62nd regnal year. His date is absolutely fixed by the Jāvali Plates, which give *Saka* 672 (=A.D. 750) as his 25th year, confirmed by the Devarhalli plates of *Saka* 698 (=A.D. 776) as his 50th year, both verified by Dr. Kielhorn and Sir John Fleet. These, combined with the Penukonda Plates, assigned to 475 A.D. by Sir John Fleet, serve to regulate the dates of the Ganga kings to the end of the 8th century A.D. Before 773 A.D., Srīpurusha removed the royal residence to Manne or Manyapura, in the Nelamangala Taluk, about 30 miles north-west of Bangalore. Bannur seems to be called his town (Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 115) and his house was apparently situated there. Before he ascended the throne, he seems to have ruled over Kerekunda 300, and the Elenagarnād 70, the Avarya-nād 30 and the Ponkunda 12 (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 86 and *E.C.* X, Bowringpet 13). The latter calls him Mādhava Muttarasa and speaks of the army marching against Mahāvali Bānarasa. A *vīrgal* at Tatikallu in Mulbagal Taluk (*M.A.R.* 1923, Ins. 30, pages 52-53) refers to him as Prithvīkongani Muttayya and as ruling under the Bānas. It is not dated, but as it mentions the Bāna kings, a synchronism with the Bāna kings is established by it. According to the Gudimallam inscriptions, Malla, or Jagadēkamalla, was the Bāna king under whom Srīpurusha Muttarasa held sway. (*E.I.* XI. 222; *I.A.* 40, page 104). Maddagiri 99 (*E.C.* XII) says that while Srīpurusha was ruling, the Rattas—*i.e.*, the Rāshtrakūtas rose up against Gangavādi. This is confirmed by three *vīrgals* at Hiregundagal, Tumkur District, in which certain heroes fell in a battle against Kannarasa, or Krishna I. (*M.A.R.* 1910-1911, para 74). Krishna I seems also to be referred to as Ballāha; but the Ballāha may be

Gōvinda II as well. The date of this fight is not known from any of the *vīrgal* inscriptions but it might be assigned to about 775 A.D. Srīpurusha's general Siyagella, figures in most of the battles fought in this war with the Rattas. He was the governor of Marugarenādu 300. Several of Siyagella's chief men appear to have fallen. One of these was the Mūrukode Anniyar (or Anniyar of the three umbrellas) and he was slain in the battle of Pinchanur. Two other *vīrgals* refer to the same battle. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Para 51). Another battle fought in this war was at Bāgeyūr. In it fell a brother of Srīrevamman, described as a lion among *Pandits*, who is said to have been killed. Another who fell in this war is praised as a Rāma in war, a terror to the hostile army and a Purandhara in valour. Unfortunately this hero's name is completely gone in the slab. Apparently Siyagella was one of the sons of Srīpurusha (*ibid* Para 52). Three other *vīrgals* refer to this battle of Bageyūr, one of which describes Siyagella as an accomplished swordsman. Siyagella repaid the valourous deeds of his devoted dead soldiers by making land grants (*volgalcha*) in favour of their relations. Siyagella also distinguished himself in the war against the Pallavas. This war against the Pallavas appears to have been the chief military exploit of Srīpurusha's reign. The war ended by the infliction of a crushing defeat on the Pallavas at Vilarde. In Nāgar 35, we read that Srīpurusha slew the valiant Kāduvetti (Pallava king) of Kānchi, captured his State umbrella and took away from him the title of *Permānadi* which is ever afterwards assumed by the Gangas and is often used alone to designate them. A *vīrgal* at Hirigundagal, Tumkur Taluk, tells us that Siyagella was at the time governor of Kesumannu-nād and that his trusted followers joined in the war but fell in it. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Paras 51-52). Srīpurusha's great victory over the Pallava king seems to have won for him a great reputation

The Narasimharājapura Plates, which give the title "Bhīmakōpa" to him, describe him as undisputed ruler of the whole earth, in whose battles the Goddess of Victory was bathed, we are told, in the blood of the elephants cut asunder with his sharp sword. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Paras 60-63). That is a contemporary estimate. The Keregodi-Rangapura Plates of Rājamalla II describe him in terms which picture to us his march to the battle. Raging with fury, we are told, at the head of battle, horrid with the assault of heroes, horses, men and groups of elephants; terrific in anger; a brilliant sun in illumining the clear firmament of the Ganga family; a terror to enemies . . . resplendent with excellent qualities in the assembly of kings; a crest-jewel of kings, such was Srīpurusha, whom the poets, we are informed, daily praised as Prajāpati or Brahma, and the interior of whose palace echoed the sounds of the holy ceremonies accompanying the great gifts made by him every day. (*M.A.R.* 1918-1919, Para 66). His extant grants to Brāhman and Jain donees fully bear out this statement, as also his great martial qualities. The Ganga kingdom came to be called the *Srī-rājya* or the prosperous kingdom during his time, because of the great prosperity it then attained to. Srīpurusha is said to have written a work on elephants, called *Gaja-sāstra*. Apparently he was reckoned an authority in the matter of elephant warfare. He seems to have extended his kingdom towards the north by appropriating a part of what is now known as the eastern part of Bellary. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 36). This should have been accomplished about the 25th year of his reign or 751 A.D. A grant of his 50th year or 776 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 85) shows him making a grant for a Jain temple erected by Kandachchi, grand-daughter of Pallavādhirāja and wife or Paramagula, the Nīrggunda Rāja, whose father Dunda is described as a confounder of the Bāna family.

Srīpurusha had several sons, by various mothers. The only names that can be cited for any of the latter are Vijaya-mahādēvi of the Chalikya (Chālukya) family (Islampūr Plates, *E.I.* XII, 49), and Vineyattin-immadi, which seems more a descriptive than an actual name. (Stone Inscription at Agara, Yelandur Taluk. *M.A.R.* 1916-1917, Para 78). The latter is described as the senior queen. She was apparently ruling over Malavellur, apparently a part of what is now Mysore District (*ibid*). The eldest of the king's sons was Sivamāra, also called Sivamār-Ereyappa. He was governor of Kadambur, in the king's 28th year, and at another time of Kuningal-nād. A second son was Vijayāditya, with the title *Ranavikrama*, son of Vijayamahādēvi. He was governor of Keregōd-nād, but in the king's 7th year, and for at least 30 years, of Asandinād, where he seems to have left successors who were governing it under the early Hoysalas. A third son, Duggamāra or Duggamār-Ereyappa, was governor of Kovalāla-nād ; but in the king's 42nd year, not only of the Kuvalāla-nād Three-Hundred, but also of the Ganga Six Thousand. While he held this position, the army was sent against Kampili, on the Tungabhadra, in the north of the Bellary District. He was, further, governor of Panne-nād, Belattur-nād, the Pulvaki-nād Thousand, the Mu . . . nād Sixty and one or two other *nāds* whose names are not clear. (see Kolar 6, Kadur 145, Srinivaspur 65, Mulbagal 80, Mulbagal 255 and Srinivaspur 57).

Sivamāra II surnamed Saigotta, 788-812 A.D.

Srīpurusha appears to have had two other sons, besides Siyagella, above mentioned. Of these, Sivamāra II surnamed Saigotta was one and Vijayāditya, entitled Ranavikrama was the other. Of Siyagella, we know he was a famous general under his father and the governor of Kesumannunād, and took part, with his trusted followers, in the war against the Rāshtrakūtas. He eventually fell in that war, along with his brother

Sivamāra in the battle of Kagimogeyūr, a place somewhere in Tumkur Taluk, not yet identified. (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 54). This fact is attested to by two *vīrgals* at Hirigundagal, Tumkur Taluk (*ibid*). As Siyagella and Sivamāra both fought together against the Rāshtrakūtas, and Sivamāra succeeded to the throne and not Siyagella, it might be presumed that Siyagella was a younger brother of Sivamāra. Perhaps the genealogists omit him, because he did not actually ascend the throne, having been slain with Sivamāra, thus making room for his other brother Vijayāditya. Sivamāra II is referred to as Sivamāra-Ereyappa in a lithic inscription of Srīpurusha's time at Kuppepālya, Magadi Taluk. He was at the time ruling over Kuningal-nād, the country round modern Kunigal. (*M.A.R.* 1914-1915, Para 64). Since we have an inscription of the 62nd regnal year of Srīpurusha or 788 A.D. and none, so far, after that, it is just possible that his son Sivamāra II succeeded him about that year. Apparently the succession was disputed by Duggamāra, but was opposed by Singapōta, the Nolamba king. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 8). In Sivamāra's reign the prosperity of the Gangas underwent a reverse, and they became subject to calamities which threatened the extinction of the Ganga power altogether. These arose from the Rāshtrakūtas, who had recently, under their king Krishna I, ousted the Western Chālukyas and established their own supremacy. Krishna's son Dhōra, also called Dhruva, Nirupama, and Dhārāvarsha, who had superseded his elder brother (owing to the latter's addiction to pleasure and indifference to his royal duties, *E.I.* 287), seized and imprisoned the king of the Gangas, who are expressly said (Nelamangala 61; *E.I.* VI. 248) to have never been conquered by others. The motive for this harsh step may possibly have been that Dhārāvarsha, having determined to set aside his elder son Kambha or Stambha in favour of a younger son Gōvinda,—whom he appointed *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent, and to ensure whose succession to the throne he even offered to abdicate,—had it in his mind to compensate the former by giving him the Ganga kingdom. But another account (*E.I.* III. 104) states that Ganga was one of the hostile kings whom Gōvinda brought into the country as an aid to himself. Hence the resentment against Ganga. In any case, we find Kambharasa in Heggaddevankote 93 governing the Ninety-six Thousand (a common designation of the Ganga territory) under his father. In Sravana Belgola 24, where he is called Ranāvalōka Kambaiya, he is said to be ruling the kingdom of the world ; and in 802 A.D., was still in power (Nelamangala 61). After him, in 812 A.D., when his younger brother Gōvinda Prabhūtavarsha was on the throne, we find (Gubbi 61) Chāki Rāja was chief ruler (*adhirāja*) of the entire (*asēsha*) Ganga-mandala. This is the latest date we have for the Rāshtrakūta occupation. However, Gōvinda, either, as seems likely, on the death of his elder brother, or moved by reasons of compassion or policy, released Ganga from his "long and painful confinement," but owing to his hostility had again to confine him. (*E.I.* VI. 249). During this period of release may have occurred the victorious attack he made at Mudugundūr (Mandya Taluk) on the Vallabha (or Rāshtrakūta) army encamped there, which may have been the cause of his being again consigned to prison. Eventually, however, Gōvinda not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but took part in his coronation, he and the Pallava (or Ganga-Pallava) king Nandivarma binding the diadem on his brow with their own hands. (Yedatore 60, Nelamangala 60). It was no doubt Nandivarma's claim to Ganga descent which led to his being invited to join in the performance of this important act of state. The actual ceremony may perhaps not have been performed before. Kolar 231 and Goribidnur 54 show that Sivamāra was ruling.

According to *I.A.* XVIII. 309, his reign extended into that of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha, who came to the throne in 814 A.D. Sivamāra Saigotta is there presented as his feudatory (the solitary instance in which the Gangas acknowledge an overlord); the crowning is mentioned; and Sivamāra is said to be ruling the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand up to Mārandale as his boundary. This was the original northern limit of the kingdom and shows that the whole of his territory had been restored to him. He had erected and endowed a Jain temple at Kummadavāda (now Kalbhāvi in the Belgaum District); this was perhaps the place of his confinement during his exile. On his death at Kāgimōgeyūr (see *ante*), it would appear (*I.A.* XVIII. 313) that Kambharasa, before mentioned, who followed him, maintained the endowment. Sivamāra also built a *basadi* on the smaller hill at Sravana Belgola. As the inscription recording this fact is on a rock close to the north-west of the Chandranāthasvāmi temple, it may be presumed, as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachar, that this is the *basadi* referred to in the inscription. A couple of *vīrgals* at Sankenahalli and Herigundagal in Tumkur Taluk record the death of his trusted warriors in a war against Bālavemmarasa. This Bālavemmarasa has been identified with Bālavarma of the Chālukya dynasty mentioned in the Kadabah Plates (Gubbi 61) of 812 A.D. His name also occurs in some other epigraphs. (Maddagiri 99 and Tiptur 10, *M.A.R.* 1919-1910, Para 46). After the overthrow of the Chālukya power, he may have become a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūtas and fought on their behalf against the Gangas. Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasāda Sāstri suggests that this Bālavarma may be the Bālavarma mentioned by Sankarāchārya in his *Bhāshya* IV, 3, 4, whom the great Āchārya mentions as being near to him. If this identification proves acceptable, then we have a positive proof—which so far we have not had—of Sankarāchārya's date. In that case, Sankarāchārya would be a contemporary of Sivamāra II. (See *M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 275).

Sivamāra's feudatory Vittarasa or Vishnu-Rāja is mentioned in one of the Narasimharājapura Plates of Sivamāra, where Vittarasa's genealogy is set out. He was apparently a chief of the Kadamba family. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Para 63). Another plate of this grant refers to Vijayasakti, the father-in-law of Sivamāra, who is termed "illustrious," and to a grant to a *chaityālaya* at Mulivalli (*ibid*).

The vicissitudes undergone by Sivamāra are referred to at length in several inscriptions. Nelamangala 60 (*E.C.* IV) and Kolar 90 (*E.C.* X) state that he was brought into a world of mingled troubles or placed in a world of endless calamities, like matted hairs of top-knots or twisted top-knots. The Keregodi-Rangapura grant of Rājamalla II refers to his struggles with the Rāshtrakūtas (Vallavas), and to the wounds received by him from the tusks of lusty elephants. We are told, in rather realistic fashion, that his "anger in battle drove hostile kings in a moment into the mouth of Antaka (*i.e.*, Yama), horrid to behold, filled with turning entrails, blood and flesh." With this description in view, it will be agreed that he was quite appropriately styled "Bhīmakōpa." But he seems to have been a learned and accomplished man, supporter of the fine arts, builder of an ornamental bridge,—the Kilini river over which he built a bridge is to the north of Keregodu (see *E.C.* III Mandya 113 and *M.A.R.* 1906-1907, Page 4)—esteemed as a poet taking pleasure in poems in three languages (which these were is not stated), proficient in logic and philosophy, skilled in all matters connected with the stage and drama, and a special authority on the treatment of elephants and horses. His enforced leisure he spent in study. Having mastered the difficult *Phanisutamata*, the Yōga system of Patanjali, he next made a deep research into the methods of elephant management as expounded by the great yati 'born from the mouth of a female elephant,' that is, in the *Pālakāpyam* of Pālakāpya or Karēnubhu to which there is a commentary in Kannada—as the result of which he wrote his *Gajāshtakam*, a poem of a high order, so unique in rhythm and expression that if recited before a dumb man it would enable him to recover his speech (see Nagar 35). This anticipates the 'visual instruction' which is now being used to teach dumb people. Mr. Narasimhachar thinks that Sivamāra's work on *Gajasāstra* (known as *Sivamāra matha* or *Gajāshtaka*), which has not come down to us, may have been written in the Kannada language as *E.C.* VIII Nagar 35 affords some evidence for drawing this inference by the use of Kannada words in it (*Karnātaka-kavi-charite*, Edn. 1924, I. 17). A graphic description of his person and his rule is given in the Alūr Plates of his son Mārasimha. As a contemporary document—it is dated in 799 A.D. and is admittedly a genuine grant from every point of view—it is of supreme value. His innumerable wars, his imprisonment, his personal qualities and characteristics, his administration, his bounties to Brāhmans, his learning, his poetic talents and literary works, his patronage of poets, his devotion to Vishnu are all referred to in it in great detail, but without much exaggeration. The following is an extract from it, too interesting to be omitted :—

> "His son, with his two lotus feet decked with the garlands on the crowns of kings subdued by his valour, embraced by the goddess of victory forcibly dragged away by means of his sharp bright sword in his arm from hostile kings with whom she so long resided ; with his pillar-like arm streaked red with drops of blood oozing from the temples of elephants of opposing hostile kings, split open in front of battle ; having his enemies overthrown with showers of arrows shot from his

bent bow drawn as far as his ear; having the sky filled with hundreds of banners declaring his victory in innumerable wars; a king before whose rage, the hostile kings go into the mouth of the god of death, horrid to behold, filled with turning entrails and streams of blood; lighting up also the ten cardinal points with the glory of his fame as spotless as the rays of the moon; desirous only of benefiting others without seeking any benefit himself; having by his administration of justice rooted out the evil practices of the Kali age; so skilful in the application of his own political theories as to bring shame to Brihaspati; possessed of character like a stone pillar for the support of *dharma* destroyed by the myriad deceits of the host of evil kings; having gratified the world of the twice-born with his constant bestowal of gifts: he whose donations free from all motives and beneficial to all the world exceeded the pouring forth of water by the regent elephants. Moreover by a band of idiots was he thrown in a place of endless calamity; he was the supporter of fine arts, engaged in doing good to the learned, the true birth place of pure good qualities, a leader of kings, a poet—thus was he praised by experts in poetical composition. A distinguished sailor able to reach the other shore of the unfordable ocean of Pānini's grammar, possessed of firm intellect which is a touch-stone to test the science of logic; possessed of a thorough knowledge of the art of elephant-training, with which he put down the pride of those learned in that art; endowed with profound knowledge in expounding the system of the great ascetic born from the mouth of a female elephant; an expert in discussing the new enquiries into many subjects proposed by the learned; perfect in the science of the management of horses; a sun in causing to unfold the lotus garden of the science of archery; possessed of intellect sharpened on account of his own creation of a new treatise on the various uses of the tusks of elephants; the author of a work called *Sētubandha*; gratifier of the learned; an expert in the application of the principles of a dramatic composition of various kinds; possessed of a beautiful form surpassing that of Cupid; with his head purified by bowing at the lotus feet of Cupid's father (Vishnu); famous for victory over the Vallabha army consisting of the Rāshtrakūta, Chālukya, Haihaya and other brave leaders encamped at the village called Mudugundūr. Dhora's cavalry, not only the most powerful in all regions but also the most widely spread in all quarters, he conquered by the showers of innumerable sharp arrows discharged by his arm; this king of exceeding glory like the sun with his invincible rays dispersing the darkness, certain to raise, entered into his own sphere. He too was like Hari ever revered by *dvijapati* (Brāhmans, and Garuda); like the sun duly rising every day, like the world of serpents free from fear (or fearing Garuda); like the ocean unsoiled; though Duryōdhana (a strenuous fighter) yet appreciating the qualities of Arjuna (praised like Arjuna); though the ocean (commander of armies) yet not a refuge for water (fools); though the moon (of patient disposition) yet not united with spots. By the ornaments of the Pallava and Rāshtrakūta, the crowned kings named Gōvindarāja and Nandivarma, was his head wound round with a white piece of cloth (a symbol of coronation with their own hands)."

It will be seen that his defeat of Dhōra or Dhruva, the father of Gōvinda III, and his coronation by Gōvinda III himself and Nandivarma, the Ganga-Pallava king, are referred to in the above description. As the grant is dated from "the victorious camp" of Mārasimha, it must have been issued shortly after a victory attained by him in battle. This camp might have been at Mudugundūr, identified with the village of that name in the present Mandya Taluk.

Mārasimha I, 799 A.D.—? 853 A.D.

Sivamāra Saigotta, though removed from his country and kept in confinement, never relinquished his claim to his kingdom, and in spite of Rāshtrakūta viceroys appointed to govern it, made arrangements to maintain his rights. The grant mentioned in the Ganjam Plates is said to have been made by the Pallava princes with his permission. He had two sons, Mārasimha and Dindika entitled Prithuvīpati I. The former was appointed *Yuvarāja* and as such was acting as the sovereign in 797 A.D. under the name Mārasinga Ereyappa with the title Lōka-Trinētra. (Manne grant, *E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 60).

For Mārasimha, we have the Manne grant to a Jain temple (*E.C.* IX Nelamangala 60) dated in *Saka* 719 or 797 A.D. referred to above; the Ganjam grant to Brāhman donee (*E.C.* IV, Seringapatam 160) which has been assigned to *Circa* 800 A.D., for it also refers to him as *Yuvarāja*; the inscription on the stone pillar at Eruve Brahmadēva temple at Sravana Belgola is assignable to about the same period (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 59); the Alūr copper-plate grant, dated in *Saka* 721, in the 3rd regnal year, or 799 A.D., which shows he should have commenced to rule about 797 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1923-1924, No. 80, Pages 72-79); the Vijayapura lithic inscription, which might be set down to 800 A.D. and the lithic inscription at the Āñjanēya temple on the tank bund at Hindupur, which is dated (in letters) in *Saka* 775 or 853 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 16). While the Alūr copper-plate grant, which has been delared genuine, fixes his first regnal year at 787 A.D., the Hindupur lithic inscription, if it is set down to Mārasimha, would give the latest known year of his reign as 853 A.D. But it is doubtful if the Hindupur lithic inscription refers to Mārasimha I. Though it refers to Ereganga Permānadi, his identification is not complete. Moreover, there is nothing to show that Mārasimha lived beyond 800 A.D., to which the Ganjam copper-plate may be assigned. Then, again, if we accept this identification, it would be rather difficult to reconcile it with what is mentioned in the Gattavādi plates (*E.C.* XII, Supplement, Nanjangud 269) which contain the statement that Sivamāra gave charge of his kingdom to his own younger brother Vijayāditya, who, like Bharata, knowing the earth (or land) to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her (as his own). It is probable that Mārasimha I predeceased Sivamāra. When actually Sivamāra died is not known. The Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III, who released him and eventually reinstated him on the throne, ruled from 794-814 A.D. His son Amōghavarsha, who succeeded him ruled from 815-877 A.D. We know that Amōghavarsha, was a contemporary of Rājamalla Satyavākya, the Ganga king who, we know, from the Manne copper-plates, began to rule in 816 A.D. The crowning of Sivamāra II by Gōvinda III and the Ganga-Pallava king should, therefore, be presumed to have been completed, if not actually before 815 A.D., at least about that date. As in the Alūr grant of Mārasimha of 799 A.D. Sivamāra's coronation is already referred to as an accomplished fact, it must be set down to a date actually anterior to the date of that grant. If this be so, the description of Mārasimha in those plates as issuing the grant from his "victorious camps" shows that he was issuing it as a *Yuvarāja* and no more. Accordingly, Nanjangud 269 above mentioned should be set down to a period anterior to the installation of Sivamāra II by the Rāshtrakūta and Pallava-Ganga kings. If this be conceded, Sivamāra should have died sometime later. It is possible that he died sometime after his coronation, say sometime about 815 A.D., when he was still ruling (*I.A.* XVIII, 309) and was still a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūta king Amōghavarsha. All things considered, the year 817 A.D. seems as near a date as can be fixed for his death. That he was still alive about 797 A.D. may be inferred from Nelamangala 60, dated in that year, which describes Mārasimha, as only a *Yuvarāja*, though he is, for the obvious reason that his father was in prison, represented as ruling the entire (*akhanda*) Gangamandala, and decorating all the feudatories. Sivamāra's death should accordingly have occurred sometime between 815 A.D. and 853 A.D.

Evidence of Partition of Ganga Kingdom, 8th century A.D.

As Mārasimha I is represented as ruling from 797 A.D. to 853 A.D., and as Vijayāditya's son Satyavākya Rājamalla was also ruling about *Saka* 750 or 828 A.D.

(see second set of Manne Plates), we have to presume they ruled over different parts of the Ganga kingdom. This might well have been so, as the troubles in the kingdom during Sivamāra's time should have necessitated a virtual partition in the rulership to secure stability in its different parts. The simultaneous ruling seems otherwise impossible of satisfactory explanation.

Mārasimha was, according to the Alūr grant, a good soldier, a just administrator and a virtuous king. He destroyed his enemies, we are told, by the strokes of the sharp sword he held in his arm. It is clear he took a personal part in the wars of the day. He gained lasting fame by his deeds. He was, it is stated, a skilful rider and had, it would seem, valiant soldiers to ensure his safety. He was, it would appear, foremost among those who understood and practised the science of politics. A fact specially mentioned of him is that he refused to impose heavy taxes on his subjects and that he was kind, of pure habits and administered justice according to the laws of polity. The grant says:—"Beholding the brilliance of his qualities, the world forgot the glory of Manu and other sixteen emperors; the flames of his ardour burn like a submarine fire in the ocean mind of the enemies even at a distance. He was like Rāma not merely in front of battle, but also with regard to the honour he showed to others' wives." His gifts were many and generous and he shunned, we are told, as shameful not only a victory gained by treachery but also the winning of heaven by dying on the battle. Of him, it is summed up: "A man of wide fame, joy of all world was Mārasimha." If even a part of what is said of him in this grant is true, Mārasimha should have impressed his subjects as a particularly lovable sovereign, who, if his life had been cast on quieter days, would have shone even brighter as a king and as a man.

Dindiga or Prithivīpati I.

Mārasimha's younger brother was apparently known as Dindiga and bore the title of Prithvīpati or Pilduvīpati or Priduvayya which were probably the popular forms of that designation (see *M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 45 and 1909-1910, Para 55; see also *M E.R.* 1913, Nos. 326, 334 and 337 and para 16). Of him, we learn from the Udiyēndiram plates. (*S.I.I.* II. 387). He is said to have rescued two chiefs, named Joriga and Nāgadanta, one from Amōghavarsha, and the other from the jaws of death. He was wounded in a battle at Vaimbalguri, and sent a piece of bone taken from his wound to be cast into the Ganges. He witnessed the *nirvāna* of the Jain *āchārya* Arishtanēmi on the Katvapra hill at Sravan-Belgola. He was present there with, it would appear, his queen Kampita. (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 45). A lithic inscription at the Arkēsvara temple at Karshanapalle, Anantapūr District, mentions a Durvinīta as the elder brother of Prithvīpati. This Durvinīta was probably either Mārasimha I or another brother unnamed by the genealogists. (*M.E.R.* 1913, No. 326). He was next engaged in a great battle at Srīpurambiyam (near Kumbhakōnam) against the Pāndya king Varaguna, in which, having made good his title of *Aparājita* (the unconquered), he lost his life. He had a son Mārasimha II, of whom we do not hear much. But he also had a daughter, who was married to the Bāna king Bāna-Vidyādhara Vikramāditya-Jayamēru. Another wife of this king erected the Nandīsvara temple at the northern foot of Nandidrug before 806 A.D.

Prithivīpati II.

Mārasimha's son was Prithivīpati II (Prithvīpati) or Pilduvīpati and Priduvayya. He gained the support of the Chōlas, and Vīra-Nārāyana or Parāntaka I of that line, after uprooting the two Bāna kings, bestowed upon him in 921 the title of Bānādhirāja, together with the name Hastimalla. He is referred to in the Tātanakallu lithic inscription, which might be assigned to 918 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1925, No. 86, page 75) and in the Sōlapuram lithic inscription (*M.E.R.* 1913, No. 345 in Siva temple at Sōlapuram in Anantapur District) in which he is given the alternative names of Kannaradēva and Gangaraiyar. The land granted by him to the temple at Sōlapuram consisted of a field named Puttavādipatti, evidently called after Buddhavādi (*i.e.*, Buddha) and others (*ibid*, para 16). Prithivīpati II was first the subordinate of the Chōla king Parāntaka I and subsequently of the Rāshtrakūta Krishna III. His titles of *Bānādhirāja* and *Kannaradēva* are thus easily understood. The Tātanakallu inscription states that there was an invasion of the Ganga kingdom in the reign of Prithvīpati V by the Nolamba prince Vīra Nolamba, son of Ayappa. (918-929 A.D. *M.A.R.* 1925, No. 86). This was probably more in the nature of a raid than an actual invasion.

Nanniya Ganga.

His son Nanniya-Ganga, named Anni, fought in the army of Bīra-Nolamba, against the Sāntara king (near Goribidnur), and having slain the enemy and delivered his head and shield to Nolamba, died of his wounds.

Rājamalla Satyavākya I.

The genealogists prominently mention after Sivamāra, Rājamalla Satyavākya Permānadi as his successor in the main Ganga line. He was the son of Vijayāditya. He married a Pallava princess. He probably came to the throne in or about 817 A.D. The Rājamalla is often mentioned as Rāchamalla. Both *Rājamalla* and *Satyavākya* are titles borne by all the Ganga kings who came after him. Rājamalla is said to have rescued his country from the Rāshtrakūtas, which they had held too long, as Vishnu in the form of a Boar rescued the Earth from the infernal regions. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 60). He thus established his independence. He married the grand-daughter of Singapōta, daughter of Pallavādhirāja's daughter, the younger sister of Nolambādhirāja and gave his own daughter Jayabbe, the younger sister of Nītimārga, to Nolambādhirāja. For, Amōghavarsha was evidently against the arrangement which had been made by his predecessor regarding the Ganga kingdom, and took advantage probably of the hostility and death of Sivamāra, and appointed Kambharasa again as its ruler but with all the Ganga titles as if the legitimate successor, but he evidently did not long survive. For we are told (*E.I.* VI, 25) that a chief named Bankēsa was ordered by Amōghavarsha to uproot the lofty forest of fig trees—Gangavādi—difficult to cut down. He accordingly captured Kedala (Kaidāla near Tumkur), which was strongly fortified and defended. Having occupied that part of the country, he drove away the hostile lord of Tālavanapura (the Ganga king of Talakād). He then sprang like a lion across the Cauvery, and shook the dominion of him who was even able to shake the world (meaning the Ganga). But at this point he was recalled by Amōghavarsha on account of some rebellion at home, which looks like an excuse for his having been forced to retire. But that he took Kaidāla may be true, as Tumkur 9 and Nelamangala 84 show us a line of chiefs established there and at Sivaganga who claimed to be lords of Mānyakhēta, the Rāshtrakūta capital. All the same, the authority on which the above information is based (*i.e.*, in the Konnur inscription, *E.I.* VI. 25) has to be received with caution, in view of its spurious character. But the Keregodi-Rangapura Plates of Rājamalla II, which have been declared a genuine grant and may be assigned (the date on them is partially visible) to about 878 A.D., confirm the recovery of the Ganga kingdom from the Rāshtrakūtas by Rājamalla I and the attempt made on it by Vankēsa (*i.e.*, Bankēsa) above referred to. (*M A.R.* 1918-1919). Rājamalla I is described in this grant as having been born of Vijayāditya "for the benefit of the world like the moon from the ocean," that his glory was sung and admired by all the world, that he heroically worked for and successfully took possession of the sovereignty that had been lost in the less skilful hands of Sivamāra to the Rāshtrakūtas; that he bore "the great burden of the earth, of which only a bit was in the possession of Vankēsa"; and that the country at last rested for a while in peace. His fame, liberality, valour, just rule, intelligence, righteous conduct, generosity towards fallen foes, his constant flow of gifts, modesty, prowess and other personal virtues are there praised and the interesting statement is then made (in this grant) that he "without superseding his father (*guru*) established his rule in king Rana-Vikrama's (*i.e.*, Vijayāditya's) country" and "was content with the position of heir-apparent" and that he subsequently "had himself anointed to the throne and crowned." It would seem as though he was primarily and personally responsible for the wresting of the kingdom from the Rāshtrakūtas, that such wresting took place while yet his father was alive, that though he was the person who successfully drove the Rāshtrakūta usurpers out, he still recognized his father's claim as sovereign, that he was content to act as heir-apparent during his father's lifetime and that he subsequently (meaning thereby after his death) anointed himself to the throne. His success, however, was not a wholly complete one, for the grant acknowledges that Bankēsa had "a bit" (*lēsam bhuvana*) of territory yet under his control, but his power was apparently wholly broken, for we are told that the troubled earth had some rest in his reign. The grant speaks of Rājamalla as eclipsing the intelligence of Brihaspati by his skill in politics. The Kudlūr grant of Mārasimha III, dated in 962 A.D., declared to be a genuine grant, says of him that "people describe (him) as Karna in making gifts, as Sēsha in bearing up the burden of the Earth, as Arjuna in war, as an ocean in profundity, as a powerful submarine fire in drying up the ocean of evil deeds of the Kali age, as a strong rampart of adamant in protecting refugees, as Brahma in maintaining (the world)." (*M.A.R.* 1920-1921, Para 45). This is no doubt hyperbolic language, but the main idea underlying it that Mārasimha was a great ruler seems plain enough. He was undoubtedly possessed as much of talent and industry as of valour and truthfulness, which won for him the honoured surname of *Satyavākya*. Indeed, the Keregodu-Rangāpura grant praises him as excelling Dharmarāja, Subramanya and Vishnu in his truthfulness, valour and wealth. (*M.A.R.* 1918-1919, Para 66).

If the Manne plates of this king are genuine, and there is just a doubt about their authenticity, then Rājamalla I must have commenced his reign in 817 A.D. The grant is dated in *Saka* 750 (expressed in the words *panchasad-uttareshu supta-satēshu Sakavarshē*) in his 12th regnal year, which corresponds to 828 A.D. There is nothing inherently improbable about the date 817 A.D. for his first regnal year; on the other hand, there is every reason to believe, from other sources, that that might have been the first year of his reign. The grant mentioned in these plates was in favour of a Brāhman Dēvasarma, a Vaikhānasa, of the *Kāsyapa-Gōtra*, for providing oblations, incense and lamps for the Sakti goddess of the name of Kiltabaleretti-bhatari (the goddess ef the drawn sword) at the village of Doddavādi in the Manyavishaya, now represented by the village of Manne, in the Nelamangala Taluk. Manne was, as stated above, the capital of the Gangas. The mention of the Vaikhānasas in this inscription of early 9th century is of interest as showing their existence at that period. The person at whose request the grant was made was one Mahēndra, said to be a prince of the Ganga lineage. He is said to have set up the image of the goddess at the village of Doddavatti. Who this Mahēndrarāja was and whether he was related in any way to Rājamalla I himself is difficult to determine. He was probably one of Rājamalla's generals.

Rājamalla I was also the founder of the Jaina cave at Vallimalai in the present North Arcot District at which the inscription consists of two *Kānda* verses written in Grantha characters. (*E.I.* IV 140).

Nītimārga I.

Rājamalla I was succeeded by his son entitled Nītimārga I, which name became a honorific designation of his successors. His real name was Ereyanga or Ereganga Dēva and his other titles were Ranavikramayya (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 60; see also Keregodi-Rangāpura Plates of Rājamalla II, *M.A.R.* 1918-1919, Para 67) and Permānadi (Aigur stone inscription, see *M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 60). The Rāshtrakūtas still showed signs of disturbing the peace of the kingdom. Nītimārga seems to have gained a great victory over their (Vallabha) army at Rājarāmudu, which is to the north of the Kolar District. (*E.C.* IV Supplement, Nanjangud 269; X, Kolar 90). The Keregodi-Rangāpura Plates of his son Rājamalla II state that he obtained this victory "with ease," and that the Vallabha army was commanded by a combination of kings of different ruling dynasties, some of which seem to have been added for poetical effect and no more. The Kudlūr grant of Mārasimha III dated in 962 A.D. furnishes the further information that the battle was fought in the rainy season and that it was a "terrible one accompanied" with initial rain-drops of arrows shot from the bow, lightning of fierce swords, dark clouds of infuriated elephants, high winds of horses, and streams of blood." This grant also reiterates the fact that Nītimārga defeated "with ease his powerful enemies" at this battle. The Vallabha army is said to have been "terrible with towering elephants and horses" and commanded by many different royal chiefs. The place of the battle is given here as *Rājarāvādi* and in the Keregodi Plates as *Rājarāmudu.* Besides this victory, Nītimārga is credited with the capture of Bānarasa's Mahārājaranād (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 228). This is called in another inscription (*E.C.* X, Chintamani 30) as Mārājavādi 7,000, with Vallur as its capital. It was chiefly in the Cuddapah district. Kolar 79 shows that under Nītimārga, the Nolamba-Pallava king Nolambādhirāja was ruling the Ganga 6000, and that the latter sent against Bānarasa, a chief named Pompalla, who was slain in a battle at Muruggepādi. Nītimārga was the donor of the grant to a Brāhman mentioned in the Galigekere Plates. (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 60) referred to above. It may be assigned to 860 A.D. From the Kūdlūr grant, it might be inferred that Nītimārga professed the Jain faith. His mind resembled, we are told, "a bee at the pair of lotus feet of the adorable Arhatbhattāraka"—which is the usual poetic formula used for describing a royal Jain. He must be the Ereganga Permānadi mentioned in the Hindupur (tank-bund Ānjanēya) temple lithic inscription which is dated (in words) in *Saka* 775 or 853 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1913, List B. No. 588; see also Paras 13 and 16). His feudatory the Nolamba king who ruled up to Kānchi is mentioned in it. At the head of the Doddahundi stone (*E.C.* III, T.-Narsipur 91) is a rude but interesting bas-relief depicting Nītimārga's death, the date of which event is 869 A.D. (For a description of this stone from the sculptural point of view, see Chapter V, *ante*). His son Rājamalla Satyavākya II was apparently present at his death-bed and is shown in the sculpture under the first of three umbrellas beginning from the left (*ibid*). One of the king's followers evinced his fidelity by being buried under him. A *vīrgal* at Aijūr, Closepet Taluk, refers to the same incident. (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 60). The inscription at its top refers to Nītimārga's death like T.Narsipur 91, but the sculptures on the stone are only a standing figure of a man armed with a bow and a sword and a number of horses to the right. The inscription records that when Nītimārga ascended the heaven (*sagga* or *svarga*), one Nāgayya, son of Mādavayya, caused to be constructed a tank, apparently as a memorial of the event. The date is not mentioned, but as we know (see below) his son Rājamalla II was crowned king in 869-870 A.D., Nītimārga must be presumed to have died in 869 A.D. His younger sister Jayabbe was married to the Nolamba-Pallava king Nolambādhirāja who was Polalchora Nolamba. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 24,38). Whether he may have been the Nolamba king who ruled up to Kānchi as mentioned in the Hindupur inscription referred to above it is not possible at present to determine.

Rājamalla Satyavākya II 870A.D.-907 A.D.

Nītimārga was succeeded by his elder son Rājamalla Satyavākya II. For him we have the Gattivādipura and the Narasapur copper-plates, the former dated in *Saka* 826 or 904 A.D. and the latter in *Saka* 824 or 903 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Nanjangud 269, *E.C.* X, Kolar 90). We have also the Keregodi-Rangāpura copper-plate grant which has an incomplete *Saka* date on it, but which may be assigned to about 878 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1918-1919, Paras 64-68). Besides, we have a number of undated *vīrgals* of his time (see *e.g.* *M.A.R.* 1918-1919, Para 69). Also the Biliur stone inscription dated in his 18th regnal year in *Saka* 809 or 888 A.D. (*Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 2); the Kunche lithic inscription dated in the 3rd year of his reign, though no *Saka* date is given; the Kabbalu *vīrgal* dated in his 15th regnal year (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 57); the Tailūr stone inscription dated in the 27th year of his reign (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 61) and the Satanūr *vīrgal* dated in his 29th regnal year (*M.A.R.* 1921-1922, Paras 37-8). If the Kuligere Malavalli Taluk) lithic inscription has been rightly assigned to him, we have also an inscription of his dated in his first regnal year. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Para 64). As the Biliur inscription is dated in his 18th regnal year, corresponding to *Saka* 809, the initial year of his reign should have been 870 A.D. He might be taken to have ascended the throne in 869-870 A.D. Under him ruled, as a feudatory, Nolambādhirāja, over the Ganga 6000, apparently the same person as ruled over it in his father's time. (Mandya 13 dated in 895 A.D.; also Kolar 79; and Tailūr stone inscription. (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 61). An inscription of Rājamalla II has been found in North Arcot District. (*E.I.* IV, 140). He seems to have distinguished himself in a battle fought at Samiya, which appears probably by reason of a mislection as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachar as Rāmiya in the Gattavādi plates (Nanjangud 269). His Keregodi-Rangāpura plates and the Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III describe the valour he displayed in the battle in practically identical terms. The latter record states:—

> "These are the Vangas, the Paundras, the Magadha and Kōsala kings, and those the Kalinga, Āndhra, and Dramila kings with their allies, that were pierced by the weapons discharged by this king—thus did the people praise his valour in the Samiya battle."

The former grant says:—

> "These are the hostile Vangas, the Paundaras, the Magadha and Kōsala kings and these the Kalinga, Āndhra and Dravida kings, that were pierced by the weapons discharged by this king—thus did the people praise his valour in the Samiya battle."

Though the reference to the Vanga and other kings seems a poetical exaggeration, there can be no doubt that the personal bravery that Rājamalla II displayed at this battle should have highly impressed his contemporaries. A fragmentary *vīrgal* at Chelūr, in Bagepalli Taluk, refers to another battle fought during his reign. It was at a place called Gungūr and the name of Nonehakāmunda, son of Srī-Rāchamalla is referred to in it. This is probably an unnamed son of Rājamalla II. (*M.A.R.* 1920-1921, Para 40). The Biliur grant of 888 A.D. records a gift of twelve villages on the Peddoregare (Lakshmanatīrta) by the king to a Jain priest for the benefit of the Satyavākya Jaina temple of the Panne-Kadanga in Coorg. His Narasapur grant of 903 A.D. is also to a Jain. It is possible that Rājamalla II was like his father, a Jain in his faith. His tolerance, however, is shown by his grants to Brāhmans as well, following the one recorded in the Gattavādipur plates. (*E.C.* XII, Nanjangud 269). He seems to have encouraged his subjects by bestowing on them marks of royal favour. Thus an undated lithic inscription of his found at Kolur Lakkunda forest, in the Kiggatnād, in Coorg, records to his binding of the *Permānadi-patta* on the son of a *gavunda* or farmer, and the fixing of the land rent and rice dues in permanence for the estate of *Kalnād* granted to him. The *patta* was a golden band or ribbon to be worn on the forehead, inscribed with some title of honour, in this case that of the king. It was a symbol of royalty and also conferred as a mark of royal favour. (*Coorg Inscriptions* No. 3). Rājamalla II was contemporary with Alfred the Great of England, who was also called the Truth-teller, an English *Satyavākya*. The Keregodi-Rangāpura plates describe him as adorned with good qualities and the virtues of Māndhātri and other ancient kings and as the illuminator of his family. Rājamalla II seems to have died at a place called Kombale from hiccough owing, it is said, to phlegm sticking in his throat. (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 5 and 27). Certain devoted men committed themselves to death in the fire through sorrow for his decease (*ibid*).

Būtugēndra or Būtarasa, 870-907 A.D.

Rājamalla's younger brother Būtugēndra or Būtarasa was *Yuvarāja* in 870 A.D. (Nanjangud 75) and was governing Kongal-nād and Punād. He was probably the donor of the grant recorded in Keregodi-Rangāpura plates above mentioned. These plates describe him briefly but expressively. They praise him as the "harasser of the Pallava family by his prowess" and state that he was surrounded by the army of subjugated enemies and was fond of his fourfold army. The Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III describe him as the conqueror of the invincible Rājarāja, who cannot be identified, and as having been victorious over Mahēndra in Bīriyūr and Surūr. He is also stated to have taken part in the battle of Samiya, and to have overcome the Kongas, who, it is said, resisted his tying up of the elephants, and who, in accordance with the ancient method mentioned in (?) *Panchavari* captured, single-handed, hundreds of elephants which were difficult to catch. He is compared to *Palakapya* in his knowledge of the science of elephants and a Brahma in learning. His victory over Rājarāja is mentioned in Nanjangud 269. The Mahēndra referred to must have been the Nolamba-Pallava king of that name. During his time the relations between the Rāshtrakūtas and the Gangas underwent a great change, and they came to be on the most friendly terms. What led to this new policy is not clear, but the vigorous defence the Gangas had made of their territory, and the victories they had gained over the Rāshtrakūtas, must have had some influence in deciding the latter to desist from their attacks. But this would hardly account for the intimacy which sprang up, and the interest which Amōghavarsha I, the Rāshtrakūta king, displayed in the character of the Kannada people and their language and literature. There must have been powerful reasons with which we are not acquainted. For Amōghavarsha I made a thorough study of Kannada, which led him to write in it his work called *Kavirājamārga*, in composing which he may have been aided by a poet named Srīvijaya. In this he expresses his admiration for both the country and its inhabitants, and must have discovered that he was mistaken in the opinion he had previously formed of them. According to both the plates above referred to, Būtugēndra was surnamed Gunaduttaranga and married to Abbalabba, daughter of the Vallabha (*i.e.*, Rāshtrakūta) king Amōghavarsha I. She is called Chandrēbbelabba in the Gattavādi plates and Chandrabbalabba in the Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III. The latter describe her as a "handsome-limbed beautiful lady, the outcome of many blessings, the source of the channel of good fortune," etc., and as versed in dancing and other accomplishments. Būtugēndra is also spoken of as a "devout Jain" and as one who was possessed "of truthful speech and conduct as enjoined by the purport of all sciences." His Keregodi-Rangāpura plates record the grant of a village for the renovation of an Īsvara temple at Alūr in Magara-Vishaya to Nētrasivāchārya. disciple of Sakari (*i.e.*, Sahakari) Bhattaraka, who was of the line of Pura Saivism, devoted to Tripurahara Siva. Apparently he was a Kālāmukha ascetic, which is evidence of the existence of that sect in the State in the 9th century A.D.

Ereyappa, or Nītimārga II: 887-935 A.D.

Būtugēndra must have died before his elder brother the king (Rājamalla II), as Ereganga, his son by Abbalabba, became *Yuvarāja*. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 147). Rājamalla II associated Ereganga with himself in the government, and crowned him under the name of Ereyappa (Nanjangud 269). His being crowned as Ereyappa by his uncle Rājamalla II is testified to by the Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III (see *M.A.R.* 1920-1921, Para 47). The coronation should have taken place about 887 A.D. as *E.C.* V, Arkalgud makes Satyavākya's 37th year correspond with Ereyappa's 21st year and the former's 18th year was 887-888 A.D. (*Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 2). Ereyappa was also known by the names of Nītimayya (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 26, 61), Satyavākya (Channarāyapatna 251) and Mahēndrāntaka. The last of these was his distinctive title. He derived it by killing in battle, at a place not mentioned, Mahēndra, the Nolamba king. Mahēndra and his son Ayyappa, both styled Nolambādhirāja, apparently exercised some authority in the Ganga kingdom. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 13 of 895; *E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 52 of 897; *E.C.* III, Mandya 907 and *E.C.* VI, Kadur 67). His war with Mahēndra is confirmed by the Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III (see below). He was also known as Komaravedanga. (*M.A.R.* 1920-1921, Para 47). *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 129 describes an attack on the Ganga kingdom. In *E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 103, Ereyappa appears as governing Nugunād and Navalenād. In *E.C.* IV, Hunsur 92, we find him ruling over Kongalnād 8,000 and Būtugēndra's queen ruling over Kurgal. In Nanjangud 130, we have the king (Rāchamalla II), the queen and Ereyappa acting together. In other cases we find Rāchamalla II and Ereyappa acting together, as in Nanjangud 139, which is dated in Rāchamalla's 22nd year. Perhaps the queen was now dead. In an inscription of Rāchamalla II dated in his 29th regnal year, we have mention of Ereyappa's son. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 48). Shimoga 96 shows Ereyappa reigning as supreme, and his son Būtuga under him governing the Mandali-nād. Bangalore 83 (*E.C.* IX) and Kankanhalli 5 (*E.C.* IX; *M.A.R.* 1921-1922, Para 39) are also of his reign; and Channapatna 48 and 161 (*E.C.* IX) may also belong to it. A lithic inscription of his, giving the *Saka* date 857, year *Vijaya* or 935 A.D., has been found on one of the steps of the canal in front of the Ganapati temple at Talkād. It refers to the repair of a tank by the Mahānagara. (*M.A.R.* 1911-1912, Para 74). The Ereya mentioned in the inscription on a beam of the

Gaddebasava temple at Chikka Hanasoge, Yedatore Taluk, has been identified with Ereyappa *alias* Nītimārga II. This inscription refers to the setting up of a *nisidhiæ* or tombstone for a Jaina teacher named Ēlāchārya who, it is said, subsisted on water for one month and expired by *samādhi* after the fast of eight days known as *Ashtipavasa*. (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Para 63). The Permādi referred to in a lithic inscription at Dummanhalli, Turuvekere Sub-taluk, which refers to a cattle-raid in the 7th or 8th year of his reign, has been identified with Nītimārga II. (*M.A.R.* 1915-1916, Para 68). The inscription on a slab built into the roof of the Sōmēsvara temple at Mudahalli, Nanjangud Taluk, mentioning Satvākya-Permānadi is probably his. It is dated in his 12th regnal year; another to the left of Toremavu, in the same taluk, is dated in the cyclic year *Pingala*, which corresponds to 897 A.D. The latter is a *vīrgal*, which refers to a cattle-raid. Another *vīrgal*, at Buraganhalli, Koratagere Sub-taluk, refers to an incursion and states that by the order of the king (who is referred to as Permādi) and Indara, the younger brother of the great queen, certain warriors fought and fell at the siege of Galanjanūr. (*M.A.R.* 1917-1918, Para 78). This siege must have been one of the incidents of the war with the Rāshtrakūtas mentioned below.

During the reign of Nītimārga II, the trouble from the Rāshtrakūtas did not wholly cease, though it had considerably abated. *A vīrgal* at Karbail, Nāgamangala Taluk (*M.A.R.* 1914-1915, Para 65) and Bangalore 83 and 87 record conflicts, during his reign, with Ballaha's army, the Ballaha being the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna II. Another *vīrgal* at this place, assignable to the same period, has at its base, a rather strange figure-sculpture. It consists of the figures of two men represented as carrying a corpse. Apparently this represents the burial of one of the chiefs who fell in this war (*ibid*, Para 30).

A *vīrgal* in the Nāgēsvara temple at Begūr, Bangalore Taluk, refers to the battle of *Bengalūru* (or Bangalore) and to the death at it of a servant of Nāgattara, one of the chiefs of Nītimārga II, whose death is recorded in Bangalore 83. Nāgattara's death and the sculptural representation of his admission to Heaven are shown in the Begūr stone, now in the Bangalore Museum (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 83, Frontispiece. See also *M.A.R.* 1906, Para 21. *E.I.* VI 46). This stone gives an account of a battle at Tumbepadi between Nāgattara (here called a chief of Ereyappa) and the Nolamba king Bīra-Mahēndra, in which the former fell, bravely fighting. "When the battle was losing ground," we are told, he went "close up among the elephants, he slew and died." A true hero, in whose memory a Kalnād, consisting of twelve villages, called Bempūr Twelve, was made, and his son Iruga installed chief in his place by Ereyappa (see *ante* Chapter V, *Sculpture and Painting*). A graphic description of the war with Mahēndra is given in the Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III, grandson of Nītimārga II. Nītimārga's personal part in the battle which ended Mahēndra's life is thus described in it:—"In a battle field which was soaked with the blood issuing from the elephants falling under the stroke of his sword like mountains struck by the thunderbolt of Indra, and in which demons and *pisachas* closely followed dancing headless trunks amidst the roar of goblins, the sky and the earth became as it were Pāpanasa through showers of blood. In that battle he slew Mahēndra as Indra Bāla; and capturing speedily Surūr, Nadugani, Midige, Sulisailēndra, the lofty Tipperu, Penjaru and other impregnable fortresses, brought down the pride of their owners." Where this great battle was actually fought is not mentioned; that it cannot have been at Penjeru seems inferable from the fact that it was only one of the places that was captured in the war, after the bloody battle had been victoriously won by him. The reference to the battle of Bangalore, in the *vīrgal* mentioned above, shows the high antiquity of Bangalore. Its existence goes back to at least the time of Nītimārga II or about 890 A.D.

Nītimārga II was joint donor with Rājamalla II of the grant conveyed by the Gattavādipur plates dated in *Saka* 826 or 904 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Nanjangud 269). A great minister of his is mentioned in a mutilated inscription on the doorway of the Iruve-Brahmadēva pillar at Sravana Belgola. A son of this great minister was probably Narasinga mentioned in that inscription. Nāgavarma, this unnamed great minister's son-in-law, committed, according to this inscription, *sallēkhana*, at this temple. (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 59). A Narasinga is mentioned in the spurious Sudi plates of Būtuga, the son of Nītimārga II. (*E.I.* VII. Appx. 24). But he cannot be identified with this minister Narasinga. Another minister of his was Gōvindara, mentioned in several records. (*M.A.R.* 1911-1912. Para 74 and 1912-1913, Para 57). A still another minister, named Dharasēna, is referred to in a *vīrgal.* (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 31 revised—see *M.A.R.* 1912-1913, Para 57). This minister is compared to Māndhāta and there is reference to a battle that was fought at Kōgiyūr between the Gangas and some other power, in which king Nītimārga II took part (*ibid*). A fourth minister of his was apparently Ēchayya, who is described as the minister for peace and war in *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 9, as revised. (*M.A.R.* 1915-1916, Para 68). He is there said to have joined with two others in the excavation of a tank and the erection of a sluice for it. The Permānadi mentioned in this and in *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 8 (as revised) have been identified with Nītimārga II (*ibid*).

We get a few glimpses of the personality of Nītimārga II from the Kūdlūr plates of Marasimha III, his grandson.

As this has been declared a genuine grant, there ought to be little hesitation in accepting its description of him, apart from poetical exaggeration. It speaks of him, as " a treasury of speech " and praises him as a great soldier, fearless in battle. (His part in the war against Mahēndra has been given above). He was, we are told, a Bharata in the arts of singing, instrumental music and dancing and in minor arts as well. He was also, it would appear, an authority to great grammarians, which would show the profundity of his learning. He was a "walker in the path of politics" (*i.e.*, morality) and possessed apparently "charming qualities" which endeared him to his subjects and feudatories. There is hardly any doubt that he was also a Jain by religion.

It was during the reign of Nītimārga II that the Chōlas suddenly uprooted the Bānas. Parāntaka, the Chōla king, claims in an inscription dated in 921 A.D. (*S.I.I.* II, 387) to have conferred the Bāna sovereignty on the Ganga Prince Prithvīpati II, entitled Hastimalla, grandson of Dindika *alias* Prithvīpati II. (See above and *E.I.* IV. 225). Hastimalla should accordingly have been a contemporary of Nītimārga II and ruled over a part of the Ganga kingdom, probably the portion round about the present Kolar District. He might have ruled as a prince of the royal blood or as a feudatory of the ruling king. Among the other feudatories of the Gangas of this period may be mentioned the line of chiefs known as the Sakaras, *i.e.*, of the Sakara or Sagara lineage. Diyabbee, daughter of Suleyabbe, describes herself in an inscription dated in 886 A.D. and engraved in the middle sluice of the tank at Bevūr, Channapatna Taluk, as of "the glorious Sakaras." She built the sluice, which shows that the tank at Bevūr is a work of the 9th century. (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Paras 58 and 66). Manalēra, described in the Atukūr inscription (Mandya 41) dated in 950 A.D. as the servant of Būtuga, the son of

Nītimārga II, was also of the same lineage. He must be the one mentioned in the Atukūr inscription (Mandya 45).

Nītimārga II appears to have married more than one lady. The Buraganhalli *vīrgal* referred to above refer to his "elder queen" (*Mahādēvi*), the name is either lost or unreadable. (See *M.A.R.* 1917-1918, Para 78). The term *Mahādēvi* (or *pattamahādēvi*, as it is sometimes expressed) predicates the existence of other queens, who were junior to her. In the Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III, grandson of Nītimārga II, mention is made of his queen (*Dēvyām*) Jākāmba and describe her as the daughter of king Nijagali of the pure Chālukya family. As she is described as merely *dēvyām*, she has to be distinguished from *Mahādēvi* of the Buraganhalli *vīrgal*. The Kūdlūr plates, however, do not mention any other queen of Nītimārga II. It sets out the names of three of his sons—Narasimha-Dēva, Rājamalla and Būtuga—and describes Rājamalla as the younger brother of Narasimha and Būtuga as the younger brother of Rājamalla. It is difficult in the face of this specific description to suggest that Rājamalla and Būtuga were sons of Nītimārga II by different mothers as proposed by Mr. Rice in the last edition of this work as also in *E.C.* III, Introd. 5. In the absence of any definite information, it has to be presumed that the *Mahādēvi* mentioned in the Buraganhalli inscription was either identical with the Chālukya princess or, if a different queen, died issueless. Nītimārga II seems to have had, besides his three sons named above, a daughter named Pāmbabbe, who was apparently the elder sister of Būtuga. She married Immadi Dhōra, but became a widow. After leading an ascetic life of thirty years, she died in 971 A.D.

Narasimha-Dēva entitled Satyavākya and Bīravedenga 920 A.D.

Of the three sons of Nītimārga II, the first to ascend the throne was Narasimha-Dēva, who was the eldest. "This intelligent prince," we are told in the Kūdlūr plates, "learnt in his early age the science of politics, riding on elephants and horses, play at ball, wielding the bow and sword, the drama, grammar, medicine, poetry, mathematics, Bharata-sāstra, Itihāsas and Purānas, dancing, singing and instrumental music." Apparently his education was an all round one. He is also described as gallant in war and as possessing the titles of *Satya-vākya* and *Bīravedenga.* He is probably the king Narasinga mentioned in the Sudi plates of Būtuga, his brother. (*E.I.* VII, Appdx. 24).

Rāchamalla Satyavākya III, 920 A.D.

He was succeeded by his immediate younger brother Rāchamalla III, entitled Satyavākya, Kachcheya Ganga and Nītimārga. There is a lithic inscription of his at the entrance to the Sōmēsvara temple at Chikka-Kaulande, Nanjangud Taluk, which appears to be dated in 920 A.D. It records the grant of Kiriya-Kavilandi (the correct name of Chikka-Kaulande, where the inscription is found) as an *agrahāra* to a Brāhman donee. The Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III are very brief in regard to him. It describes him as "a walker in the path of politics of former kings." But it gives some interesting personal particulars and also mentions one of his more famous victories on the battle-field. "Slaying foot-soldiers," it says, "with his arrows, horses with his sword, and elephants with his single-scent elephant (apparently a trained war elephant), king Rājamalla conquered and put to flight Nolamba Anniga in the famous Kōttamangala battle, and taking pity on the trembling army, took him under his protection." It is inferrable that Anniga surrendered on the promise of safety to himself and his troops. It gives his other names as Nītimārga and Kachcheya-Ganga. The Anniga referred to must be the Anniga who was defeated by the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III in 940 A.D. He was the grandson of the Pallava Nolamba Mahēndra (see *ante*). The great battle of Kōttamangala must therefore have been fought before 940 A.D. In Arkalgud

61 (*E.C.*V.) we find Rāchamalla making a grant in 920 A.D. Hole-Narasipur 14 (*E.C.* V) refers perhaps to his queen and Tiptur 10 (*E.C.* XII) of Kachcheya Ganga's 3rd year also refers to him. Heggaddēvankōte 116 (*E.C.* IV) apparently refers to a proposed division of the kingdom between himself and his brother Būtuga. But the Atukūr stone inscription (*E.C.* III, Mandya 41) dated in *Saka* 872, the cyclic year *Saumya* (=950 A.D.), informs us that Būtuga slew Rāchamalla after a fight and took possession of Gangavādi 96,000. When this event actually occurred is not known. As there are no records of his after his third regnal year, it is probable his reign was a short, though an eventful one. His supersession by his brother might perhaps be set down to about the close of the first quarter of the 10th century.

His descendants and their succession.

The story of the succession of the descendants of Rāchamalla III is told in a fragmentary inscription found by the side of a temple in ruins in the jungle to the west of the village of Īchavādi in the Shimoga hobli. (*M.A.R.* 1923, No. 113). The inscription is of the time of Būtuga, Rājamalla's youngest brother, who is mentioned in it with his queen, both of whom make a grant to the Jaina teacher mentioned in it. In this inscription, Rājamalla's relationship to Būtuga is stated to be that of a "brother" and Būtuga himself is given the title of *Nanniya Ganga*, which is probably only another form of Ganga Nārāyana, mentioned for him in the Kūdlūr grant of Mārasimha III. The Ganga descent is traced from Būtugēndra, son of Nītimārga I; then his son Ereyappa is mentioned; next his son Rāchamalla; then his son Yereyanga; next his son, whose name is lost in the inscription, but he may be the Narasinga-Satyavākya-Vīra-Vedenga, who is described in *E.I.* III, 183, as a son of Ereyappa, and father of Rāchamalla, next mentioned; then his son Saigotta . . Rāchamalla (See *Table*). It is possible that Rāchamalla's descendants bore rule over part of the present Shimoga District, where this slab is found, though it is rather curious why in an inscription of Būtuga, surnamed Nanniya Ganga, the descendants of Rāchamalla III should be mentioned and not his own. It is only fair to add that the inscription is a badly damaged one and is quite illegible in parts. The inscription is not dated, or the dated part of it has been lost. We note in this inscription the great-grandson of Rāchamalla III, Saigotta . . . Rāchamalla and Būtuga's grandson Rakkasa Ganga are mentioned in it. The latter is said to have made a gift of wet lands to the temple built by Nanniya-Ganga, his grand-father. From this it might be inferred that Nanniya Ganga lived to a fairly long age. An exploit of Saigotta . . . Rāchamalla seems also mentioned in it. It is said he caught hold of an elephant with his left hand and kept it at bay. As the exploit is mentioned in the inscription after his name, it might perhaps be set down to him.

Būtuga II, Būtayya, entitled Nanniya Ganga, Ganga Nārāyana, Ganga Gāngēya ? 925-960 A.D.

Būtuga II, who fought and slew Rāchamalla III, next ascended the throne. He was also known as Būtayya and by his distinctive titles of Nanniya Ganga, Ganga Nārāyana and Ganga Gāngēya. The date of his accession may be approximately set down to about 925 A.D. (see *ante*). The Kūdlūr plates of his son, Mārasimha III, state that he was "possessed of wealth (? territorial and other) acquired by his own arm," which is doubtless a suggestive reference to the bloody revolution he effected in his own favour. How this was brought about is not clear from the inscriptions so far found. But there is some room for the inference that he was helped in bringing it about by the Rāshtrakūta king Boddega or Amōghavarsha II. There was at about this time a renewed friendship between the Gangas and the Rāshtrakūtas. A sort of offensive and defensive alliance seems to have been entered into between Būtuga and Amōghavarsha II. The alliance was sealed by Amōghavarsha II giving his daughter Rēvaka (or Rēvakanimmadi entitled Chāgavedāngi) in marriage to Būtuga (*E.I.* IV, 350; also Kūdlūr plates in *M.A.R.* 1920-1921, Para 49) with a dowry (*E.C.* III, Int. 41; and *E.I.* III, 175) of the Biligere 300, the Belvola 300, the Kisukād 70, and the Bāgenād 70 (provinces in the present Dharwar, Belgaum and the Bijapur Districts). On the death of Baddega, Būtuga assisted his son Krishna (or Kannara) III in securing the throne from an usurper named Lalliya. When, in 949 A.D., Krishna was at war with the Chōla king Rājāditya, Būtuga rendered him a great service, by killing the latter in a single combat on his elephant at a place called Takkōlam, near Arkōnam. He followed up this exploit by besieging the Chōla capitals of Tanjore and Kānchi and burnt Nalkōte as well. For his important service, Kannara made over to Būtuga the Banavāse 12,000 province, represented by the present Shimoga and North Kanara Districts. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 41). Būtuga also may have been assisted, at about this time, in gaining his own throne by Krishna, who (*E.I.* IV, 249) claims to have planted in Gangapāti, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree Rāchamalla. Rāchamalla's slaying and supersession should have, accordingly, occurred some time prior to 950 A.D. Among other exploits, Būtuga is said (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 35) to have taken Chitrakūta by assault, and conquered the Seven Mālavas, the boundaries of which he marked out with stones, and gave the country the name Mālava Ganga. The Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha III give a short but graphic description of his marriage and martial achievements, which has the additional merit of throwing light on his activities far and near. This grant says that Būtuga "went to king Baddega in the Dahala country (Chēdi or Bandalkhand), and then married his daughter, along with the maiden Speech, according to the prescribed rites at Tripuri. The fierce Būtuga, conqueror of the host of his enemies, who through his valour ranked first in the enumeration of kings—on Baddega going to heaven to seige the sovereignty of Indra, *i.e.*, on the death of Baddega, took elephants, horses, white umbrellas and the throne from the possession of Lallelya and gave them to king Krishna. Further, from this fierce king Ganga-Gāngēya, did not Kakka-Rāja, lord of Achalapura, enter the mouth of Yama? did not Dantivarma, named Bijja, obtain in war the state of living in the forest (*otherwise*, had he not to flee back to his Vanavāsi)? did not Aja-varma, Lord of Sāntala (? the Sāntaras) become quieted? did not Damari, Lord of Nulugugiri, obtain the breaking of his pride? and did not Nāgavarma tremble with fear? Having conquered king Rājāditya, who was proud of his array of elephants; having driven out Emaganduga from (his) country; and having burnt Tanjapuri, Nalkelo and other fortresses, this Ganga Nārāyana gave to Krishna, lordly elephants, horses and great wealth."

Many of the details above mentioned of Būtuga II are also enumerated in his Sudi plates dated in *Saka* 860 or 938-939 A.D., which record a grant to a Jain temple. (*E.I.* III, 164). These plates have been declared spurious, on what appear to Mr. Narasimhachar (*M.A.R.* 1920-1921, Para 55) "very weak grounds." In these plates Achalapura is mentioned as Alchapura, probably a slip on the part of the engraver; while Nalkelo of the Kūdlūr grant is correctly given in the Sudi plates as Nalkōte. The capture of Tanjapuri is also mentioned in the Karhad plates of Krishna III. (*E.I.* 8.280). The Atukūr stone inscription, dated in A.D. 872 or 950 (now in the Bangalore Museum), also refers to the same event and to Būtuga's slaying of Rājāditya. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 41). Krishna III is called in it "the supreme lord, supreme reverable one" and "the illustrious Kannara-dēva" and he is described as "having without fear come against the Chōla Rājāditya." The large Leyden grant refers to the heroic Rājāditya's death and states that he was killed, "being pierced in the heart while seated on the back of a lordly elephant by the fall of their (Krishna's army) sharp arrows." Būtuga was, in this war against Tanjore, helped by one Manālāra, who is described as "the boon lord of Valabhi," which has been identified by Mr. Rice with the celebrated place of that name in Kathiawād in Gujarat. (*E.C.* III, Introd. 6). T.-Narsipur 102 (*E.C.* III) refers to a similar "boon lord of Valabhi," entitled "the supreme king of the broad white silk flag." The presence of such men in the army may have, as suggested by Mr. Rice, led to the expedition against Gujarat in the next reign. The Manālāra of the Atukūr stone had for his title Sagara-Trinētra and was, it would appear," a wonder in slaughter" (in battle) and "in war an only Sūdraka," the reference being to the alleged royal author of the *Mricchakatika*, one of the more famous Sanskrit dramas, assigned to the 6th century A.D. Manālāra, according to the Atukūr stone, did the greatest slaughter in the field of battle, the "Chōla (king) himself being witness." How he deserved the title of *Sūdraka* is thus explained in the verses on the stone:—

> "When the four-fold armies of the Chōla came against him in force, and he, putting them to flight, pursued close after, and falling upon them, was slaying—not one among the braves who said 'I will stop him,' or any boasting warrior did we see, Chōla himself being witness; only his slaughter did we behold, who, as if thus saying did not admire the Sagara-Trinētra?
>
> "The king was at his back, the enemy's force opposing him in front; (yet) in this (crisis) all who hated him were plunged into shame. Saying 'I will stay no longer'—like a lion, Hari and Bīra Lakshmi being his aid, he split in two the skull of the elephant the fort of Chōla;—the only Sūdraka in war."

The words rendered into "he split in two the skull of the elephant the fort of Chōla" of the original text may be transliterated, as follows:—

"*Chōlana-kōte yemba sindhurada sirāgrāmam biriye poyidam.*"

Which shows that either the elephant on which Rājāditya rode on the battle-field was either called by the name of "Chōlana-kōte," literally meaning "Chōla's fort," or it was so well protected that it looked like his fort, and that it was killed by Manālāra by a blow which split in twain its skull. As we know that Būtuga killed Rājāditya in single combat from his elephant, it follows that while his ally Manālāra killed the elephant, he himself felled down its royal occupant. This brings us to a mistaken translation of the words in the original text of this inscription (*bisu-geye Kallanāgi surig iridu kādi kondu*, which was rendered by "stealthily stabbed him with a dagger and fought and killed him") which suggested *treachery* on the part of Būtuga in killing his opponent Rājāditya. Mr. Narasimhachar has conclusively proved (see *M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 77 and plate containing a reproduction of a *vīrgal* at Neralige, Arsikere Taluk, which illustrates this sort of warfare) that this translation is based on a misapprehension of both the text of the inscription and its meaning and that there was no treachery on Būtuga's part in killing Rājāditya as he said. The words *bisugeye-kallanāgi* are really *bisuge Kalanagi*, which means "the howdah having become the battle-field," *i.e.*, the fight was between the occupants of the elephants, in other words, a single combat between them, from their positions on their respective elephants. Būtuga pleased with the great part played in this battle by Manālāra "for standing before him and slaying," as the inscription puts it, conferred on him for the maintenance of his sword the Atukūr 12 and Kadiyūr of Belvola.

On the same occasion as he "was departing" homeward, Krishna III asked Manālāra to ask him any boon he wanted. As became a true soldier, Manālāra asked, saying,—"As a mark of your good favour, grant me Kali"—apparently a hound—and "he received it." The hound unfortunately when set after a big boar, "the boar and the hound," as the inscription says, "died together." Manālāra set up a stone for it in Atukūr, in front of the Challēsvara temple and granted a piece of land for its maintenance. The inscription adds that if the priest who manages the temple, if he enjoys the land, and does not perform worship to the stone, will be "guilty of the sins that the hound had committed." (See for further description of the sculpture on this stone, Chapter V *ante, Sculpture and Painting*). There is a lithic inscription of Būtuga, with the title Ganga-Gāngēya and Jayaduttaranga, at Danugur, in Malvalli Taluk, recording a *Kalnāttu.* It is dated in A.D. 960 or twenty-two years later than the Sudi grant. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Para 65). The Andagove-Kallur *vīrgal* dated in *Saka* 866 cyclic year *Krōdhi*, corresponding to 944 A.D., falls into the same reign and may belong to it. (*Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 28). It is a fragmentary inscription and is a memorial of self-sacrifice. The Ichavādi stone grant, in Shimoga District, records a gift of wet lands by him (as Nanniya Ganga) and his queen to a Jain priest in favour of a *basadi* constructed by him. (*M.A.R.* 1923, No. 113). If the Kūdlūr plates may be believed, Būtuga should have been as great in religious warfare as in the political. It would appear he was well versed in Jain philosophy and worsted a Buddhist controversialist in what appears to have been an open debate. To quote the rather flowery language of the grant, he "cleft open the frontal globes of the lordly elephants, the arrogant false disputants of the *ēkāntamatha* (Buddhism) with the thunderbolts, the arguments based on the scriptures."

Marula Dēva, Punuseya-Ganga; Kaliyuga-Bhīma.

Būtuga II left two sons and a daughter. Of these, the elder son and the daughter were children by Rēvaki, the Rāshtrakūta princess. The daughter was married to the son of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III (son of Amōghavarsha III), and became the mother of Indra Rāja, the last of the Rāshtrakūtas. Mr. Rice suggests that *E.C.* V, Manjarabad 67, may be a memorial of her. If so, her name was Kundana-Sōmidēvi. The Kūdlūr plates state that Marula-Dēva's other names were Punuseya-Ganga and Kaliyuga-Bhīma. It also records the fact that he married the daughter of Krishna, apparently the Rāshtrakūta king. According to the Hebbāl inscription of Mārasimha III her name was Bijabbe. This would mean that Krishna III not only took his sister's daughter in marriage to his own son but also gave his own daughter in marriage to her son. It is further stated that Marula-Dēva obtained from the "affectionate" Rāshtrakūta king "an umbrella called Madanāvatāra, never obtained by any other king." The gift is also mentioned in Nagar 35. (*E.C.* VIII). He is also described as a devout Jain and possessed of exceptional skill in politics. He was apparently of a religious turn of mind, seeing that his mind is said to have been attached to "final beatitude," for which reason, we are told, he was known as Ganga-mārtānda. He was possibly a poet as his poetry is said to have been praised "by great poets." As he is described in this grant as "prince," and as no grants of any kind are forthcoming in his name or mentioning his name, it is possible he did not reign and possibly died without ascending the throne.

Mārasimha III, Guttiya-Ganga; Nolambāntaka, 961-974 A.D.

His younger brother Mārasimha III seems to have actually succeeded his father on the Ganga throne. He was the donor of the Kūdlūr plates to a great Jain scholar of his times. It is dated in *Saka* 884 or A.D.

962 and has been pronounced a genuine grant. Of him we have a long account in *E.C.* II. (*Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola*, new Edn. No. 59, old Edn. No. 38), both of his achievements and of his death in 974 A.D. at Bankāpur by the Jain rite of *Sallēkhana* or religious starvation. It states that Mārasimha became known as the king of the Gurjarās by his conquest of the northern region for the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III; that he broke the pride of Alla, a powerful opponent of Krishna III; dispersed the bands of the Kirātas dwelling on the skirts of the Vindhya forests; that he protected the army of the emperor (Krishna III) at Manyakhēta (Malkhēd in the Nizām's Dominions); that he performed the anointment of the Rāshtrakūta king Indra IV; that he defeated Vajjala, the younger brother of Patalamalla; that he captured all the possessions, including jewels, elephants, etc., of the ruler of the Vanavāsi country; that he received obeisance from the members of the Matura family (*E.I.* XI, 4 and 5); that he destroyed all the Nolamba kings in war, which circumstance gave him the distinctive title *Nolambakulāntaka* or a Yama to the Nolamba family; that he took the hill-fort of Uchchangi which had proved impregnable even to Kāduvatti; that he killed the Sabara leader Naraga; that he defeated the Chālukya prince Rājāditya; that he fought and conquered in battles on the banks of the Tapi, at Manyakhēta, at Gonūr, at Uchchangi, in the Banavāsi country, and at the fortress of Pabhase; and that he maintained the doctrine of Jina and erected *basadis* and *mānastambhas* at various places. The record closes with the statement that he relinquished the sovereignty, and keeping the vow of *sallēkhana* for three days in the presence of Ajita-bhattāraka, died at Bankāpur (in 974). A good number of titles is applied to him, among which may be mentioned *Ganga-chūdāmani* (the crest-jewel of the Gangas), *Nolambāntaka* (destroyer of the Nolambas),

Guttiya-Ganga (the Ganga of Gutti), *Chalad-uttaranga* (the lintel of firmness of character), Mandalika Trinētra (a Siva among chieftains), *Ganga-Vidyādhara, Ganga-Kandarpa, Ganga-Vajra and Gangara-singa* (the lion of the Gangas). From an inscription of Karagada of 971 (see *M.A.R.* 1911, P. 37), we learn that the battle with Rājāditya was for the possession of the Uchchangi fort. The Kūdlūr plates of Mārasimha, of 963, state that Krishna III, when setting out on an expedition to the north to conquer Asvapati, himself performed the ceremony of crowning Mārasimha as the ruler of Gangapadi. (*M.A.R.* 1921, P. 26).

There seems, on the whole, little or no exaggeration in this record, for most of the statements made in it are corroborated from independent sources, notably by the Kūdlūr plates, which also furnish a few personal touches. He was, it says, celebrated for the strength of his arm and was in his boyhood like a young lion created for breaking the pride of the elephants, his enemies. When he prepared himself for war, his enemies, it would appear, desired his alliance. He was, we are told, respectful to *gurus* and obedient to teachers. By his learning he was like a prodigy in the midst of the learned. He was, it is mentioned, an expert in grammar, logic, philosophy and literature and was skilful in the management of horses and elephants. He patronised poets and in truthfulness was like Yudhīshtira. His good government was, it is added, the theme of praise of the four castes and orders and was regulated by his "remarkable intellect matured by an investigation of all the *Ithihāsas* and *Purānas*." Apparently, he had studied the science of politics as set down by Chānakya and others. He is described as a devout Jain, "who washed out all taints with the water of the daily bath of Jina." These plates confirm the statement that the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III (better known as Akālavarsha III) crowned him king of Gangavādi and gives many—rather poetical—reasons, why he performed the ceremony ending with the declaration that he did so because "he (Mārasimha) was like himself (*i.e.*, Krishna) able to bear up the burden of his kingdom." Mārasimha's other names were Guttiya Ganga and Nolambāntaka. It is clear from the inscription quoted that he was an active ally of Krishna III, on whose behalf he led an expedition into Gujarat. He also fought against the Western Chālukya prince Rājāditya, who it is suggested had made, through anger, a brave declaration of war, at a great festival of victory; put down Naraga, a bandit chief who had gained such renown as to be looked upon as either Yama, Rāvana or Sisupāla and who had his stronghold in the present Chitaldrug District, and whose head, we are told, fell with the greatest ease into the hand of the servants of Gangachūdāmani; and brought the Nolamba family to an end. On account of this last act, he has the distinctive title of *Nolambāntaka* or *Nolambakulāntaka-Dēva* (which full name occurs in *E.C.* III, T.-Narsipur 69) *i.e.*, the Yama to the Nolambas or the destroyer of the Nolambas. The Nolambas, it would appear, "mis-behaved themselves through self-conceit owing to the arrogance of the strength of arm of hundreds of princes and the pride of troops of elephants." This conquest of the Nolambas should have been accomplished after the death of Krishna III, for we have evidence to believe that the Nolamba-Pallavas were his allies in his conquest of the South as far as Rāmēsvaram. (*E.I.* IV, 280 and *ante* under *Nolamba-Pallavas*). From a lithic inscription at Nevalige, Arsikere Taluk, dated in 971 A.D. in Mārasimha's reign, it might be inferred that the fight which preceded this conquest should have taken place in or about that year. (*M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 77). For, this inscription actually records a grant in favour of one Amāvāsayya, who repeated the exploit of Būtuga II (see *E.C.* III, Mandya 41) by making his *howdah* his battlefield and killing from it, in single combat, with a dagger, his opponent. A *vīrgal* that is to be seen at Neralige graphically depicts this heroic feat. (see *ibid*, plate V facing page 88). The Nolamba chiefs mentioned are Kattanemalla, Uttiga, Nolipa and Chattiga. The donors of the gift are mentioned as Chāgiyabbarasi and Būtuga, but who these were it is not possible to say. If the Sravana Belgola epitaph and the Kūdlūr plates are to be believed, there seems to have been a general massacre of "all the Nolambas" in the war of extirpation that Mārasimha led against them. Three of the princes seem, however, to have escaped the general massacre. (see *ante* Nolamba-Pallavas). Mārasimha's conquest of the Nolamba-Pallavas falls into the reign of Indra, the son of Vīra Mahēndra of that dynasty. His conquest of them was, it has been shown (see *ante*), more nominal than real for we find them in 985 A.D. ruling over Nolambavādi 36,000. (*E.C.* X, Srinivaspur 59). His capture of Uchchangi fort mentioned in the Sravana Belgola inscriptions, however, is confirmed by a lithic inscription at Karagada, Belur Taluk, dated in 971 A.D., recording a grant by him in favour of a hero Bhāsa Gavunda, who is said to have fought and fallen in that exploit. (*M.A.R.* 1910-1911, Para 77). As this grant should have been made immediately after the event, it seems reasonable to infer that the fight for the possession of this fortress took place in 971 A.D. The Uchchangi fort, which is spoken of as a hill-fort and is said to have been "reduced to powder" by Mārasimha, may be identified with the Uchchasringi or Uchchangidurga near Molakalmuru and not the well-known one south of Bellary.

Of the grants of Mārasimha III, we have, besides the Kūdlūr one to one Vādighangāla Bhatta, an eminent scholar and grammarian, others in the Dharwar district, made in 968 A.D. (*I.A.* VII, 101, 112). There is a lithic inscription of his, dated in the first year of his coronation (971 A.D.) on a *vīrgal* in front of the travellers' bungalow at Nagamangala. (*M.A.R.* 1914-1915, Para 67). The *yantrakal* at Hebbatta, Srinivaspur Taluk, containing a *Sarvatōbhadra* verse in 32 small squares, is an interesting record of his reign. (See *M.A.R.* 1916-17, Para 80; also Plate XI facing page 40). It records the rather important remark that Srī-Mārasimha did good to the cattle. It has on its front face a circular diagram with 17 syllables inserted in the interstices in the middle and the syllable *hrim* repeated 12 times around. Below the diagram is the remark above referred to that the stone, called locally *gō-kal*, was set up by Mārasimha for the benefit of the cattle. The *Sarvatōbhadra* is on the back of the stone, but the meaning of the verse is not known. It has, however, been made out that it (the verse) refers to cow-herds, milk and the protection of cows. The curious double *vīrgal* at Niduvani, Hole-Narsipur Taluk, dated in 970 A.D., also belongs to his reign, though there is no reference to him on it. (*M.A.R.* 1912-1913, Para 58).

Mārasimha III appears to have promoted the coronation of his nephew Indra Rāja IV in an attempt to maintain the Rāshtrakūta power. (*E.C.* II, Sravana Belgola, New Edn. 59). But his attempt was shattered by the Chālukyas beyond recovery in 973 A.D. and Indra Rāja starved himself to death by the Jaina rite of *sallēkhana* at Sravana Belgola in 982 A.D. (*E.C.* II, Sravana Belgola, New Edn. No. 133—Old Edn. 57).

Mārasimha appears to have retired to Bankāpur in or about 973 A.D. to end his days in religious exercises at the feet of Ajitasēna, and died after observing the vow for three days in 974 A.D. His retirement from sovereignty, however, did not take place until he had carried out works of piety, such as the erection of *basadis* (Jain temples) and *mānastambhas* (pavilioned-pillars), referred to in his Sravana Belgola epitaph. Apparently he had, after his wars, a year or two of peaceful life, which he devoted to the performance of religious duties and pious acts, including the building of bridges. The date of his death is given in the Melagani inscription (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 84) as *Saka* 864, Bhava or 974 A.D. He appears to have been a good and popular ruler, with martial instincts well developed in him but not wholly overcome by them. His love of religion, learning, piety and the animal world, as typified by the cow, indicate the general bent of his mind. We might well believe the composer of the Kūdlūr plates when he says that Mārasimha delighted in doing good to others and when he praises his renunciation of other's women and wealth, his love for hearing stories of the good, his aversion in the matter of giving ear to evil report regarding the good, his intentness in worshipping Jinēsvara, his diligence in making gifts to sages and Brāhmans, his full consciousness in protecting refugees, and his faculty for remembering the good done to him. His prowess and piety alike seem to have left their mark on his people, who celebrated them in songs. He impresses the reader of his life to-day as a firm but not a relentless man, great in war, but greater still in the moral field. His spoken word was, we are told, as a written bond. The poet who composed the fine Sravana Belgola epitaph writes: "Has he promised you any gift? Yes, it is already in your hands. Can the promise of Ganga-chūdāmani ever fail?" No wonder this verse is quoted by Nāgavarma and Kēsirāja in their respective works. The Ganga kingdom, during his reign, extended as far as the Krishna and included the Nolambavādi 32,000, the Gangavādi 96,000, the Banavāse 12,000, the Sāntalige 1,000, and other provinces whose names cannot be made out. (*E.I.* IV. 352).

Rāchamalla Satyavākya IV, 977 A.D.

Mārasimha left three sons, Rāchamalla Satyavākya IV, Rakkasa Ganga Rāchamalla, and Arumuli Dēva.

Of these, Rāchamalla Satyavākya was the eldest and he succeeded his father on the Ganga throne. His other name was Jagadēkavīra (Sravana Belgola 201). There are only a few inscriptions of this king, and all of them are on stone. One of these epigraphs, a worn one, is at Kūdēru, Chamrajnagar Taluk, of which the date (only partly visible) seems to be *Saka* 900 or 978 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1916-1917, Para 81). Nanjangud 183 (*E.C.* III), dated in *Saka* 899, cyclic year *Īsvara*, or A.D. 977, belongs to his reign. It is a lithic inscription found near a pond at Dodda-Homma, and records the grant of a whole lordship in favour of one Kuchi Bhata, disciple of Bala Sakti Bhata. It provides, among other things, for the distribution of food to people and incidentally testifies to the existence of Sakti worship in the Ganga kingdom in the 10th century. Then we have another at Peggur in Coorg dated in *Saka* 899 or 977 A.D. (*Inscriptions in Coorg*, No. 4). The latter records a gift of a village to a priest. It mentions Rāchamalla IV and his younger brother Rakkasa Ganga, whom it styles *annana-banta* or elder brother's warrior. Rakkasa Ganga was at the time governor of the country round Beddoregare, another name for Lakshmanatīrtha, which is locally known as the big river. Rāchamalla IV does not appear to have had an accession to his father's throne. There are references to attempted usurpations at the time. The exact details are not known but it is clear that advantage was taken of either the disturbed position of the country or of the comparative youthfulness of Rāchamalla and his brothers to effect more than one petty revolution. But Taila surnamed Āhavamalla, the founder of the restored Chālukya line, and Chāmunda Rāya, the Minister, who had acted under Mārasimha III, successively thwarted the design. A certain Pānchāla-Dēva, with the Ganga titles, set himself up as independent ruler in 975 A.D., but was killed in battle by the Chālukya king

Taila. (*E.I.* V, 372). In *E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 1, Pānchāla-Dēva is called a *mahā-sāmantādhipati* or great feudal chief. An attempt was also made by a Ganga named Mudu-Rāchayya, who took the titles *Chaladanka-Ganga* and *Gangarabanta*, to seize the Ganga throne. This Mudu-Rāchayya had killed Nāgavarma, the younger brother of Chāmunda Rāya. Chāmunda Rāya, both to avenge his brother's death and to prevent the usurpation, slew in battle Mudu-Rāchayya, and obtained the title of Samara-Parasurāma. (*E.C.* II, Sravana Belgola, New Edn. No. 281-Old Edn. 109; also Introd. 45). Before the battle, Bāgiya (or Bōyiga), prince Rakkasa's guardian, when the battle proved unfavourable, sent him away to a place of safety and rushed in heroically to meet his own death. As the composer of Sravana Belgola 138 (Old Edn. 60) puts it, Bōyiga, "putting to flight amidst the praise of his own and the hostile armies, the horsemen that eagerly came to fight, charged fiercely into the enemy's troops, and when he saw his own army retreating, he went back, and inspiring courage, marched with it on horse-back, fell upon the enemy's force, cut it down and acquired renown." The greatness of his prowess was praised even by the enemy's troops. "Let the people die," the writer adds, "like Bōyiga, having displayed the greatness of their valour." Sravana Belgola (New Edn.) No. 139 (Old Edn. No. 61) mentions a Bāyika, whom Mr. Rice identifies, (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 65, footnote) with the Bōyiga of No. 138 (Old Edn. No. 60). If this identification is correct, Bōyiga was married to Jayabbe, and had by her two sons and a daughter Saviyabbe, who is praised as a great *srāvaki* or lay disciple. Mr. Narasimhachar sets down Sravana Belgola 138 and 139 to about 940 and 950, but as suggested by Mr. Rice, they seem to refer to the time of Rāchamalla IV and the quelling of Mudu Rāchayya's attempted usurpation. Rakkāsamani, the prince, saved by Bōyiga, is actually mentioned in Sravana Belgola 138. These inscriptions should accordingly belong to about 977 A.D.

Chāmunda Rāya, who thus quelled the rebellion, was the minister and general of Rāchamalla IV. He was, perhaps, one of the greatest ministers known to Ganga history. In the Jain religion, his name stands high, and is referred to in several inscriptions as merely Rāya. A twelfth century inscription, of the time of Hoysala Narasimha I (Sravana Belgola 345, dated in 1159 A.D.) praises him as one of the chief promoters of the Jain religion and classes him with Ganga Rāja, minister of Vishnuvardhana, and Hulla, minister of Narasimha I. The story of his achievements and pious deeds is told in a few inscriptions found in Sravana Belgola and in a work of his own. In T.-Narsipur 69, we are told that he was the son of Mahābalayya, who is praised in several lines as a virtuous and able man. Mahābalayya's father was Gōvindamayya and brother Īsvarayya. The brothers Gōvindamayya and Īsvarayya were, it would appear, like Bhīma and Arjuna. These two are said to have served under Nolambakulāntaka-Dēva, which is Mārasimha III. From Sravana Belgola 281 and his work *Chāmunda Rāya Purāna*, we learn that Chāmundarāya belonged to the Brahma-Kshatra race. He at first, we are told, frustrated the desire of king Chaladanka Ganga to seize the Ganga throne. When Rāchamalla joined Indra IV, the Rāshtrakūta king, in his war against Vajvala-dēva, brother of Pātālamalla, Chāmunda Rāya as the general of Rāchamalla, routed and put to flight the hostile forces. Chāmunda Rāya took part in the war against the Nolamba-Pallavas and beat them on the plain of Gōnūr, and won the title of *Vīra-mārtānda.* He also defeated Ranasinga (or Ranarangasinga) and took the hill fort of Uchchangi. *Ranarangasinga* was apparently a title of Rājāditya, the Pāndya king of

Uchchangi. By this exploit, he obtained the title of *Ranarangasinga.* He also seems to have slain Tribhuvanavīra in the fort of Bāgeyūr and occupied it. Who this person was is not clear, but it is possible he was connected with the Pāndyas of Uchchangi. He also won victories over Rāja, Bāsa, Sivara and Kūnanka in the fort of king Kāma, who has not so far been identified. He seems to have had many titles (a list of them is given in his *Purāna*), but the most important of them was *Satyayudhīsthira*, which he got from his never telling an untruth even in jest. Chāmunda Rāya was, besides, a Kannaḍa author. He wrote the *Chāmunda Rāya Purāna* already mentioned, about the year 978 A.D. It gives an account, mostly in prose, of the twenty-four *Tīrthankaras*, or Jain saints. He is, however, best remembered by his sacred erections at Sravana Belgola, among which are Chāmundarāya-basti on the smaller hill (Sravana Belgola No. 122) and the colossal image of Gommatēsvara on the larger hill. (*Ibid* 145, 176 and 179; also see Nos. 234 and 254). The date of the execution of this remarkable monument and object of work was about 983 A.D. In daring conception and gigantic dimensions, it is without a rival in India (see *ante* Chapter V, *Sculpture and Painting*). The name of Rāchamalla IV, during whose reign it was completed, is as much connected with it as that of his minister Chāmunda Rāya, whose piety and religious zeal conceived it. Rāchamalla's war accountant Subhakarayya is mentioned in Sravana Belgola 154 (wrongly assigned to Rāchamalla III in *M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 63 but correctly to Rāchamalla IV in *E.C.* II Sravana Belgola, Introduction 46). Apparently he seems to have visited Sravana Belgola on behalf of his royal master. As his official designation is given, it might be taken that the visit was paid during the life-time of Rāchamalla. In that case, the date of the inscription should be much earlier than 1000 A.D., to which date it has been assigned by Mr. Narasimhachar, (Sravana Belgola, Page 77). *E.C.* III T.-Narsipur 69, which has been assigned to about 980 A.D., gives the genealogy of Chāmunda Rāya and says that he performed many works of merit in the land he governed. From his *Purāna*, we learn that he was a devout Jain and that his *guru* was Ajitasēna, the same great saint at Bankāpur before whom Mārasimha III performed *sallēkhana*. Chāmunda Rāya's son, Jinadēvana, was likewise a lay disciple of this saint and built a temple at Sravana Belgola. (Sravana Belgola No. 121).

Rakkasa-Ganga-Rāchamalla 985-1024 A.D.

Rakkasa-Ganga-Rāchamalla succeeded his elder brother. As stated above, he has been described as *annanabanta* in Sravana Belgola 138 and in Coorg 4. Probably he served as a general in the army of Rāchamalla IV. We have a record of his reign in *E.C.* X, Srinivāsapūr 59. In this a feudatory of his is mentioned as ruling the Nolambavādi 32,000. A lithic grant of his reign has also been found at Hale Budanūr, Mandya Taluk, but it is undated. (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 62). But it has on another side an inscription of the 13th regnal year of Rājēndra-Chōla (*i.e.*, 1024 A.D.), who, according to an inscription at Belatūr, conquered the Ganga country prior to 1033 A.D. (*E.I.* IV, 216). As the inscription of Rakkasa-Ganga is in identical characters as the one of Rājēndra Chōla, the inference has to be drawn that the whole forms one inscription and Rakkasa-Ganga acknowledges the suzerainty of Rājēndra-Chōla. But, as has been pointed out by Mr. Narasimhachar, the period of Rakkasa Ganga is, according to *Coorg Inscriptions* No. 4, dated in 977 A.D., earlier by nearly thirty years than that of Rājēndra-Chōla. As no other Rakkasa-Ganga is known so far to Ganga history, it has to be presumed that Rakkasa-Ganga lived on to at least 1024 A.D., the date of the grant in question. This inference is supported by the fact that Rakkasa-Ganga's niece (younger brother's daughter) Chattala-Dēvi was married in about 1040 A.D. to a Kāduvetti. (Nagar 35, dated in 1077 A.D.). The grant, in which Rakkasa-Ganga's name and titles are fully set out, is a private one recording the gift of a land for the tank built by one Sovarasibhatāraka, apparently a Jain ascetic, said to be renowned for the practice of *ashtāngayōga*. Rakkasa-Ganga was the patron of the Kannada poet Nāgavarma, the first of that name, author of *Chhandōmbudhi*, who, in the introduction to his work, has verses relating to himself, beginning *Arasam-rakkasagangam*. As Mr. Rice has pointed out (*Coorg Inscriptions*, page 10, f.n. 1), these verses though found in several palm-leaf copies of the work, are omitted in the Rev. F. Kittel's well-known edition of it (*Nāgavarma's Canarese Prosody*), though referred to in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* under *Ganga* and *Ajitasēna*.

Arumuli-Dēva.

From Nagar 35 (*E.C.* VIII) it would appear that Rakkasa-Ganga adopted the daughters and son of his younger brother Arumuli Dēva. The latter was named Rāja Vidyādhara. Apparently Arumuli-Dēva died while Rakkasa-Ganga was still ruling. His son, Vidyādhara, may have also died before Rakkasa-Ganga, as the latter is represented as taking special interest in his nieces.

Nītimārga III, Rāchamalla 989, 999 A.D.

It is not so far known how long Rakkasa-Ganga ruled or when he died. The latest date we have for him is 1024 A.D. We have a reference to a Ganga king Nītimārga in Chamrajnagar 10 (*E.C.* IV) dated in 999, in which he makes a grant along with a Nolamba-Pallava princess, described as the elder sister of Nolamba. Mr. Rice suggests that it is possible that Chikmagalur 3 (*E.C.* VI), which is dated in the 6th regnal of a Nītimārga Rāchamalla. 's of this king's time, as the date, with a slight correction, will work out, according to Dr. Kielhorn, as either 989 or 992 A.D. How this Nītimārga Rāchamalla was exactly related to Rakkasa-Ganga is not known. Nor is it clear if he may be identified with Rakkasa-Ganga himself, the terms Nītimārga and Rāchamalla being treated as mere titles, in case such identification can be justified. Whether the Ganga Permānadi, mentioned in *E.C.* III, Mandya 78, also refers to the same king (Nītimārga Rāchamalla), it is difficult to say. He is described in this inscription as ruling over Karnāta. The *Saka* date is given as 944 but the cyclic year has been set down as *Durmakhi*, which Mr. Rice suggests is a mistake for *Durmati.* (see *E.C.* III, Mandya 79, footnote 1). *Saka* 944 corresponds to 1022 A.D. It is accordingly possible that the Ganga Permānadi mentioned in this inscription refers to Rakkasa-Ganga himself as we know from the Hale-Budanur inscription, also found in Mandya Taluk, that he lived down to 1024 A.D. and acknowledges the suzerainty of Rājendra-Chōla. He and not Nītimārga Rāchamalla, (as suggested by Mr. Rice in his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 48) must be the Ganga Rāja under whom Talkād, the Ganga capital, was lost. The concluding part of Mandya 78 (which is to be seen on a stone behind the Durga-Dēvi temple on the tank-bund at Belur in Kottati hobli, Mandya Taluk) itself seems to support this inference. It says that Pergade Hāsam built a new Jina temple, in whose favour a grant is recorded in it, at the place of his sovereign's government (*i.e.* Talkād) in order that long life might ensue to Permānadi. He also seems to have caused steps to be cut to the deep tank of Balora-katta (apparently the Belur, where the inscription is found) and had the embankment built and provided a sluice to it, and granted a *kolaga* of land under it to the Jaina temple he built at the capital.

Rājēndra-Chōla's conquest.

The story af Rājēndra-Chōla's conquest of the Gangamandala belongs to Chōla history rather than to the Ganga. It ought to suffice here to state that the Chōlas, who had been victorious all over the east of the peninsula, taking possession of Kānchi, the capital of the Pallavas, and reducing to submission the Eastern Chālukyas, with whom were allied the Rāshtrakūtas and the Gangas, now penetrated to Mysore. *E.C.* IX Hoskōte III shows the Chōla king Rājarāja-Dēva ruling in the east of the State in 997 A.D. His son Rājēndra-Chōla captured Talkād by 1004 A.D. and the Ganga power, which had ruled Mysore for nine centuries, was brought to an end. A lithic record in undoubtedly Ganga characters, dated in that very year (1004 A.D.), to be seen under a tree to the east of Rāmpur, Channapatna Taluk, is characteristically silent as to the reigning sovereign of the time. It testifies to the troublous conditions prevailing during the period. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 35 and plate opposite to page 8). Similarly the stone inscription now at the Commissioner's Office at Mercara (Coorg 5) dated in *Saka* 921, cyclic year *Sārvar*, or 1000 A.D., is silent as to the name of the ruling sovereign, though it falls into the last years of the Ganga period.

Later Gangas.

The Gangas, however, do not disappear from history. Driven from their kingdom, they took refuge with the Chālukyas and with the Hoysalas, who were destined to succeed to their dominion in Mysore, and attained to positions of the highest honour under both. A Ganga princess was married to the Western Chālukya king Sōmēsvara I (1042-1068 A.D.), and became the mother of the kings Sōmēsvara II (1068-1076 A.D.) and his celebrated brother Vikramārka. (1076-1126 A.D.). Shikarpur 83 of 1058 A.D. and Shikarpur 152 of 1060 A.D. show that Vikramāditya assumed all the Ganga titles, was at Balligāve (Baligāmi) ruling over Gangavādi, Banavāsi, Sāntalige and Nolambavādi provinces under his father Āhavamalla. (see *E.C.* VII). Probably the Chōlas themselves followed the usual practice of recognising members of the old dynasty as local rulers. Thus a fragmentary *vīrgal* at *bēchirākh* Malagala, Mysore Taluk, which appears to be dated in 1044 A.D., mentions a Permādi and records the death of some one in battle. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Para 66). He was probably a local ruler of the defunct dynasty. Similarly, Shimoga 4 (*E.C.* VII) furnishes the genealogy of a later line of Gangas, whose descent is traced from Mārasimha I. Additional information about this line is given in Shimoga 6, 10 and 64 (see *ante*). Gangas were also in authority in the Kolar District during the Chōla occupation and were also trusted officers of the Hoysalas. It was a descendant of the Gangas, the Hoysala general Ganga Rāja, that recovered Talkād from the Chōlas (*E.C.* III Malavalli 31) in 1116 A.D. under Vishnuvardhana, who then drove the Chōlas out of Mysore.

EASTERN GANGAS.

But the principal revival of their power as independent rulers was in Orissa, or rather in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts, in alliance with the Chōlas. We have already had occasion to mention the Kalinga Gangas.

Their Inscriptions in Mysore.

Of this line of rulers there is only one inscription, Bangalore 140. It is a copper-plate received by Mr. Rice from the Inam Commissioner's Office and edited by him in *E.C.* III, Bangalore District. It is not dated, but probably belongs to about 700 A.D., and records a grant by Dēvēndravarma, son of Rājēndravarma, made, from his residence of Kalinga-nagara (Ganjam district). He was a worshipper of the god Gōkarnasvāmi of the Mahēndra mountain (Ganjam district). The king, being in good health, commands the house-holders of the Sidhata village and its neighbourhood in Varahavartani that the village has been granted to Ratuka, a resident of Paḷukosu, of the Kateya-sūtra, in order to provide for the worship and offerings to (the god) Paramēsvara. The grant was apparently made at the instance of Navanitēsvara of Srīparvata, and was written by Utnina Srīkhandi. An inscription of the Eastern Ganga king Mahārāja Indravarma Dēva is also known. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix A. No. 9). It is assigned by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri to the 9th century A.D. The king is described as a devotee of the god Gōkarnēsvara, residing in the Mahēndra mountain.

According to the inscriptions, Nagar 35, Shimoga 10, 4 and 64, the progenitor of the Kalinga Gangas was Bhagadatta, between whom and his brother Srīdatta, their father Vishnugupta divided his dominions, giving Kalinga to the former, and the ancestral kingdom with the elephant, to the latter.

Their Grants and Genealogy.

A number of their early inscriptions have been found (*I.A.*, XIII, XIV, XVIII; *E.I.*, III, 17, 220), all issued from Kalinga-nagara (Ganjam district), and dated in the years of the Ganga family (*Gāngēya-vamsa-samvatsara*), an era not yet determined. Among them are a Dēvēndravarma in 51, in 183 and in 254. But the first and third were sons of Anantavarma, and the second a son of Gunārnava. They were therefore different from the one mentioned in copper-plate grant numbered Bangalore 140, above referred to. The date 254 is supposed to be equivalent to about 774 A.D. The kings profess to be worshippers of the god Gōkarnasvāmi on the Mahēndra mountain (in Ganjam district), and rulers over the whole of Kalinga. Arranging the grants conjecturally, guided by the years and relationships given, we obtain the following list:—

Anantavarma	...	Anantavarma	...
Dēvēndravarma	51	Dēvēndravarma	254
Satyavarma	51	Rājēndravarma	...
Indravarma	91, 128, 146	Anantavarma	304
Rājēndravarma	...	Vajrahasta	...
Dēvēndravarma	...		

On the other hand, a very full and circumstantial genealogy of Kalinga Gangas is given in a later grant of 1118 from Vizagapatam, in which quite different names appear (except Vajrahasta), but of course it is possible they may be the same kings under other titles. (*I.A.* XVIII 165). The line is here traced from the god Vishnu through Yayāti and Turvasu, who is said to have obtained from the Ganga the son Gāngēya, who was the progenitor of the Ganga kings (see *ante*). Gāngēya, it says, was succeeded by eighteen kings, most of whose names seem purely mythical, down to Kōlāhala, who is said to have "built the city named Kōlāhala (Kolar) in the great Gangavādi country":—

Virōchana
Samsēdya
Samvēdin
Dattasēna
Sōma
Amsudatta
Saurānga
Chitrambara
Sāradhvaja
Dharma (Dhammaba)
Parīkshit
Jayasēna
Jayasēna (II)
Jitavīrya
Vrishadhvaja
Pragalba (Pragarbha)
Kōlāhala
Virōchana (II)

After his son Virōchana II and eighty more kings, not named and probably imaginary, had held Kōlāhala, there arose in that line Vīrasimha, who had five sons, Kāmārnava, Dānārnava, Gunārnava, Mārāsimha and Vajrahasta. (For a grant of the time of Vajrahasta, issued from Kalinga-nagara, see *E.I.* III, 220). The first of these, giving over his own territory to his paternal uncle (not named), set out with his brothers to conquer the earth, and coming to the Mahēndra mountain, worshipped Gōkarnasvāmi, and obtained the crest of a bull and the symbols of sovereignty. He and his brothers subdued Balāditya, who had grown sick of war, and took possession of the (three) Kalingas. Giving Ambavādi to the third brother, Sōdā or Sedā to the fourth, and Kantaka to the fifth, Kāmārnava, with his capital at Jantavura, ruled over the Kalingas, nominating his brother Dānārnava as his successor.

Of the line of kings so established some grants have been discovered, and the following is the list of the kings, with the number of years each is said to have ruled (*E.I.* IV, 186) :—

Kāmārnava (I) ...	36
Dānārnava ...	40
Kāmārnava (II) ...	50
Ranārnava ...	5
Vajrahasta (II) ...	15
Kāmārnava (III) ...	19
Gunārnava ...	27
Jitankusa ...	15

Instead of the above, two grants have Vajrahasta (III) 40 (or 44), while Gundama is said to have ruled 3 years, and Kāmārnava IV 35, Vajrahasta (V) is also given 33 years.

Kaligalankusa	12
Gundama (I)	7
Kāmārnava (IV)	3
Vinayāditya	3
Vajrahasta (IV)	35
Kāmārnava (V)	½
Gundama (II) ...	3
Madhu Kāmārnava (VI) ...	19
Vajrahasta (V) (crowned in 1038) ...	30
Rājarāja ...	8
Chōla Ganga (crowned in 1078)	

Vajrahasta V, married Vinaya-mahādēvi of the Vaidumba family. His son was Rājarāja, who is said to have defeated the Dramilas, wedded Rājasundari, daughter of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla, and saved the aged Vijayāditya from falling into the power of the Chōlas, by upholding his authority in the west. Rājarāja's son Anantavarma or Chōla-Ganga was anointed king of Trikalinga in 1078 A.D., and reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala (Orissa) in the east, and the sinking lord of Vēngi in the west. Grants of his have been found dated in 1081, 1118 and 1135 A.D. (*loc. cit.*) To the reign of Anantavarman Chōda-Ganga of this dynasty (1078-1142 A.D.) must be assigned inscription No. 827 of Appendix A of *M.E.R.* 1918 (Para 18). The record is of the 15th regnal year, or A.D. 1093. It is a Telugu inscription.

A copper-plate of the Eastern Ganga king Dēvēndravarman, son of Gunārnava, is known. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 63 and *E.I.* XIII, No. 19). It is dated in the year 195 of the Ganga era, both in words and in numerical symbols. This era is specifically called the Kalingānka era, which is perhaps the actual form by which the Gāngēya era was known. It records a grant to a Brāhman donee at Ērandapalli, which has been identified by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri with Ērandapada, whose chief Damana was captured and liberated by the Gupta king Samudragupta in or about the 4th century A.D. The writer of this grant seems to have been—judging from his name—a brother of the writer of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarma. (*E.C* III, 130). Another grant of Mahārāja Dēvēndravarman, son of Gunārnava, the same king who issued the above mentioned grant of the 195th year, has been found. It is dated in the 18th year of the "glorious reign," *i.e.*, the Gāngēya era. (Appendix A. No. 1 of 1920-1921, *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 21). It records a grant of a village to the king's guru Patanga Sivāchārya. A grant of his son Anantavarman has also been found. He is described as the son of Dēvēndravarman (*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix A. No. 2 for 1920-21 and Para 22), identified with the king of that name who is mentioned in copper-plate grant No. 8 of 1918-1919 which is undated. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix A. No. 8). Palæographically both agree. From No. 2 of Appendix A of 1920-1921, it is inferred that Anantavarman had a brother Jayavarman. The grant records a gift to one Vishnu Sōmācharya, described as an eminent Vēda and Vēdānta scholar. Another copper-plate grant No. 13 of Appendix R of 1917-1918 records the grant of a village by Rājēndravarman, son of Mahārāja Anantavarman of the Ganga family. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 15). The grant was issued from Kalinganagara. The grant is like those of the earlier kings and is dated in the prosperous year of the rule of the Gāngēya family (*Gāngēya-vamsa--pravardhamāna--vijayarājya-samvatsara*). The year is the 342nd of the Gāngēya era. Palæographically, it is described as resembling the Yelmanda plates of the time of the Ganga king Anantavarman (*E.C.* III, 17) whose inscription is dated in the 304th year of the Gāngēya era. The characters of both these inscriptions belong to the 9th century A.D. Combining the genealogy of these two grants, Mr. Krishna Sastri has deduced three successive steps in the succession of this dynasty.—Mahārāja Rājēndravarman; his son Anantavarman (304th year); and his son Rājēndravarman (342nd year). A copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Dēvēndravarman, son of Rājēndravarman, has also been registered. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix A. No. 2). It purports to be dated in the Gāngēya era 101. But as the record is a much damaged one and the date cannot be said to be certain, Mr. Krishna Sastri is inclined to think that the date 101 is a mistake for 310 of the Gāngēya era. This king is identical with the Dēvēndravarman, son of Rājēndravarman, who issued the undated copper grant No. 7 of 1918-1919. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Page 15). Both these grants have been composed and engraved by identical persons. Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, after considering other possibilities, that the Dēvēndravarman of this grant might have been the second son of Mahārāja Rājēndravarman and the younger brother of Mahārāja Anantavarman of the Gāngēya year 304 above mentioned. In this case, the date of this grant, which is doubtfully given as 110 of the Gāngēya era ought to be taken to be 310 of the same era. In this case the Mahārāja Dēvēndravarman of this grant may be identical with the king of that name, who is mentioned as the father of Satyavarman of the Gāngēya era 351. (Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 684). The succession, then, would be as follows as suggested by Mr. Krishna Sastri:—Mahārāja Rājēndravarman; then his son Mahārāja Anantavarman of the year 304; next his brother Mahārāja Dēvēndravarman of the present grant, his date being 310 of the Gāngēya era (110 being corrected); then his nephew (brother's son) Mahārājēndra Rājēndravarman of the Gāngēya year 342 and finally his nephew by Satyavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman of the 310th year. A copper-plate grant of Mahārāja Indravarman, son of Dānārnava has been registered by the Madras Epigraphy Department. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix A. No. 1). It is dated in the Gāngēya era 154 and gives the latest known date to this king. A grant of his of the Gāngēya year 149 has been published in *E.I.* XIV 360. The writer of both these grants was one and the same person. Mr. Krishna Sastri has also attempted to trace the connection, if any, between the kings of this dynasty whose names end in *varman* and those whose names end in *arnava.* The details furnished by the records so far found are so meagre that this is well nigh an impossible task in the present state of our knowledge of these kings. It may, however, be noted that the earlier *varman* kings called themselves "lords of Kalinga," while the later kings called themselves "lords of Trikalinga." (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 16). Another inscription No. 12 of Appendix A of 1917-1918) belongs to king Anantavarman of this family. It is dated in *Saka* 976 expressed by a chronogram and in the 15th year. It has been attributed by Mr. Krishna Sastri to Vajrahasta of this dynasty whose coronation took place in *Saka* 960. (*E.I.* IV, 193). Vajrahasta of this family had also the surname Anantavarman. (*E.I.* IX, 95). Mr. Krishna Sastri states that the writing very closely resembles that of a record of this king dated in *Saka* 967. (*E.I.* XI, 147). The donor is described as of the Kadamva (*i.e.*, Kadamba) family. The connection of the Kadambas with the Ganga kings is known to us from the Parlakimidi plates of Vajrahasti (*E.I.* III. 222), where a certain Ugrakhēdirāja, "the ornament of the spotless family of the Kadambas" figures as an official. A certain Dharmakhēdin is referred to as the maternal uncle of the early king Mahārāja

Dēvēndravarman of the 254th year of the Gāngēya era. (*I.A.* XVIII. 145). But since he is not referred to as a member of the Kadamba family, we are not in a position to trace this political relationship between the Gangas and the Kadambas to this early period. Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that it is probable that this earlier Dharmakhēdin, the maternal uncle of Dēvēndravarman, was an ancestor of the Dharmakhēdin of this grant (No. 12 of Table A of 1917-18), in which case the Kadambas will have to be viewed not only as the subordinates of the Eastern Gangas as in the time of Vajrahasta but also as having been matrimonially allied to them from earlier times. That there was matrimonial alliance between the Gangas and the Vaidumbas is known. (*E.C.* IV, 186). This relationship between the Eastern Gangas and the Vaidumbas would appear to have begun only a generation previous to Vajrahasta, whose mother was the Vaidumba princess Vijayamahādēvi (see *ante*).

Another copper-plate grant of king Anantavarman Vajrahasta, above mentioned (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix A. No. 5) is known. It gives the genealogy of the family from Gunamahārnava to Anantavarman Vajrahasta, who was crowned in *Saka* 960 and is dated in *Saka* 982 or 1060 A.D. and records the gift of a village to a Vaisya, who re-grants the greater portion of it to a number of Brāhmans (*ibid* para 6). The genealogy traced in this grant is the same as that given in *E.C.* IV, 186. A copper-plate grant, registered as No. 6 in *M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix A, is a palimpsest of which the earlier rubbed out grant is that of this self-same Vajrahasti, who was crowned in *Saka* 960, while the fresh inscription engraved on it is that of Chōda-Ganga, who, the inscription states, was crowned in *Saka* 999. It gives as usual the names of all the kings from Gunamahārnava, with the lengths of their reigns. In repeating the names of kings up to Vajrahasta, who was crowned in *Saka* 960, it states that he was succeeded by Rājarāja who married Rājasundari, the daughter of the great Chōla Emperor Rājēndra Chōla I. His son was Anantavarma Chōda-Ganga, the donor of the grant, who was crowned in *Saka* 999 or 1077 A.D. The grant itself was made in *Saka* 1003 or 1111 A.D. and is in favour of 300 Brāhmans of various *gōtras*.

The copper-plate grant registered as No. 7 in *M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix A, is also of one Chōda-Ganga and records a re-grant of the grant mentioned in No. 6, referred to above. It is dated in *Saka* 1034, or 1112 A.D. It gives the full mythical genealogy of the family from god Vishnu to Vīrasimha as in the Vizagapatam plates (*I.A.* XVIII, 165 mentioned above) and then sets out the historical portion, which is as given in *E.C.* IV, 186. It refers to Dantapura (the Jantavara of the Vizagapatam plates) from which several of the later grants of this dynasty were issued. (see *E.I.* XI, 148 quoted above). This appears to have been the first capital of the Gangas after their conquest of the Kalinga country. Jantavura seems to be another form of the name Dantavara and seems to have given the name *Jantārunādu* to the surrounding district. (see *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 306; 1899, Nos. 283, 251 and 246). According to one authority, this tract is even now popularly called by this name. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 8). The name of the king defeated by Kāmārnava before capturing the Kalingas appears here as Sabarāditya, instead of Balāditya (see above). The district given by Kāmārnava to his younger brother was, it would appear from the present grant, Kantakavartani. This is confirmed by the Vizagapatam plates, where the full name appears. Kāmārnava II, the son of Dānārnava, is said to have constructed a new city called Nagara and made it his capital, building therein the temple of Madukēsvara. This new city has been identified with the present town of Mukhalingam, from the existence of the temple of Madhukēsvara in it and from the place being called Nagara in later inscriptions found in the vicinity. (*E.C.* IV. 188). But it has been doubted whether this Nagara, the modern Mukhalingam, is the same as Kalinganagara of the earlier copper-plate grants. (see *M.E.R.* 1925, para 8). Further in this grant, the name of the grandson of Kāmārnava III is given as Pōtānkusa, instead of Jitānkusa in the Vizagapatam plates (see table above). Vajrahasta, again, is given in this grant, a reign of 33 years instead of 30 years, as in the Vizagapatam plates (see above table). Then, Rājarāja, his son, is allotted 8 years in this grant as in the Vizagapatam plates. He is said to have defeated the Dramilas (*i.e.*, Tamils, probably the Chōlas) in war and to have wedded Rājasundari, the daughter of their king, evidently Rājēndra Chōla, as stated in copper-plate No. 6 abovementioned. This Rājarāja is also stated to have saved the Chōla King Vijayāditya, who may be the same as the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya VII, king of Vēngi. (*I.A.* XX. 283).

The Period of their Rule.

The total of the years assigned to the reigns of these kings comes to about 350, which, deducted from 1078, the date of Chōla-Ganga's accession, brings us to 728, and this is near about the period estimated for the later of the early kings previously mentioned. It is also the period in the annals of the Mysore Gangas where we find a break in the list, filled up by an alleged Prithuvīpati, a word merely meaning king, who had a son Mārasimha, of whom nothing more is heard. Putting these coincidences together, we are tempted to suppose that Kāmārnava, with his brother Mārasimha and the others who gave up their kingdom in Mysore to a relative and went forth from Kolar to found another in Kalinga where a branch of the family had already been ruling for centuries, may possibly have been sons of the missing king who died in battle.

Chōla-Gangas in Mysore.

Two inscriptions in Chiknayakanahalli taluk (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanahalli 29 and 30) say that Chāma Dēva, eldest son of Oda-rāyīndra (or great king of Orissa) Chōla-Ganga was born in the Hejjaji Twelve of the Kadanūr Seventy (both in Dodballapur taluk). The Ganga kings of Orissa or Kalinga, also called Gajapatis or elephant lords, beginning with Chōla-Ganga, held the sovereignty of that country down to 1534, soon after which it fell a prey to the Muhammadans. Of these kings Ananga Bhīma Dēva (1175-1202) was a great ruler, and made a survey of his whole kingdom, measuring it with reeds. He also built the present temple of Jagannāth. Another king of interest was Purushōttama Dēva (1479-1504). He sought in marriage the daughter of the king of Kānchi, famed for her beauty. But on the ground of his performing the office of sweeper to Jagannāth his suit was rejected. He therefore attacked Kānchi, and was at first repulsed. At length he captured it, and took the princess prisoner, who, he vowed in revenge, should be married to a sweeper. The minister charged with the execution of this order kept the girl in concealment until the festival of Jagannāth, at which the king was accustomed to sweep the ground before the god; and while he was engaged in that act placed her beside him, and they were married. The reign of Pratāpa Rudra (1504-1532) is remarkable for the reformation of the Vaishnava religion by the preaching of Chaitanya, whose views the king finally adopted; and Buddhism, to which he had previously inclined, was banished the country. Pratāpa Rudra is said to have extended his conquests southwards as far as Cape Comorin and his name occurs in many local traditions in the east of Mysore. We also find that his son Vīrabhadra was invested with the Government of Male Bennūr (Davangere taluk) by Krishna Rāya of Vijayanagar.

Chōla-Gangas in Ceylon and East Mysore.

Certain other references to kings of the same connection may here be pointed out. The existence of constant intercourse between Kalinga and Ceylon from the earliest times is well known, and we find a Chōla-Ganga from Kalinga ruling in Ceylon in 1196 A.D. (Rhys Davids, *Numismata Orientalia*). There was also a line of Chōla-Gangas in the east of Mysore in the thirteenth century. But it is not a little singular that we find a Karnātaka dynasty set up in distant Nepal apparently in 1097 which was presumably of Ganga origin. The founder, Nanya Dēva (perhaps Nanniya Dēva), came from the south. He was succeeded by Ganga Dēva and four others, the last of whom removed the capital to Katmandu, where the line came to an end. (*Ins. from Nepal*, by Dr. G. Bühler).

Ganga Rāja of Ummattūr.

Not yet, however, have we done with the Gangas, for at about the time that their Orissa sovereignty came to an end, or the first part of the sixteenth century, a Ganga Rāja of Ummattūr returned to the scene of their former dominion, and established a principality at Sivasamudram, the island at the falls of the Cauvery, not far from Talkād. He having assumed independence and claimed Penukonda, Krishna Rāya, the Vijayanagar king, led in 1511 A.D. one of his earliest expeditions against him and captured his fort and took Seringapatam. (*E.I.* VII. 18). Ganga Rāja, after a prosperous reign, was succeeded by his son Nandi Rāja, who, to atone for some ceremonial offence, leaped into the cataract at Gagana Chukki on horseback with his wife. His son, Ganga Rāja II, enlarged the city greatly, and lived with much splendour. His two daughters were married, one to the chief of Kilimale, near Satyagala, the other to the chief of Nagarakere, near Maddūr. These marriages were very unhappy, for the pride of the ladies gave their husbands constant disgust, and they were continually upbraided for not living in equal splendour with their father-in-law. They therefore united to attack Sivasamudra and humble Ganga Rāja. The siege had lasted twelve years without their having been able to penetrate to the island, when they found means to corrupt the *Dalavāyi*, or minister, of Ganga Rāja. This traitor removed the guards from the only ford, and thus permitted the enemy to surprise the place, while he endeavoured to engage his master's attention at a game of chess. The shouts of the soldiery at length reaching their ears, the prince started up from the game. The Dalavāyi, who wished him to fall alive into the hands of his sons-in-law, endeavoured to persuade him that the noise arose merely from children at play, but the Rāja, having drawn his sword, first killed all his women and children, and then rushing into the midst of his enemies, fought until he procured an honourable death. The sons-in-law, on seeing this, were struck with horror, and immediately threw themselves into the cataract at Gagana Chukki; and their example was followed by their wives, whose arrogance had been the cause of such disasters.

Jagadēva Rāyalu of Channapatna, and Srīranga Rāja of Talkād, the two most powerful of the neighbouring *Pālegars*, then came and removed all the people and wealth of the place.

Chālukyas.

The Chālukyas next claim our attention. This powerful line of kings was in the ascendant throughout the north-west of Mysore, and the Bombay and Hyderabad districts beyond, from the fifth to the eighth century, and from the latter part of the tenth to that of the twelfth. Their first appearance south of the Nerbudda was in the fourth century, previous to which they are said to have had fifty-nine predecessors on the throne of Ayōdhya, but of these nothing is known. On their entering the Dekhan, they overcame the Rāshtrakūtas, but the Pallavas effectually opposed them and the invader was slain, as previously related. His successor, however, defeated the Pallavas and then formed an alliance with them, confirmed by his marriage with a Pallava princess. In the sixth century, Pulākēsi whose chief city was apparently Indukanta (supposed to be Ajanta or some neighbouring place), wrested Vātāpi (the modern Bādāmi in Bijapur district) from the Pallavas and made it his capital. His son Kīrtivarma subdued the Mauryas (descendants of the ancient Mauryas of Pātalīputra), ruling in the Konkan, and the Kadambas of Banavāsi. Another son, Mangalēsa, conquered the Kalachuryas. The Āluvas, who ruled in Tulava or South Kanara, were also at the same time overcome, and the next king, Pulakēsi II, came into contact with the Gangas, as there appears to have been a Jain temple erected in his name to Puligere (Lakshmēsvara in Dharwar District). There are inscriptions of theirs at Kig in the Western Ghāts in Koppa taluk, and at Mangalore. In about 617 the Chālukyas separated into two branches, of which the Eastern Chālukyas made Vēngi (near Ellore in the Gōdāvari district), taken from the Pallavas, and subsequently Rājamahēndri (Rajahmundry), their capital, while the Western Chālukyas, with whom Mysore is chiefly concerned, continued to rule from Vātāpi and eventually from Kalyāna (in the Nizam's Dominions, about 100 miles west by north of Hyderabad).

Their Origin and Descent.

The Chalukyas were of the Sōma-vamsa or lunar line. They profess to be of the Mānavya-gōtra and Haritīputras, sons of Haritī, nourished by the Seven Mothers. The Varāha Boar was the principal emblem on their signet, obtained from *Bhagavān Nārāyana* (Vishnu), but their insignia included a peacock fan, an *ankusa* or elephant goad, a golden sceptre, and other symbols. The Western Chālukyas are styled the *Satyāsraya kula*, from the name of the first king of this branch. The titles on their inscriptions, which are very numerous in Mysore, especially in the north-west, are nearly invariably as follows :—*Samastabhuvanāsraya*, *Srī-prithvī-vallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēsvara*, *Paramabhattāraka*, *Satyāsrayakula-tilaka*, *Chālukyābharana*.

Although the above details appear very circumstantial, the account of the origin of the Chālukyas is evidently Purānic, and the real source from which they sprang is far from clear. They are stated to have miraculously sprung from the moisture or water in the hollowed palm (*chuluka*, *chulaka*) of Haritī's hand. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 41). According to another account, from the libation to the gods poured from his goblet (*chulka*, *chuluka*, *chaluka*), by Haritī. These stories seem evidently invented from the name. Dr. Hoernle says:—"Despite the attempted Sanskrit derivation of the genealogists, I would suggest that the name (Chālukya) is not a Sanskritic word at all, but of foreign (Gurjara or Hunic) origin." (*J.R.A.S.* 1905, page 12). He adds that it may be from a Turki root, *chap*, gallop, *chapdul*, a plundering raid, a charge of cavalry (?). Sir Vincent Smith, in his *Early History of India*, 440, writes, citing the *Bombay Gazetteer* I. i. 1274 :—"The name (Pulakēsin) occurs in a Chapa genealogy, which is the only instance known to (Sir John) Fleet of its occurrence outside the Chālukya family. This fact supports Jackson's view that the Solankis or Chālukyas were connected with the Gurjaras, of whom the Chapas were a branch." Mr. Rice suggested in the last edition of this work that the name Chālukya bears a suggestive resemblance to the Greek name Seleukeia, and if the Pallavas were really of Parthian connection, as their name would imply, we have a plausible explanation of the inveterate hatred which inscriptions admit to have existed between the two, and their prolonged struggles may have been but a sequel of the contests between Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. If, however, the theory of the foreign origin of the Pallavas has to be given up (see *ante* Pallavas), this derivation is in danger of losing the weight that might otherwise attach to it.

Their Succession List.

The following is a table of the Early Chālukyas down to the rise to power of the Rāshtrakūtas. This table is mainly based on Dr. Kielhorn's list. (*E.C.* VIII, App. ii). A full account of the Chālukyas down to 1123 A.D., including their rise, their eclipse by the Rāshtrakūtas, and their revival is given in *E.C.* XI Davangere 1.

Jayasimha, ? Vijayāditya.
Rājasimha, Ranaraga, ? Vishnuvardhana.
Pulakēsi I, Satyāsraya, Ranavikrama, Vallabha 550 A.D.
Kīrtivarma I, Vallabha, Ranaparākrama, etc., 566-567 ; 598.
Mangalēsa, Vallabha, Ranavikrānta, etc., 597 ; 601-2.
Pulakēsi II, Vallabha, Satyāsraya, etc., 605 ; 612, 634 (Crowned 609).
(Subversion of Chālukyas by the Pallava King Narasimha Varman. Thirteen years' interruption of Chālukya Rule 642 to 655).
Ādityavarma.
Chandrāditya, 655.
Vikramāditya I, Vallabha, Satyāsraya, etc., 655 ; 659.
Vinayāditya, Vallabha, Satyāsraya, etc., 680 ; 689 ; 691 ; 692 ; 694.
Vijayāditya, Satyāsraya 696 ; 699 ; 700 ; 705 ; 709.
Vikramāditya II, Anivarta, etc., 733 ; 735 (?).
Kīrtivarma II, Nripasimharāja, etc., 746 ; 754 ; 757.
(In 753 A.D., the Rāshtrakūtas subverted the Chlāukya power and the main dynasty became extinct until revived at about the close of the 10th century A.D.).

Jayasimha and his successors.

Jayasimha is said to have defeated and destroyed Indra, the son of Krishna, the Rāshtrakūta or Ratta king. He himself, however, was slain in an encounter with Trilōchana Pallava. His queen, then pregnant, fled and took refuge with a Brāhman called Vishnu Sōmayāji, in whose house she gave birth to Rājasimha. On growing up to man's estate; he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was successful, and

Pulakēsi I.

married a princess of that race. Pulakēsi I was the most powerful of the early kings. He made himself master of the town of Vātāpi, the modern Bādāmi in the Bijapur district, about 550 A.D. At first a petty ruler of a small principality, he soon claimed universal dominion as is evidenced by the horse sacrifice he performed. His eldest son Kīrtivarma I subdued the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. Sir John Fleet has associated these three dynasties with the sovereignty of the Konkan during the middle of the 6th centuay A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. 12, 13.). They were among the early opponents to the expansion of the Chālukya dominion. Sir John was inclined to think that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of Bellary and Kurnool (*ibid* I. 282). A dynasty of Nalas appears to have ruled in the Kalinga country (Yelamanchili-Kalinga and Madhya-Kalinga) as a few of their copper-plate grants have been found there. (*M.E.R.* 1909, pages 105-108). Probably a branch of this dynasty, on the loss of their territory through the expansion of the Chalukyas into it, settled in the present Jeypore Agency. A lithic grant of this branch, dated in the 12th regnal year of king Bhavadatta, in archaic Telugu characters and Sanskrit language (of about the 5th century A.D.) has been found at Podāgada hill. (*M.E.R.* 1921-1922, Para 1, Page 95). Mangalēsa, his younger brother, conquered the island called Rēvati-dvīpa, and the Matangas; also the Kalachurya king Buddha, son of Sankaragana, the spoils taken from whom he gave to the temple of Makutēsvara, near Bādāmi. He attempted to establish his own son in the succession, but Pulakēsi II, the elder son of Kīrtivarma, obtained the throne.

Founding of Eastern Chālukya Line.

Pulakēsi's younger brother Vishnuvardhana, surnamed Kubja, was, on the capture of Vēngi in 611 A.D. from the Pallavas, appointed its governor. He there founded in 615 A.D. the separate line of Eastern Chālukyas, who remained in power in the Vēngi and Rājamahēndri country till 1070 A.D., when they were absorbed into the Chōla family. (*M.E.R.* 1908).

List of Eastern Chālukya Kings.

For convenience of further reference the list of Eastern Chālukyas is here inserted, as given by Sir John Fleet (*I.A.*, XX, 283), who has gone very fully into details in various preceding articles:—

Kubja Vishnuvardhana I	615-633
Jayasimha	663
Indra Bhattāraka (seven days)	663
Vishnuvardhana II	672
Mangi Yuvarāja	696
Jayasimha II	709
Kokkili (six months)	709
Vishnuvardhana III	746
Vijayāditya Bhatāraka	764
Vishnuvardhana IV	799
Vijāyaditya II Narēndramrigarāja	843
Kali Vishnuvardhana V	844
Gunaka Vijayāditya III	888
Chālukya Bhīma I	918
Kollabhiganda Vijayāditya IV (six months) *m.* Melāmbā	918
Amma I, Vishnuvardhana VI, Rāja Mahēndra...	925
Beta Vijayāditya V (fifteen days)	925
Tadapa (one month)	925
Vikramāditya II (eleven months)	926
Bhīma II (eight months)	927
Yuddhamalla	934
Chālukya Bhīma III, Vishnuvardhana VII, Gunda Mahēndra, *m.* Lokamahādēvi ...	945
Amma II, Vijayāditya VI, Rāja Mahēndra ...	970
Dānārnava	973
(Interregnum of thirty years.)	
Saktivarma	1003-1015
Vimalāditya, *m.* Kundava-Mahādēvi of the Chōla family	1022

Pulakēsi II Hiuen Tsiang's Description of his Rule.

Pulakēsi II ascended the Chālukya throne in 608 A.D. and was crowned king in 609 A.D. As a great conqueror, he subdued all the neighbouring nations within the first twenty years of his rule. His most notable victory was over Harshavardhana or Sīlāditya, king of Kanyakubja or Kanōj, the most powerful monarch in northern India. By this conquest, about 620 A.D., he obtained the title of *Paramēsvara* or supreme lord, ever after borne by the Chālukyas. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang has given interesting accounts of both Harshavardhana and Pulakēsi, and of their times. Of Pulakēsi's kingdom which he visited in 641 A.D., he says:—"This country is about 5,000 *li* in circuit. The capital borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 *li* round. The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful, to their enemies, relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (spears). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man who is down (a person who submits). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth they beat drums before them. Moveover they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then, rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshatriya caste and his name is Pulakēsi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Sīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue this people, but he has not yet conquered their troops. So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning and study both heretical and orthodox (books). There are about 100 *sanghārāmas* with 500 or so priests. They practise both the Great and Small Vehicle. There are about 100 Dēva temples, in which very many heretics of different persuasions live." (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, II, 256). Hiuen Tsiang apparently visited in person the Ajanta cave temples and the beautiful frescoes that are to be seen in them. He writes :—

> "On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and continuous stretch of piled-up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *sanghārāma* constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (or open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed into the crag and face the valley (water course)."

This is, so far as it goes, an approximately correct description of the rock temples at Ajanta in the Indhyādri range of hills, cut in the lofty and almost perpendicular rocks that hem in a wild secluded glen. (Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, 280-347; *Archæological Survey of W. India*, IV. 43-59). Hiuen Tsiang states that this "convent" was built by Arhat Āchāra, whose story he gives at some length. He describes him as "a man of Western India," who built the *sanghārāma* in honour of his mother. Of the famous paintings, he says:—

> "On the four sides of the *vihāra*, on the stone walls, are painted different scenes in the life of Tathāgata's preparatory life as Bōdhisattva; the wondrous signs of good fortune which attended his acquirement of the holy fruit (of a Buddha), and the spiritual manifestations accompanying his *Nirvāna*. These scenes have been cut out with the greatest accuracy and fineness. On the outside of the gate of the Sanghārāma, on the north and south side, at the right hand and the left, there is a stone elephant. The common report says that sometimes these elephants utter a great cry and the earth shakes throughout."

This seems to refer to two *alto relievo* that were sculptured on the front before Cave XV, but which are now scarcely recognizable. (See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, 306). Though some of his measurements are apparently from "popular report," it is clear Hiuen Tsiang visited the Caves and stayed at them, as personal touches in the description amply testify to. Pulakēsi's capital was at the time at a place which has been identified with Nāsik.

Identification of Konkanapura with Banavāsi.

The city he calls Konkanapura, which he visited, may probably be, according to Mr. Rice, Kopana (now Kopal) in the extreme south-west of the Nizam's dominions, or Kakanūr close to it. *V. de* St. Martin, however, would identify it with Banavāsi, as the place is said to be in Southern India and as it is said that the pilgrim went north-westwards after leaving Dravida. (See *Memoire*, 401). Though Ānegondi and Gōlkonda have been suggested as the places referred to by Hiuen Tsiang, St. Martin's suggestion seems to be the most probable. Fergusson nearly agrees with him when he takes the pilgrim from Negapatam to the centre of the Mysore plateau, east of Bednore. (See *J.R.A.S.*, New Series, VI. 267). Assuming thus that the reference is to Banavāsi, the following description of the country and the people, as observed by Hiuen Tsiang, (Beal, II 253-255) ought to prove interesting:—

"This country is about 5000 *li* in circuit. The capital is 3000 *li* or so round. The land is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated, and produces large crops. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people ardent and quick. Their complexion is black, and their manners fierce and uncultivated. They love learning, and esteem virtue and talent. There are about 100 *sanghārāmas*, with some 10,000 priests (*followers*). They study both the Great and the Little Vehicle. They also highly reverence the Dēvas, and there are several hundred temples in which many sectaries dwell together.

"By the side of the royal place is a great *sanghārāma* with some 300 priests, who are all men of distinction. This convent has a great *vihāra*, a hundred feet and more in height. In it is a precious tiara belonging to Sarvārthasiddha, (Yih-tsai-i-sh'ing) the prince. It is somewhat less than two feet in height and is ornamented with gems and precious stones. It is kept in a jewelled casket. On fast-days it is brought out and placed on a high throne. They offer to it flowers and incense, on which occasions it is lit up with radiance.

"By the side of the city is a great *sanghārāma* in which is a *vihāra* about 50 feet high. In this is a figure of Maitrēya Bōdhisattva carved out of sandalwood. It is about ten feet high. This also on fast-days reflects a bright light. It is the work of the Arhat Wen-'rh-pih-i (Srutavimsatikōti).

"To the north of the city not far is a forest of *Tāla* trees about 30 *li* round. The leaves (*of this tree*) are long and broad, their colour shining and glistening. In all the countries of India these leaves are everywhere used for writing on. In the forest is a *stūpa*. Here the four former Buddhas sat down and walked for exercise, and traces of them still remain. Beside this is a *stūpa* containing the bequeathed relics of the Arhat Srutavimsatikōti.

"Not far to the east of the city is a *stūpa* which has sunk down into the ground from its foundations, but is still about thirty feet high. The old tradition says, in this *stūpa* is a relic of Tathāgata, and on religious days (*holy days*) it exhibits a miraculous light. In old days, when Tathāgata was in the world, he preached in this place, and exhibited his miraculous powers and converted a multitude of men.

"Out far to the south-west of the city is a *stūpa* about a hundred feet high, which was built by Asōkarāja. Here the Arhat Sruṭavimsatikōti exhibited great miraculous powers and converted a great many people. By the side of it is a *sanghārāma*, of which only the foundations remain. This was built by the fore-named Arhat."

Arab annals, moreover, as pointed out by Dr. Fergusson, state that Pulakēsi exchanged presents and letters with Khusru II of Persia, and the Persian Embassy is held to be represented in a large fresco painting (in Cave No. I) at Ajanta. (*J.R.A.S.*, XI, 155). Khusru II received the complimentary Embassy sent to him, in the 32nd year of his reign, in A.D. 625-662. Pulakēsi, however, was defeated in battle, in 642 A.D. by Narasimhavarman, the Pallava king, who invaded his capital, in a war that lasted for many years and plundered it and perhaps even put Pulakēsi to death. (See *ante* Pallavas). The Chālukyas thus temporarily disappear from history for a period of 13 years, the history of which is not by any means clear. The dominion of Pulakēsi II, while it lasted, included the present Bellary District, for we have mention of the grant by him of the village of Kurugodu in it. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Appendix B. No. 61). Before Vikramāditya I came to the throne in 655 A.D., there were his brothers Ādityavarma and Chandrāditya. One inscription of the former is known (*I.A.*, XI, 66), but the latter is represented only by grants made by his queen, Vijaya-mahādēvi or Vijaya-bhattārika. (*Ibid* VII, 163; VIII, 273). She may, therefore, have been a widow at the time and regent for a son who did not survive. Mr. Rice has also found a grant in Goribidnur Taluk by Ambera, a son or daughter of Satyāsraya, another name of Pulakēsi II (*Ibid* VIII, 89 ; IX, 304). It seems certain that after the death of Pulakēsi II, the Pallavas attacked and inflicted severe losses on the Chālukyas, driving them out of some of their recently acquired possessions in the south.

Vikramāditya I.

Vikramāditya I restored the power of the Chālukyas. Riding to battle on his splendid charger Chitrakāntha, he was victorious over Pāndya, Chōla, Kērala and Kalabhra, all of whom may have aided the Pallavas in their late hostilities. But his greatest achievement was the capture in 674 A.D. of Kānchi and forcing the Pallava king, "who had never bowed to any other man," to kiss his feet with his crown. A copper-plate grant of his records the grant of a village in the present Madaksira Taluk (Anantapur District), thus indicating that his dominion extended as far as the present Anantapur District. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I, ii. 363).

Vinayāditya.

Vinayāditya, his son, captured and destroyed the army of Trairājya Pallava, the king of Kānchi, was served by the Pallava, Kalabhra, Kērala, Haihaya, Vila, Mālava, Chōla and Pāndya kings, as well as by the Āluvas and Gangas; and levying tribute from the rulers of Kavēra, Pārasika, Simhala (Ceylon) and other islands, churned the king of all the north and seized the *Pālidhvaja* (an arrangement of flags which seems to have been a recognized Jaina symbol of supreme sovereignty, *I.A.*, XIV, 104). During his reign, a branch of the Chālukya dynasty was established at Gujarat, which, in the next century, offered stout resistance to Arab invaders. A grant of Vinayāditya mentions his victorious camp at Pampātīrtha, *i.e.*, Hampe, in the Bellary District. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 363).

A copper-plate grant of his has been found at Dayyamdinne, Adōni Taluk, dated *Saka* 614 expired ;

12th year of reign current. The grant was made when the king was camping at Tulayakhēta-grāma, near to the north bank of the river Tagara. Sir John Fleet has identified Tagara with Tēr. Mr. H. K. Sastri identifies Talayakhēta with modern Thairkedda on the north bank of the river Tēr (Thairva). The plates are very carelessly executed and mistakes in the grant portion are numerous. They record a land grant to four Brāhmans. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 39). A Sanskrit copper-plate grant of his (No. 12 of Appendix A, *M.E.R.* 1906, dated in *Saka* 520 or 598 A.D.), Cyclic year *Kālayukta*, has also been found. It is open to grave objections and as such seems wholly valueless.

Vijayāditya.

Vikramāditya's son Vijayāditya completed the conquests of the two preceding reigns, both in the south and the north, and in addition to the Pālidhvaja gained the Ganga and Yamuna Dhvajas, which had been possessions of the Guptas. A spurious copper-plate grant of his dated in *Saka* 512, cyclic year *Sādhārana*, is referred to in *M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix No. 3. It is a century too early for him. Its mistake in language and differences in genealogy show that it is a spurious grant. Its genealogy resembles No. 12 Appendix of *M.E.R.* 1906.

There has recently been found a mutilated inscribed slab of his reign lying on the bank of the Pennār at Dānavalapādu in Cuddapah District. It mentions one Bhupāditya.

Vikramāditya II.

His son Vikramāditya II gained in 740 A.D. an important victory in the Tundaka province (Tondamandala) over the Pallava king Nandipōtavarma whom he put to flight and, capturing all the royal insignia, made a triumphal entry into Kānchi which he refrained from plundering, but presented gifts of gold to the Rājasimhēsvara and other temples. He then, after withering up Pāndya, Chōla, Kērala, Kalabhra and other kings, set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His queen, Lōkamahādēvi, of the Haihaya family, caused a temple at Pattadakal to be erected in commemoration of his having three times defeated the Pallavas. (See *ante* Pallavas).

Kīrtivarma II.

His son Kīrtivarma II, while yet *Yuvarāja* under his father, obtained permission to make another expedition against the Pallava king whom he drove to take refuge in a hill fort, and dispersing his army, plundered his treasures.

While the Western Chālukyas had thus been engaged at a distance, in the south-eastern direction of Kānchi, in destroying the power of the Pallavas, their other old enemies, the Rāshtrakūtas, nearer home, had been watching for the opportunity to free themselves. In this they were successful, under their kings Dantidurga and Krishna. The main dynasty of the Western Chalukyas for about two centuries from this time disappears from view. Kings of their line named Kīrtivarma, Tailapa, Bhīma and Ayyana, who is said to have married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna, are named as ruling in succession, but the accounts are doubtful.

Early Chalukyas in Mysore State.

An inscription on a *vīrgal* recently found at Gaddemane, Sagar hobli, in old Kannada characters, assignable to the 7th century A.D., suggests that the rule of Harshavardhana Sīlāditya extended as far as Shimoga. (*M.A.R.* 1923, No. 72). It records the death of Sīlāditya's commander while repelling an invasion of one Mahēndra, identified with Mahēndravarman I of the Pallava line (see *ante* Pallavas). The earliest Chalukya inscriptions in Mysore are of the time of Pulakēsi II (entitled Satyāsraya), the greatest of the early Western Chalukya line, of about A.D., 640. Shimoga 10 is a fragment, containing only his name. But Goribidnūr 48 is on copper-plates, recording a grant by him to Brāhmans in the Konikal-vishaya. It begins with the mention of Pulakēsi I, surnamed Ranavikrama, who performed the horse sacrifice. It then passes on to Satyāsraya (Pulakēsi II), the conqueror of Harshavardhana. The grant was made when the king was at the Sangama-tīrtha, and on the application of his beloved daughter, called in his or her own language (*sva-bhāshaya*, though it is not clear what language is meant), Amberā. Sagar 79 is of the time of Vikramāditya I, about 659 A. D. Then we have Shikarpur 154, of about 680 A.D., when Vinayāditya Rājāsraya was ruling, and Pogilli-Sēndraka-Mahārāja was a governor under him over Nāyerkhanda (Nāgarkhanda or the present Shikarpur Taluk). Davangere 66, the Harihara plates, are of 694 A.D., the 14th year of Vinayāditya, and so far contain information similar to that in the Vokkaleri Plates, Kolar 63 (see below), but with fewer details. A grant was made in the Vanavāsi country to a Brāhman while the king was in camp near Harishapura (Harihara). Then come the Sorab plates of the same king issued by him in his 11th regnal year, corresponding to *Saka* 614 (or A.D. 692), from his victorious camp at Chitrasēdu in the Toramāra-Vishaya, granting a village near Vaijayantipura, Banavāsi. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 571). Next follows the lithic inscription *E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 278, of about 700 A.D., in the reign of Vijayāditya Satyāsraya, in which the Senavara king acknowledges Satyāsraya's suzerainty.

But the most important of all is Kolar 63, the Vokkaleri Plates, dated in 757 A.D. These plates contain a variety of historical information of the highest value, and their publication by Mr. Rice in 1879 first opened the eyes of scholars to the true significance of the Pallavas, then scarcely known even by name. The plates begin with an account of the Chalukyas, and mention first Pulakēsi, who performed the horse sacrifice. His son was Kīrtivarma I, who overcame the kings of Vanavāsi (the Kadambas) and others. His son Satyāsraya defeated Harshavardhana (king of Kanyākubja or Kanōj), the warlike lord of all the north, and thus acquired the title of *Paramēsvara*. His son Vikramāditya I Satyāsraya subdued the Pāndya, Chōla, Kērala, Kalabhra (who are mentioned in the Vēlvikudi plates as having gained possession of the Pāndya country in about the seventh century, and appear to have belonged to Southern India, *M.A.R.* 1908, Para 25, page 65) and other kings, and forced (the Pallava), the king of Kānchi who had bowed to no other, to kiss his feet with his crown. His son Vinayāditya Satyāsraya quelled the power of the three kingdoms of the South—Chōla, Pāndya and Chēra—and of the king of Kānchi, and levied tribute from the rulers of Kavēra, Parasika, Simhala (Ceylon), and other islands. He also, by churning all the kings of the north, acquired the *pāli-dhvaja* and all other signs of supreme power. His son Vijayāditya Satyāsraya uprooted the enemies still left in the south, and fought for his father in the north, gaining, besides the *pāli-dhvaja*, the emblems of the Ganga and Yamuna. He was by some means taken prisoner, but escaped, and thus averted the danger of anarchy in his own country. His son was Vikramāditya II Satyāsraya, who resolved to uproot the Pallavas, by nature the enemies of his family. Marching with great speed into the Tundaka-vishaya (Tondamandala), he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava king Nandipōtavarma, who fled, leaving to the conqueror his special trumpet, drum, flag and other trophies. Vikramāditya then entered Kānchi in triumph, but spared the city, relieved the destitute, and presented heaps of gold to the Rājasimhēsvara and other temples which Narasimhapōtavarma had formerly erected (see *ante*, Pallavas). He then burnt up Pāndya, Chōla, Kērala, Kalabhra and other kings, and set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His son Kīrtivarma II Satyāsraya, when only *Yuvarāja*, obtained permission to again attack the king of Kānchi, and forced him to take refuge in a hill fort, capturing his elephants, rubies and gold, which he delivered to his father. On succeeding to the throne, he made a grant to Brāhmans in the Panungal-vishaya (Hangal in Dharwar).

The Ainūli Plates of Kīrtivarma II dated in 749 A.D., five in number, throw some additional light on Kīrtivarma's successes. (*M. E. R.* 1908-1909, Paras 49-50). Though in regard to information about the genealogy of the dynasty and of the kings mentioned in them, these plates agree with what is contained in the Vokkalēri and Kendūr Plates (Kolar 63 and *E.I.* IX. 200) of the same king, they differ in some important details. An important variation consists in the use of the word *samarpita* for *prāpta* before *sārvabhaumapadah* in line 58 of the grant. As these plates are the earliest in point of time, being dated in the 4th regnal year of Kīrtivarma, the variations seen in the later records should, as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachar, be taken to have been introduced from after the 4th regnal year. He also suggests that the word *samarpita* has to be constructed with *pitre* that goes before; and this leads us to infer that it was Kīrtivarma II who procured the position of a universal sovereign (*sārvabhauma*) for his father by inflicting a severe defeat on the Pallava king Nandipōtavarma, who had already prepared himself for a second battle with his father. The word *ittham* used in this grant before *Kramēna* shows that this defeat of Nandipōtavarma was the means by which the universal sovereignty referred to was secured for his father. As the grant is dated in *Saka* 671 expired, at the victorious camp Nelavodige on the Bhīmarati, at the request of a Sēndraka chief Nāgasakti (hitherto unknown from other records), we may perhaps presume that it was made on the return journey. It is possible that Kīrtivarma II was the chief general in the war with the Pallava king. A point of minor interest in connection with this grant is its date, which somewhat unsettles the date of the Kendūr and Vokkaleri plates. If *Saka* 671 expired is the 4th regnal year of Kīrtivarma II, as stated in these plates, *Saka* 672 expired ought to be the 5th year, not the 6th as given in the Kendūr plates; while *Saka* 679 expired ought to be the 12th year, not the 11th as stated in the Vokkaleri plates.

Minor Branch of Early Chalukyas.

Apparently there was a minor branch of the early Chalukyas in rule in Mysore. An inscription on a stone built into the wall of the kitchen in the Rama temple at Kudlūr, records a grant to a Jaina temple. It must, therefore, have been brought from an older temple existing not far away from it. It refers to a private grant to an eastern *basadi*, situated on the bank of some river, in the reign of a Ranapākarasa, who, from the characters of the epigraph, has been assigned to about the 8th century A.D. This king has not been identified. Though *Ranaraga*, *Ranaparākrama* and *Ranarasika* have been known as the titles of some of the early Chalukya kings, *Ranapāka* has not been. There is, however, a Ranapāra-Gāmunda mentioned in *Sravana Belgola* 35 (=old Edn. 24) on the Chikkabetta, as making a grant, with certain others, during the reign of a Ranāvalōka Srīkambayyan, who is described as the son of a person to whom are given the usual Chalukya titles, but whose name is not mentioned. He is termed the *sāmantādhipati.* As the name of the father is not given, it may be presumed he belonged to the troublous period posterior to the fall of the dynasty and anterior to the emergence of the revived Chālukyas. (*M.E.R.* 1908-1909, Para 53).

Branch of Chalukyas at Varuna, S.-W. of Mysore.

There is some evidence to believe that during the period of the subsidence of the Chalukya power, at their ancient capital of Bādāmi, there was a main branch of that dynasty established at Varuna, in the present Varakod *hobli*, a few miles to the S.W. of Mysore. This place, both from the inscriptions and the remains found in it, seems to have been their capital, in the 9th century A.D. The chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions copied here are Narasinga, Durga and Goggi. (see *E.C.* III 35-37 and 41-45; *M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Paras 33-34; *M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 54 and 1916, Paras 70-72; and *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola*, 152). Of these, Narasinga is probably identical with the Chalukya chief Narasingayya mentioned in the lithic inscription at Kukkarhalli near Mysore. It records the grant of a village to the Narasingēsvara temple erected by him. The temple was apparently named after himself, the grant itself being for his own merit. He is, among other things, said to be entitled to the five big drums and is described as a *mahāsāmanta*, having the original boar as his crest, a spotless Mahēsvara, an Arjuna among the Chalukyas and first to strike in battle. According to *E.C.* III, Mysore 35, his wife was Gāvilabbarasi. Mr Narasimhachar has provisionally identified him with the Chalukya chief Narasimha, father of Arikēsari, the patron of the Kannada poet Pampa, who wrote the *Vikramārjunavijaya* in A.D. 941. Pampa mentions two Narasimhas in the genealogy he furnishes, the second of these, the father of Arikēsari, having the name of Narasinga as well. He describes the latter as a great warrior, as having excelled Arjuna in prowess. (*Vikramārjunavijaya* I. 36). The title of *Udara-Mahēsvara* appears in this work as one of the titles of Arikēsari. These facts seem to give point to the proposed identification of Narasinga of Mysore 35 and the Narasimhayya of the Kukkurhalli inscriptions with the second Narasimha of Pampa. But the wife of the first is mentioned in Mysore 35 as Gāvilabbarasi, while that of the last was Jātavve. Mr. Narasimhachar has, however, explained this seeming discrepancy by suggesting that king Narasinga had two wives. Next, as regards Durga and Goggi, they appear to have been contemporaries, as one of them (Durga) is referred to as making grants in favour of the servants of the other (Goggi). Mysore 36 (as revised) records a grant by Goggi, described as *Mahāsāmanta*, born of the Chalukya family, and a tenacious striker in favour of Nannikartāra Bhatāra, to the temple of Būtēsvara. Nannikartāra was the head of the religious establishment (*sthāna*) at this temple, and to whom another grant is recorded as from Srīmat Goggi, in *E.C.* Mysore 37. At Varuna, where this record is found, there are, besides seven *vīrgals*, five of which are Mysore 41 to 35 (as revised). These record grants to heroes who fell in a battle (see Mysore 44) between Polukēsi (another form of Pulakēsi) and Būdiga. It is not known who this Polukēsi was, but he might, as suggested by Mr. Rice (*E.C.* III, Introd. 6) be identified with Satyāsraya, the son of Taila II of the revived Chalukya line (973 A.D.). There is no evidence to show that he was known as Polukēsi, but as this was the name of the first Satyāsraya of the original Chalukya dynasty, his name-sake of the revived dynasty might have borne the name. If that is so, the reference would imply that the Chalukyas who had recently been successful in overthrowing the Rāshtrakūtas and recovering their lost power, sought also to subdue the Gangas, who were the allies of the Rāshtrakūtas (see *ante* Gangas). The Būdiga against whom Pulakēsi is said to have fought should, in that case, be identified with Būtuga II, the Ganga king, who was better known as Nanni Ganga, the brother-in-law of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. (He cannot be Būtuga I, son of Nītimārga I, as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachar in *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 72, as in that case there would be a difference in time of at least three-quarters of a century between Būtuga I and Pulakēsi mentioned in Mysore 44, which would prevent their fighting with each other as mentioned in the latter inscription). Mr. Rice seems inclined to this identification. (*E.C.* III, Introd. 6). In this war, the Chalukyas of Varuna seem to have fought on the side of the Gangas as against the revived Chalukyas, under Taila's son, which seems natural when we recall the fact that the latter might well have been looked on by those at Varuna as mere usurpers of the old Chalukya power, to which they themselves probably laid claim. The *vīrgal* at Varuna numbered Mysore 44 refers to the death of Erevanga, son of Takanariyakōn, a retainer of Goggi, and mentions the significant fact that he killed the horseman of Pulakēsi's consort and fell. Apparently Pulakēsi was encamped with his family and the attempt was probably made to defeat not only the Gangas, the allies of the Rākshtrakūta, but also to root out possible claimants to the Chalukya power in those at Varuna. Mysore 35 and 36 record gifts to the god Būtēsvara which was probably set up in memory of Būtuga II after his death. It was, perhaps, Goggi's daughter who became the wife of Bhillama, one of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri. (Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 514). An inscription on the Chikkabetta at Sravana Belgola names a chief Goggi with the epithet *Chagabhakshana-chakravarti.* The inscription is on a rock in front of the Iruvebrahmadēva temple. This Goggi is probably identical with the Chalukya *Mahāsāmanta* of Varuna abovenamed. He possibly died after the usual fast on the rock in front of the Iruvebrahmadēva temple. To about the same period as that of Goggi might belong a fragmentary lithic inscription at Bevūr, Channapatna Taluk, which appears to record a grant to a member of the Kālāmukha sect. (*M.A.R.* 1908-9, Para 54).

RĀSHTRA-KŪTAS.

Meanwhile our attention must be directed to the power which superseded them and which played an important part in Mysore during their eclipse, as testified by inscriptions throughout the northern and middle parts. This was the Rāshtrakūtas or Rattas, connected perhaps with the Rājput Rāthors, and supposed to be represented by the modern Reddis. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggests that the Rāshtrakūta family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kshatriyas named Rattas who gave their name to the country of Mahārāshtra, and were found in it even in the times of Asōka, the Maurya. The Rāshtrakūtas were the real native rulers of the country, and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Satavāhanas and the Chalukyas who established themselves in the Deccan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated. (*Early History of the Dekkan*, 62). Mr. Burnell was inclined to identify the Rāshtrakūtas with the Reddis of South India, but Sir John Fleet has observed against this view that no trace of the Rāshtrakūtas has been found in Southern India and that they seem to have been of Northern origin. Mr. Pathak, arguing from the fact that the name Rāshtrakūta occurs as a surname among the Mahratta families of to-day, states that the Rāshtrakūtas belonged to the same caste as Sivāji who founded the Mahratta Empire. (See *Kavirājamārga*, Introd. 829). They may have existed in the Dekhan from very early times. Their territory at the period of which we are writing is often referred to as Rattavādi, in Tamil Irattapādi, a seven and a half lakh country, and their capital, at first Mayūrakhandi (Morkhand in Nāsik District) was, early in the ninth century, at Manyakhēta. (Malkhēd in the Nizam's dominions, about ninety miles west by south of Hyderabad). The earliest decided mention of them describes Indra, the son of Krishna, as overcome by the early Chalukya king, Jayasimha, and coins supposed to belong to this Krishna have been found on the Bombay side. Then we have a Gōvinda repulsed by Pulakēsi I. But the connected table of kings is as follows:—

	A.D.
Dantivarma I	
Indra I	
Gōvinda I	
Karkka or Kakka I	
Indra II	
Dantidurga I (Dantivarma, Khadgāvalōka, Vairamēgha)	753-754
Krishna I (Kannara, Akālavarsha, Subhatunga)	760
Gōvinda II (Prabhūtavarsha, etc.)	775 ; 779
Dhruva (Dhōra, Srīvallabha, Nirupama, Dhārāvarsha)	780
Kambha (Stambha, Rājavalōka)	802 ; 807
Gōvinda III (Prabhūtavarsha, Jagattunga) *m.* Gāmundabbe	793, 794, 804, 808, 813, 814-815
Amōghavarsha I (Nripatunga)	815 ; 877-878
Krishna II (Kannara, Akālavarsha, Subhatunga)	880 ; 902-11
Indra III (Nityavarsha) *m.* Vijāmbā	912 ; 914 ; 916
Amōghavarsha II *m.* Kundakadēvi	916-17
Gōvinda IV (Gojjiga, Suvarnavarsha, etc.)	917 ; 918-33
Amōghavarsha III (Baddiga, Gabhēndra, etc.)	935
Krishna III (Kannara, Akālavarsha)	940 ; 940-66
Khottiga (Nityavarsha)	965-971
Kakka II (Kakkala or Amōghavarsha IV, Nripatunga),	972-976
Indra IV	Died 982

(Restoration of Chalukyas under Taila II, 973 A.D.)

The First Kings of the Dynasty.

These kings very commonly had the title *Vallabha*, taken from the Chalukyas. In its Prākrit form of Ballaha, which is often used alone in their inscriptions in Mysore, without any name, it furnishes the key by which to identify the powerful dynasty called Balharas by Arab travellers of the tenth century, and described by them as ruling from Mankir (Mānyakhēta).

Krishna I, 760 A.D.

Of the first few kings, Dantivarma, Indra I and Gōvinda I, hardly anything definite is known. The Kadaba Plates (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 61) dated in A.D. 812, in the reign of Gōvinda III, begin with Kakka I (or

Karkka I). His son was Indva II (or Indra II). His son was Dantidurga, also known as Dantivarma, Khadgāvalōka and Vairamēgha. The last name is mentioned in the Kadaba Plates and supported by an inscription in the present North Arcot District. (*A.S.I.* 1903-1904). Vairamēgha is mentioned in the hymns of one of the Vaishnava Ālvārs. Dantidurga has also been identified with Sahastunga, to whom Akalanka-Dēva, the great Jain *guru*, describes the greatness of his own learning. (*Sravana Belgola*, new Edn., 67, dated in 1129 A.D.).

Indra II is said to have married a Chalukya princess, but Dantidurga, who either left no heir or left sons who were incompetent to wield the sceptre, and Krishna I, his uncle, who therefore came to the throne after him, were successful in overcoming the Chalukyas and establishing the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūtas. For Krishna, we have two inscriptions of his reign dated in *Saka* 690 and 694, or A.D. 768 and 772. The beautiful monolithic cave temple at Ellōra, famous as the Kailāsa temple, was erected by Krishna I. (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 61). The Baroda Plates of Karkarāja record its construction by him. (*I.A.* XII, 229). It has been described as "the most marvellous architectural freak in India," and is by far the most extensive of rock-cut shrines known to the Dekhan. It was intended by Krishna I to rival the temple of the same name at Kānchi. It has been described at length by Burgess and Fergusson (*Cave Temples* and *A.S.W.I.*, V) and more recently by Mr. E. B. Havell (in his work *A Handbook of Indian Art*, 79-86). Mr. Havell writes at page 79 :—

> "The Kailāsa temple was commenced by Krishna I, of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, about A.D. 760, to glorify his Ishtadēvata, or patron deity, who had helped him to victory and given him supreme sovereignty over the Dekhan. How long it took to complete this stupendous sculpture, history does not record ; the main part of it probably occupied most of the two

and a half centuries the dynasty lasted, and some of the accessories were added later. Krishna's capital was at Bādāmi, so the choice of the Pattādakal temple as a model was a natural one. Technically the Kailāsa temple is almost unique among the great rock-cut monuments of India, for instead of making a horizontal excavation into a hill-side, as was the case at Ajantā, or carving detached masses of rock as at Māmallapuram, Krishna's master-masons cut down into the sloping hill-side from above, quarrying a pit varying in depth from 160 feet to about 50 feet, and leaving in the middle of it a detached mass of rock from which they sculptured a full-sized double storeyed temple —solid at the base but with the first floor completed internally and externally—*vimāna*, or shrine, 96 feet in height, and the assembly hall about 53 feet square, with sixteen sculptured pillars arranged in groups of four to support the solid mass of rock. The three sides of the deep pit which formed the temple courtyard were subsequently carved into pillared cloisters, which provided a richly sculptured procession path, and a series of splendid chapels, from whose dimly-lit recesses Siva's snow-white palace could be seen glittering in the sunlight, for the sculpture, as usual, was finished with a fine coat of highly polished chunam."

Mr. Havell adds that this marvellous temple remained the chief centre of Siva worship in the Dekhan until the 13th century and its design remained for all time a perfect model of a Sivālaya. He also suggests that the design of all the great temples of Southern India is always based upon the Kailāsa type, even when Vishnu instead of Siva is worshipped, as in the Vaikuntha Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram and the Vittalasvāmi temple at Vijayanagar, with variations dictated by the necessities of the site or other practical considerations. It is all but certain that the temple referred to in the Kadaba Plates of Gōvinda III dated in 812 A.D. is this one. It furnishes the interesting information that it was dedicated to God Kannēsvara (or Krishnēsvara) after himself. (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 61; *E.I.* IV, 332). Describing the temple, it says that it seemed :—

"As if formed from the best essence of the three worlds, like the birth of a fourth world, or as if erected in a hundred Krita-yugas, or the collection of his fame, was his splendid (temple),—the clouds swollen by the fragrant smoke arising from the burning of aloe wood, in the lofty region occupied by Siddhas, moistened with showers of sweet perfumed waters its courtyards. From the desire that such might not be obtained in a future age has Bhava become manifest, methinks, in order that it may be permanent and that another *Kalpa* should not arise. Like clusters of stars the bright lamps he placed on its pinnacles deceived the people of the city, making them doubt whether it was night or whether the day had dawned. 'I am its support and yet it grows beyond me: this is too much'—thus saying, perhaps to provide room for it was the earth made wide of old methinks. The sun, through fear of moving through the upper regions covered up with a thousand flags, under pretence of seeing his reflection in the jewelled floor, having descended and shining low as if in obeisance through reverence for Paramēsvara; the peacocks, hearing with delight the sounds of the beaten drums and thinking that the rainy reason had commenced, beginning to rejoice and dance; the young women of the city, with their minds transfixed by the movements of moon-faced girls displaying with the sprouts of their hands and sentiments of love and passion which animate beauteous maidens to dalliance at twilight; the line of a hundred *munis* who had traversed all the ocean of the *Siddhānta*—such was the temple, called Kannēsvara after his own name."

Gōvinda II, 775-779 A.D.

Krishna I was succeeded by Gōvinda II. He appears to have ascended the throne between *Saka* 602 and 701 or 770 and 779 A.D. (*A.S.W.I.* 1903-1904, Page 60). Inscriptions found in this State and elsewhere show that he was sought to be superseded by his brother Dhruva (Dhōra or Dhārāvarsha) on the ground of his neglecting the kingly duties to sensual pleasures. (*E.I.* IV, 287; Karhad Plates; *E.I.V.* 188; and the Deoli Plates *E. I.*

IV 193). Gōvinda seems to have obtained the aid of Sivamāra Saigotta, the Ganga king of the time, whom Dhruva, by way of revenge, seized and threw into prison. (*E.I.* III, 104; and see also *ante* Gangas). The earliest Rāshtrakūta inscriptions in Mysore are to be seen in the Chitaldrug District. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug District, Challakere 33 and 34). These refer to Gōvinda II, who is referred to in them by the titles of Jagattunga Prabhūtavarsha Pratāpāvalōka Srīvallabha—some of them apparently borrowed from the Chalukyas, whom the Rāshtrakūtas supplanted. In Challakere 34, he is called the son of Akālavarsha, a title of Krishna I. He has been identified by Mr. Rice with the king Vallabha mentioned as ruling over the South in the Jain *Harivamsa*, composed in *Saka* 705 or 783 A.D., as the son of Krishna (I) entitled Akālavarsha. (*E.C.* XI, Introd. 8; and *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 68). But as the name given is *Vallabha*, the king referred to may be as well Dhruva, who was also known by the title of *Srīvallabha*, borrowed from the Chalukyas; the more so as there is no independent epigraphic evidence to show that Gōvinda ruled beyond 779 A.D. In the inscriptions above mentioned, it is seen that Gōvinda had as feudatories under him the son and grandson of the Nolamba Pallava king Sinhapōta (Paramēsvara Pallavadi and his son Pallava Malla). This Sinhapōta was contemporary with the Ganga king Sivamāra Saigotta. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 8).

Dhruva, Dhārāvarsha 780 A.D.

The reign of Gōvinda II was, however, cut short by his supersession by his younger brother Dhruva called also Nirupama, Srīvallabha and Dhārāvarsha, the last of which would seem to be the proper name to designate him as it is in keeping with the names of his predecessors Akālavarsha and Prabhūtavarsha and of his successors Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda III) and Amōghavarsha, etc. The reason for his supersession has been suggested above. The Manne Plates of his son Gōvinda III, dated in *Saka* 724 or 802 A.D., justify his supersession by stating that Lakshmi (*i.e.*, the goddess of sovereignty) was "free from blame," "though she had passed over the elder (brother)," and they do not, in fact, treat him as having ruled over the Rāshtrakūta kingdom. They pass on from Krishna I to Dhōra (*i.e.* Dhruva) mentioning the supersession of his elder brother Gōvinda II but without actually mentioning the latter's name. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 61). But the story of Gōvinda II indulging in sensual pleasures and neglecting his sovereign duties are rather discountenanced by the Paithan grant of 794 A.D. (*E.I.* III. 104) nearer to his own time, which says that he brought in the hostile Mālava and other kings to help him against his brother. It is further stated that he was joined by the kings of Kānchi, Ganga and Vēngi. Nevertheless Dhruva managed to defeat him and drove these enemies away on the east and north. He then took possession of the whole kingdom, "leaping over" his elder brother.

Character of Dhruva; supersession of Kambha.

Dhruva appears to have been a somewhat crafty, though a capable and warlike prince. He continued the aggressive wars of his predecessors. The Manne Plates give an interesting account of his wars. Hemming in between his own force on the one side and the sea on the other, he obtained, we are told, from the Pallava a tribute of huge elephants and defeated Vatsa Rāja, the Gurjara king of Bhinmal, who had despoiled the Gauda kingdom and of its king of his only pair of two white umbrellas, and took away these self-same umbrellas from him. He drove Vatsa Rāja into the unpassable desert of Māru (Mārwār). His fame spread by the daring deeds of his well-disciplined (it is called "unequalled") army and he is thus said to have brought the glory of

Krita-yuga into the Kali and won the title of Kali-Vallabha, *i.e.* the conqueror of Kali. Apparently his restoration of the Gauda kingdom against the ravages of Vatsa Rāja profoundly impressed his contemporaries as the act of a selfless and righteous ruler. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 61 and *J.R.A.S.* 1909, 255). The title *Nirupama* (which means "the incomparable") perhaps also shows the esteem in which he was held in his own times. This title is mentioned in the Manne Plates. It is under that name—of Nirupama—he appears in a recently discovered copper-plate grant of the Silahāra Mahāsāmanta Chhadvaidēva. (*A.S.W.I.* 1920-1925). The Kadaba Plates of Gōvinda III, dated in 812 A.D., refer to an unnamed battle in which Dhruva very nearly lost the day. We are informed that when this battle was fought, on the banks of some river, "fortune being fickle, his elephants and boats were scattered by the rough waves, and his mind was agitated,—even then, though united, his enemies forsaking their kingdom, and being defeated in battle, fled distracted, of their own accord, to the region." There are, however, no particulars by which this event can be identified. These same plates tell us that his fame burst into all the points of the compass, and that "from satisfying the people with the unceasing showers of his daily gifts, was he called Dhārāvarsha, and from being dear to all the world, Vallabha." His invasion of the Ganga kingdom, which had so far been never conquered, and his imprisonment of its ruler, Sivamāra Saigotta, disturbed the even tenor of the Ganga sovereignty. The country was placed under the rule of a foreign prince, who, we see from *E.C.* IV, Heggadadēvankōte 93, was Kambharasa, who is represented in it as ruling over the Gangavādi 96,000.

Kambha, 802—807 A.D.

This was Dhruva's eldest son Kambha, entitled Ranāvalōka. He was apparently the first Rāshtrakūta viceroy of Gangavādi. He is mentioned by the name of Ranāvalōka Kambhaiya in an inscription at Sravana Belgola (*Sravana Belgola*, New Edn. 35-old Edn. 24) which records a gift by a certain Manasija's queen at the concluding of her vow of silence owing to sickness. Dhruva apparently determined on superseding—as he had himself done his elder brother—his elder son, the Kambha above referred to, in favour of a younger son, subsequently Gōvinda III, whom he appointed *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent. It is possible, as Mr. Rice has suggested (*Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, 40), Dhruva might have imprisoned Sivamāra II for so long with a view to compensate his elder son Kambha for his supersession by conferring on him the Ganga kingdom. Such a design is not irreconcilable with the character of Dhruva as we know it. The supersession of his elder by his younger son was on account of the latter's splendid form (" more than human form," it is said in the Manne Plates) and superior abilities (enough " to deliver the three worlds from disorder even as Krishna," we are told, in the same plates.) To ensure his younger son's accession to the throne, Dhruva even offered to abdicate. But, we learn from the Manne Plates, where the statement is recorded, that Gōvinda dutifully declined the offer, saying that his father's sovereignty should continue, he being content with the (inviolable) status of Yuvarāja. Kambha, however, did not accept his supersession quietly. When on the death of his father, his younger brother ascended the throne, Kambha, at the head of a confederacy of twelve kings, raised up a powerful rebellion against him. Gōvinda III, his younger brother, however, suppressed this in the end, as stated in the Manne Plates, and Kambha appears to have submitted to him and was entrusted with authority under him. This is testified to by the Manne Plates, which refer to Kambha as Saucha-Kambha and speak of his rule over Gangavādi under the suzerainty of his younger brother. These plates, however, do not contain the last reference to him. The available part of his Chāmarājanagar plates, whose date is curiously worded in *Saka* 730, omitting the hundreds, and corresponding to A.D. 807, recognise the suzerainty of his brother over him, and show him with his victorious camp at Talkād. (*M.A.R.* 1919-1920, Para, 69). He is there represented as making a grant, at the request of his son Sankaraganna, to a Jain *basti* at Talkād, built by Srīvijaya-Rāja, a *mahā-sāmanta* of his brother. He is the same person at whose request, we are told, in the Manne Plates of 802 A.D., that Kambha made a similiar grant to another *basti* built by him at Manne. Kambha's death may have been the occasion that led Gōvinda III to mercifully release Sivamāra II, the Ganga king, "from the burden of his cruel chains" and send him "to his own submissive country." But "he in his pride," as the Manne Plates graphically put it, "showing a return of hostility, before the brow was wrinkled in a frown, was again subdued and easily bound."

Gōvinda III, 798—815 A.D.

Gōvinda III, son of Dhruva, was, perhaps, the greatest of the Rāshtrakūta line. He was a powerful ruler and made himself felt throughout his dominions from the Vindhyas and Malva on the north to Kānchi in the South. His personal rule extended to the banks of the Tungabhadra, while he made his younger brother Indra, the founder of the Gujarāt branch, the hereditary viceroy of that Province. The Manne Plates state that while he was king, the Rāshtrakūtas had no rivals, just as the Yādavas had none from the birth of Krishna. There are five sets of copper-plate grants relating to his rule which are nearly all similiar in their contents. These are the Rādhānpūr, Wani, Manne, Nandi and the Kadaba Plates. (*I.A.* VI, 59; *E.I.* VI, 242; *I.A.* XI, 157; *E.C.* IX

Nelamangala 61; and *M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Paras 68-70 and Plates XIII a and b). Of these Manne, dated in *Saka* 724 or A.D. 802, is the earliest; the Nandi grant belongs to 806 A.D.; the Wani to 807 A.D.; the Rādhānpūr to 808 A.D.; and the Kadaba to 812 A.D. The last four were issued from his victorious camp Mayūrkhandi, where he was in residence (identified with Mōrkhand in the present Nāsik District) while the first was issued from Manne in Nelamangala Taluk, where his victorious camp was pitched at the time. From this statement it would follow that Gōvinda was actually at Manne, or Manyapura, about 812 A.D. All these plates bear eloquent testimony to the energetic character of his rule. In them are recounted his military exploits—his driving away Gurjjara and receiving the submission of Mārāsarva on the Vindhya mountains. Also, how he broke up the confederacy of the twelve kings his brother formed against him; how he imprisoned and set at liberty the Ganga king Sivamāra II and how again he swiftly seized and imprisoned him, on his showing a tendency to return to hostility. "Foremost among the merciful," as the Manne Plates call him, he eventually replaced him on the throne of his ancestors binding the diadem on his brow with his own hands, in conjunction with the Ganga-Pallava king Nandivarma. After his Vindhyan campaign, he seems to have passed the rainy season at Srībhavana, and then marched south and encamped on the Tungabhadra. His camp here, as we know (see *I.A.* XI, 1926) was at the Rāmēsvara *tīrtha.* This is an island in the Tungabhadra, a few miles north of the junction of the Tunga and the Bhadra in the Shimoga District. Here Gōvinda is said to have had some sport in spearing bears and renewed a grant originally made by the Chalukya king Kīrtivarma. This is the island of Rāmēsvara or Rāmanātha referred to as Kuruva, 5 miles from Honnali in *E.C.* VII, Honnali 8 and 9, dated in

1228 A.D. and 1557 A.D. "At a glance from his eyes," the Pallava king sent, through his ministers, the tribute due in full. The Pallava king referred to has been identified with Dantiga, the ruler of Kānchi. (See *S.I. Palæography*, 137 ; *I.A.* XI, 126 ; and *E.C.* IX, Introd. 12). Dantiga appears to have made his last stand with his whole army at the battle of Chīkuramborāvi, in which Gōvinda's general Siruguppa fought heroically and fell. This is attested to by a pillar set up at Hubīdu, Ālūr Taluk, Bellary District. (*M.E.R.*, 1916, Appendix B No. 562). As the inscription is dated in the 4th year, the battle must have been fought in or about 797 A.D. The Vēngi king, when sent for through a messenger, performed, we are told, his services without intermission by his own wish, and built for Gōvinda "an outer wall, lofty as the sky, of marvellous splendour, with the constellations around its head like a garland of pearls." What is exactly referred to by this description is not clear, though it might refer to some works of fortification which the Vēngi king made himself responsible for and carried out apparently at Manyakhēta. Who this Vēngi king was, it is not stated. Mr. Rice has identified him with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya Narēndra Mrigarāja. The Nandi Plates refer to a grant by Ratnāvali (also called Mānikabbe) to Īsvaradāsa, head of the *sthāna* (or religious establishment) at Nandi, who is said to be the wife of Bānavidyādhara and daughter of Indapparasa, identified with Indra, the younger brother of Gōvinda III, the founder of the Gurjjara branch. She is said to have founded the temple at Nandi (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Paras 68-69), a statement confirmed by the Chikballapur Plates of Jayatēja, who belonged to a collateral branch of the Ganga line. (*M.A.R.* 1913-1914, Paras 59-61 and see *ante* Gangas).

In the Gangavādi 96,000, Kambharasa appears to have been succeeded by Chāki-Rāja, who was probably one of his sons, another being Sankaraganna, at whose request the grant mentioned in the Chāmarājanagar Plates seems to have been made (see *ante*). Chāki-Rāja seems to have been closely connected by marriage with the old—and defunct—Chalukya family, as the Kadaba Plates, above referred to, mention his sister's son Vimalāditya, whose descent is traced through Yasōvarma, his father, and Balavarma, his grand-father, to the Chalukya family. Apparently they were scions of the Chalukya dynasty who took service under Chāki-Rāja, the Rāshtrakūta viceroy in Gangavādi. Vimalāditya was the governor of the Kunigal-dēsa. He was, it appears, suffering from the evil influence of Saturn, which was removed by a Jain saint named Arka Kīrti, to whom he made, with the sanction of Gōvinda III, the grant of a village named Jalamangalam (identified with a village of the same name in the present Closepet Taluk, about 20 miles south-east of Kunigal) in the Idugūr *vishaya*, which is perhaps named after the village of Idugūr, in the present Gubbi Taluk, midway between Kunigal and Kadaba, at which latter place the plates named after it were found, when digging the foundation for a bridge. (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 61, Text, Page 49). A point worthy of note about Arkakīrti is that he is said to have belonged to the sect of Yāpanīyas, who are described as a Jain unorthodox sect, who had the appearance of *Digambaras*, but followed observances of the *Svētāmbaras*. This sect is said to have existed from the 5th to 12th century A.D. in the west of the Dekhan, from Kolhapur down to Mysore. (*E.I.* IV, 338-339). Chāki-Rāja seems to have been the last of the Rāshtrakūta viceroys in Gangavādi 96,000. Sivamāra II had been restored to his throne as his kingdom had become a "submissive country," to use the expressive phrase of the Manne Plates. (*E.C.* VII, Nelamangala 61). The Manne Plates, which record this fact, being dated in 802 A.D., it has to be presumed that Sivamāra II, though nominally restored, had not secured full rights of sovereignty in his kingdom, until a little after 812 A.D., the date of the Kadaba grant which definitely states that he was *Ādhirāja* (viceroy) of the entire Ganga 96,000. As no records have been found attesting to Rāshtrakūta domination in the country after that date (812 A.D.), the date of the Kadaba plates, it has to be reckoned as the latest date we have for the Rāshtrakūta occupation of Gangavādi. This is confirmed by the specific statement in the Galigekere Plates (*E.C.* IV, Yedatore 60) that Rāchamalla I, who succeeded to the throne in 817 A.D., established his independence of the Rāshtrakūtas. "As Hari in the form of the Boar rescued the Earth from Pātāla (the infernal regions)," we are told, Rāchamalla, "seeing that the earth (the Ganga kingdom) had been for a long time seized by the Rāshtrakūtas," "rescued the land and took possession of it." (See *ante* Gangas). This event, however, falls into the reign of Amōghavarsha I, the next king. During his reign the Banavāsī 12,000 continued under his suzerainty. A number of lithic inscriptions in Sorab Taluk attest to this fact. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 1, 9, 10 and 22). They are dated from 797 to 800 A.D. From these we learn that during his reign, Banavāsī, up to the ocean, was, about 800 A.D., being ruled over by one Rājādityarasa. (Sorab 10). He seems to have been preceded in the office of governor by Madanāga-arasa. (Sorab 1). But in Sorab 9 we have a reference to Ereyammarasa as ruling Banavāsi-nād. It is difficult to reconcile these different names, as the inscriptions are undated. Sorab 1 is on a *vīrakal* at Māvali. This *vīrakal* will be found referred to in Chapter V *ante* (*Sculpture and Painting*). Sorab 9, also found at Māvali, refers to the grant of a thousand cows, gifts of virgins, and the setting up of swings. The sculptural peculiarities of this stone are referred to in the

Chapter above referred to. They show that the art of beautification in Rāshtrakūta times was not restricted to the capital but extended also to the provinces.

The Banavāsi governor Rājāditya mentioned above is, in Sorab 22, entitled Rājaparamēsvara, indicating that he was of royal blood. He was apparently a Nolamba-Pallava prince called Nolambarāditya. Under him, ruling the Āluvakhanda 6,000, (modern South Kanara), was Chitravāhana, who turned a rebel. This provoked a war on the part of Nolambarāditya—called also Kolli-Pallava-Nolamba—who directed a chief named Kākarasa to attack him. A desperate fight ensued, in which apparently Chitravāhana was overpowered. The *vīrakal* on which this inscription is found gives a most graphic description of this "exciting battle" where bow closed with bow and horse with horse. The Kolli-Pallava-Nolamba of this inscription is probably the Kolliyarasa—also there called Kali-Nolambādhirāja—and his son Nija Rāma mentioned in the Ganjam Plates. (*E.C.* IV Seringapatam 160). Mr. Rice suggests that they may have been State prisoners in the hands of the Gangas, and liberated by the Rāshtrakūtas, who appointed Kolli as a governor.

Amōghavsrha I 815-878 Nripatunga; Atisaya-dhavala.

Amōghavarsha, who succeeded Gōvinda III, had a long reign of not less than 62 years. Among his other names were Nripatunga, and Atisaya-dhavala. Many titles are ascribed to him in his work *Kavirājamārga* among which are Nītinirantara, Nitya-malla Vallabha and Kritakritya-malla-vallabha. The Navasari grant gives him the further title of *Vīra-Nārāyana*, because he retrieved the fortunes of the family, which had suffered reverses at the hands of the Chalukyas, just as Vishnu had lifted up the Earth which had sunk in the ocean. Shikarpur 283 (*E.C.* VII), an undated lithic inscription, gives him both the names of Nripatunga and

Amōghavarsha. In Honnali 13, dated in *Saka* 792 (or A.D. 870), he is given the name of Mārasatya. (*E.C.* VII). His time was largely occupied by wars, for a time at least, with the Western Gangas on the one side and with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vēngi. He appears to have transferred his capital from Nāsik to Mānyakhēta, identified with the present Malkhēd (or Malker) in the Nizām's Dominions and the Mānkīr of the Arab writers. (See Deoli Plates, *E.I.* IV, 193). The town had been long in existence as it is mentioned in the *Pramēyakamalamārtānda* of Prabhāchandra, who preceded Jina, the *guru* of Amōghavarasha. But as the Karhad and Wardha grants state that Amōghavarsha made Mānyakhēta superior to the capital of Indra, it might be inferred that he beautified it and made it his chief capital. He defeated the Eastern Chalukyas, who made peace with him at Vinguvalli. He befriended Kapardi of the Silāhāra family, and presented to him the Konkan. Amōghavarsha attempted to recover the lost Ganga kingdom by sending a chief named Bankēsa to reconquer it. This attempt, however, failed, and the Ganga king is described as being able to shake the world. This is fully confirmed by the Keregōdi-Rangāpur Plates of Rājamalla II, which state that Rājamalla I recovered the kingdom which had been lost by the unskilful hand of Sivamāra II and that only a bit of the kingdom was in the possession of Bankēsa, the Rāshtrakūta general. (*M.A.R.* 1918-1919, Para 66 and *ante* Gangas).

His war against the Gangas.

Amōghavarsha also fought against the Ganga king Prithvīpati I. Nītimarga 1, the successor of Rājamalla I, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Rāshtrakūta army at Rājārāmadu in the north of the present Kolar District. The Kergōdi-Rangāpur Plates describe it as a "terrible battle" at which the Rāshtrakūtas and their allies suffered heavy losses. Amōghavarsha seems to have been helped by the Lāta (Southern Gujarāt) and other chiefs. This decisive battle may be set down to some year anterior to 869 A.D., when Nītimarga I died. (See *ante*, Gangas). This practically ended in the driving out of the Rāshtrakūtas from the Gangavādi 96,000. But the Rāshtrakūtas still continued to hold the Banavāsi province, which they had taken over from the Chalukyas. Its boundaries, however, did not extend beyond the Tungabhadra. From Honnali 13, dated in this reign in *Saka* 792 (or A.D. 870), we note that one Indra was governing it. (*E.C.* VII). According to an inscription at Kumsi, the same ruler, Indra (spelt *Indara*) was still governing the Banavāsi province in *Saka* 799 or A.D. 876. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 85).

His Policy towards the Gangas.

Amōghavarsha next tried a different policy with the Gangas. He gave up his animosity in favour of alliances. For we find his daughter Chandrabbalabbe was bestowed in marriage on Būtuga, the Ganga Yuvarāja who, according to *E.C.* III, Nanjangud, was, in 870 A.D. ruling over the Kongal-nād and Punnād, while Sankha, another daughter, was given to the Ganga-Pallava king Nandivarma. From the *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest known work on metrical composition in Kannada, which we owe to him, we learn that he came to entertain the highest admiration for the Kannada people and country, their language and literature. This work is written in Kannada verse and in it he gives a glowing account of the country and of the culture of the people, as the following quotations from it will show:—

"The region which extends from the Cauvery to the Gōdāvari is the country in which Kannada is spoken, the most beautiful land in the circle of the earth............... Apt are the people of that land in speaking as if accustomed to verse, and in understanding it when spoken: clever in truth are they for they are ripely skilled in the usages of poetry without giving themselves up to its study. Not only students but others are all skilful in their speech, and know how to teach wisdom to young children and words to the deaf."

The region between the Cauvery and the Gōdāvari includes a considerable part of country which is now regarded as a purely Mahratta country. But there is enough evidence, both from the large number of Kannada inscriptions found in Sholāpur Town and District and from the literature preserved in the Jain *Mutt* at Kolhāpur, that in the 9th century Kannada was spoken over a great part of the present Mahratta country and that it has had to yield its place to the encroaching Mahratta idiom since the rise of the Mahratta Empire. (Pathak, Introduction to *Kavirājamārga*). What is more the *Kavirājamārga* itself bears testimony to the fact (See I·37) that in the 9th century the Kannada spoken at Kisuvolal (modern Pattadakal in Bijāpur District), Kopava (Koppala, between Gadag and Bellary), Puregere (modern Lakshmēsvara in the Dhārwār District) and Onkuda (or Okkunda in the Belgaum District), was considered the pure well of Kannada undefiled. These places being thus situated in the Bijāpur and Dhārwār Districts, it is clear that Kannada as spoken in them should have been considered the purest in Amōghavarsha's time. This opinion of his is confirmed by Pampa, who in 941 A.D., professes to write in the pithy Kannada of Puligere, by which he meant the language as current at Lakshmēsvara, one part of which town still goes by the name of Pulikar or Hulikar. (*Kavirājamārga*, Introd. 13.)

His Religion and literary works.

Amōghavarsha appears to have professed the Jain religion, quite unlike the other kings of the Rāshtrakūta line, who were devout worshippers of Siva. There are some verses in his work *Kavirājamārga* in praise of Jina (I.84,114 and III.5) which may be taken to reflect his religious faith. In the *prasasti* of the *Uttara-purāna*, written by Gunabhadra, (898 A.D.), we are told that he was the disciple of Jinasēna, the well-known Jaina author of the (Sānskrit work) *Ādi-purāna*, who bears testimony to the fact in the *Pārsvābhyudaya*. There are also references to Amōghavarsha in the *Jayadhavala-tika*, in Virāchārya's *Ganitasārasanghraha*, in the *Sabdamanidarpana* and in the *Sabdānusāsana*. Besides the *Kavirājamārga*, he wrote a Sānskrit work called *Prasnōttara-ratnamāla*, discovered some thirty years ago by Mr. Pathak. In the concluding verse of this work, Amōghavarsha is mentioned as its author. This is a very popular work, which has been published many times over in Bombay. Though it has been variously attributed to Sankarāchārya, Sankarānanda and one Vimala, a Svētambara writer, Mr. Pathak has conclusively proved that it is a work of Amōghavarsha, which is confirmed by a Tibetan translation of it discovered by Shiefner in which the author is represented to have been a king and his Tibetan name, as re-translated into Sānskrit by the same scholar, is Amōghodaya, which obviously stands for Amōghavarsha. This work was composed between *Saka* 797-799 (or A.D. 875-879). According to the final verse of this work, he seems to have voluntarily abdicated the throne. This event may be set down to about 875 A.D. The title of his work *Kavirājamārga* means that it is the path indicated by the king of poets, (or the poet among kings, for there is an obvious pun here on the name). In verse III. 230, we read that the knowledge contained in it is a ship which safely carries a high-souled person across the ocean of Kannada poetry. Its alternative name is *Nriputunga-dēvamārga*, or the path indicated by king Nripatunga, Nripatunga being one of the names of Amōghavarsha. The work is of great literary interest, for it mentions many Kannada authors, anterior to the royal author, whose works have not come down to us. Among the best prose writers are included Vimalōdaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinīta. It cannot be stated whether the Nāgārjuna mentioned is the same as the great Buddhist scholar who has been described as resident in "Souther n India" by Hieuen Tsiang. (*Si-yu-ki* II. 97.) He was also a poet and composed a work called *Sahrid lēka*, which he dedicated to his patron Sadvala, king of Southern Kōsala (*I tsing*, K. *IV*, Fol. 5 b), or he may be as suggested by Mr. Narasimhachar the alchemist Nāgārjuna referred to in the *Rājāvalikathē*; or the Nāgārjuna mentioned as the author of a medical treatise named *Nāgārjuna Kaksha Puta*; or again the Nāgārjuna praised in the *Nandi-sūtras* and the *Avasyaka-sūtras*. Durvinīta must be the Ganga king; Vimalachandra is mentioned in an inscription at Sravana Belgola; while nothing is known of Vimalōdaya and Jayabandhu. Among the best poets referred to by him as being read and admired in his own time are Srīvijaya, Kavīsvara, Pandita-chandra and Lōkapāla. The first of these is mentioned in an inscription at Sravana Belgola (Sravana Belgola 67) though it is doubtful if the reference in the inscription is to him (see R. Narasimhachar's *Karnātaka Kavicharite*, Edn. 1924, 13-14), and by Kēsirāja and Mangarasa. Kavīsvara has been identified by Mr. Pathak with Kaviparamēshti, who is also spoken of as Kaviparamēsvara in the *prasasti* of the *Uttarapurāna* and in the *Chāmunda Rāja purāna*. The last named work attributes to him the authorship of *Jinadharmadīpakāshtaka*, from which it quotes certain Sānskrit verses. It has been suggested that Pandita-chandra may be the Chandrabhatta mentioned by Kēsirāja and praised by Durgasimha, a contemporary of the Chalukya king Jagadēkamalla II. Mr. Rice would identify Lōkapāla with Lōkāditya, the son of Bankarasa, of the Challa-Kētana family, after whom Bankāpur was named. Though the works of these authors have not so far been discovered, the fact that they were extremely popular during Amōghavarsha's time shows not only that Kannada was highly cultivated at the time but also that it possessed a considerable literature during the Rāshtrakūta period. Amōghavarsha's work *Kavirājamārga* itself bears eloquent testimony to this fact, for it treats, in the three parts into which it is divided, first with the faults in poetry; secondly with *Sabdālankāras*; and thirdly and lastly with *Arthālankāras*. Such a treatment of Kannada literature would have been wholly unnecessary unless there was a large existent literature to require it. This work besides shows, quite independently of his other work *Prasnōttararatnamāla*, that Amōghavarsha possessed a scholar's knowledge in Sānskrit. He mentions among other writers, Bāna and his two works, *Harshacharita* and *Kādambari*, which he praises as masterpieces of Sānskrit prose; Gunasūri, who is not otherwise known; Nārāyana, who is mentioned by Sōmadēva in his *Yasastilaka*; Bhāravi, Kālidāsa and Māgha. Bhāravi and Kālidāsa are mentioned in the Aihole inscription (*I.A.* VIII), while the reference to Magha, the author of *Sisupāla-vadha* in the *Kavirājamārga* is the earliest reference we have for him in literature. The *Kavirājamārga* is largely based on Dandi's *Kāvyādarsa*, from which literal translations are given, thus showing, as actually declared by him, that Dandi was already an eminently old authority on poetics. There is internal evidence in this work that not only Jainism but also Buddhism still flourished in the land during Amōghavarsha's time. (Pathak, *Kavirājamārga* Introd. 14). Sir John Fleet has suggested that *Kavirājamārga* was the work of a poet resident at Amōghavarsha's Court and not of Amōghavarsha himself. There is some evidence in the work itself to support this suggestion.

Mr. Narasimhachar has also drawn prominent attention to this view and supports it by quotations from the work itself. The author mentions in the colophons the name of Srīvijaya and that suggestively as its author. But there are two objections to this view, one being that Srīvijaya is quoted in the work itself as an ancient author and that Srīvijaya may be, as suggested by Mr. Pathak, a name of Nripatunga himself. This view would be correct if Durgasimha (about 1145 A.D.) means the *Kavirājamārga* when he speaks of *Srīvijaya Kavimārgam.* This title, however, has not been confirmed in any of the inscriptions so far published nor is it even mentioned in this work. But we know *Srīvallabha* is a title which the Rāshtrakūtas appropriated to themselves from the Chalukyas and it is a question if *Srīvijaya* is used in place of *Srīvallabha.* Besides the words *Nripatungadēvānumatam appa Kavirājamārga*, which have been held to be equivalent to saying that the work was written according to the views or on the direction of Nripatunga may, as suggested by Mr. Pathak, be held to mean only that the work is intended only to express the author's approval of those views of his predecessors whom he has named and which he summarises in his own work. There are also numerous passages (*e.g.*, III. 2, II. 27, I. 147, and I. 24) which distinctly ascribe the work to Amōghavarsha and to Atisaya Dhavala, his other name.

His trans-Indian reputation.

Amōghavarsha seems to have attained to something more than a mere local reputation. Chitaldrug 76 and 49 (*E.C.* XI) term him "the celebrated in the world." He has been identified with the long-lived Balhāra of the merchant Sulaiman (A.D. 851), who reckoned him to be fourth of the great kings of the world, the other three being the Khalifa of Baghdad, the Emperor of China, and the Emperor of Constantinople. (Sir Vincent

Smith, *E.I.J.* Edn. 1924, 445-446). As stated above, he abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Krishna II, and appears to have spent the remainder of his life in literary and religious pursuits. As he is known to have ruled for over sixty years, he should have been somewhere about 80 years of age when he retired from the throne. The actual date of his death is not known. He was apparently liberal in his patronage of Digambara Jainism, which, under great *gurus* like Jinasēna, his own teacher, and others made considerable progress in Mysore and Western India and checked incidentally the growth of Buddhism in that region. While his military activities show him to have been a politic ruler of marked abilities, his literary leanings indicate that he was possessed of a certain amount of culture which should have endeared him to his subjects.

Krishna II
880-911 A.D.

Amōghavarsha I appears to have left two sons, Krishna II and Duddaya, the latter of whom is known from a recently found lithic inscription. (*A.S.I.* 1912, 34). Krishna II succeeded him on the throne. He was also known by the names of Kannara II and Akālavarsha. He married a Haihaya princess belonging to the Kalachurya family, who was the daughter of the king of Chēdi. The earliest inscription we have of him is a lithic one dated in *Saka* 809, or A.D. 889, which records a private grant. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 17). He was contemporary with the Bāna king Vikramāditya II, who reigned about *Saka* 820 or A.D. 898. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Part II, Para 5). He has been identified with the Krishna to whom the Jain disputant Paravādimalla gave the derivation of his name. (Sravana Belgola 67). Another inscription that mentions him is *E.C.* XI, Jagalūr 19, dated in *Saka* 829 (in words) cyclic year *Prabhava* corresponding to 907 A.D., and is on a *vīrakal* which refers to a fight between the Gangas and the Nolambas.

To his reign too must be attributed the lithic inscriptions numbered Devanhalli 42 and 43 (*E.C.* IX), which refer themselves to an Akālavarsha's suzerainty and Hoskote 12 (*E.C.* IX) which mentions Krishna II under the name of Karmadi-arasa, a form of Kannara or Kandhara. From these inscriptions it seems as though Salve 300 Kunigal 500 and Punnād 70 were under Rāshtrakūta suzerainty during the reign of Krishna II. He seems to have been engaged in constant wars with the Eastern Chalukyas. In *E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 76, he is said to have attacked and slain a Pāndya, identified by Mr. Rice with a Pāndya of Uchchangi, in Molkalmuru Taluk. (*E.C.* XI, Introd. 8). A lithic inscription at Manchela, Bellary District, dated in *Saka* 815 (or A.D. 893), refers to his Mahāsāmanta Matyenanna as ruling the Sindavādi 1000. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 542). During his reign Banavāsi 30,000 continued under Rāshtrakūta suzerainty. In 902 A.D.—according to a lithic record in front of the ruined Basavanna temple at Bandalike, Shikarpur Taluk—we note that it was being governed by the Mahāsāmanta Lōkatēyarasa, son of Bankēyarasa. From Shikarpur 219 (*E.C.* VII) dated in *Saka* 834 (in words) or A.D. 911, we learn that it was being governed by one Kalivattarasa. We have the interesting information from this lithic record, to be seen at the entrance of the basti at Bandalike, that acting under Kalivattarasa's orders one Sattarasa Nāgārjuna, the *Nāl-gavunda* of Nāgarakhanda 70 fell, on which the office was bestowed by the king on his widow Jakkiyabbe. She seems to have held it with great credit for seven years, rejoicing in her beauty, until incapacitated by some bodily ailment, on which she resigned everything to her daughter and reaching Bandalike, she expired in performance of (Jaina) vows. She is described as being "skilled for good government" and "though a woman" she protected her charge well "in the pride of her own heroic bravery." She was faithful to her faith, freed herself from the entanglement of the chain of desire and died in *Saka* 840, Cyclic year *Bahudhānya*, or 918 A.D.

His suzerainty over Banavāsī.

Another inscription mentioning his suzerainty is Shikarpur 284, dated in *Saka* 825 or A.D. 902, which records the construction of a tank and a temple at Kattamara in the rule of Vikramāditya Sāntara. (*E.C.* VII). Some lithic inscriptions mentioning his suzerainty have been found in Sorab and Nagar Taluks. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 546, 91 and 88; and Nagar 23). Of these Sorab 546 appears to be dated in *Saka* 820 or A.D., 898; Sorab 88 in *Saka* 835, Cyclic year *Prajāpati* or 913 A.D.; and Sorab 91 is undated. Sorab 88 mentions Kalivattarasa as the governor of Banavāsi and adds he had slain the Kadamba Harivarma and occupied the fort in peace. This, however, was not to the liking of the Nād-gavunda, of Jidduvalige 70, who prepared to go to Gangavādi, apparently to secure help against the resident local Rāshtrakūta governor, Kalivattarasa. He was, however, stopped from proceeding from beyond Kumsi, where he was effectually waylaid and stopped by Kalivattarasa's dependents. It would seem to follow from this inscription that the Ganga kingdom was recognized as an independent State at the time. But this cannot have been the case as a lithic inscription at Chikka-Sārangi, which is dated in 903 A.D. in this reign, states that the *Prachanda dandanāyaka* Dampaiya, who is described as bearing the burden of the whole kingdom, was stationed at Manne, the old Ganga capital, as the general of all the South. This leads to the reasonable conclusion that the Gangas had virtually become the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas since the restoration of Sivamāra II. Even Mārasimha, in 971 A.D. is mentioned as a feudatory of Khottiga, son of Krishna III. (*I.A.* XII.

255). Consequently, the statement that the Kalbhāvi inscription presents the only instance of the recognition of an overlord seems untenable. (See Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, 71, f. n.). Apparently Dampaiya, the commander-in-chief above referred to, had under him another commander named Durvinīta-arasa (designated Dandanāyaka). He may be identical with the Durvinīta mentioned in Maddagiri 27,39, and 42 along with his brother Būtuga as fighting against Nolambas. The period of these Maddagiri records is given as about 950 A.D., but they may be earlier by at least 20 years. (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 65).

Indra III
912-916 A.D.

Indra III, son of Krishna II, succeeded him. In Chitaldrug 76 (*E.C.* XI) it is said that he slew Vīra, the reference being not clear. Like his predecessor Gōvinda III (Sir Vincent Smith, *E.H.I.*, 395) he carried on warfare with Kanauj. He took Kanauj in 916 A.D. and this proved the beginning of the end of that Empire. (Cambay Plates *E.I.* VII. 36). Mahipāla was temporarily deprived of his throne and Surāshtra was lost to him with the other outlying provinces. Indra, however, could not hold Kanauj indefinitely. Mahipāla recovered his capital with the aid of the Chandēl king and other allies. (*E.I.* I. 121). Chitaldrug 76 in describing him says that on account of his valour he was considered the brave hero of the Kali age. A general of his was Srīvijaya mentioned in an inscription at Dānavalapādu, Cuddapah District. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Appendix B. of 1905 No. 333). He is described as a "matchless poet," *anupama-kavi*. This must be different from the Srīvijaya mentioned in the *Kavirājamārga* who must have lived a century earlier. (*I.A.* XXXIII. 270). It might perhaps be inferred from this inscription that Indra III was a Jain in faith. We are told that the *prasasti* was composed by the general's accountant. The accountant must have been a literary man, for his Kannada poetry is good. An inscription of his at Kudatani in the Bellary District, dated in *Saka* 842, cyclic year *Vikrama* (or A.D. 920) is four years later than his Hattimattūr inscription and mentions the family of the Chalukya chief, Balavarman and his son Dasavarman. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Appendix B, No. 17). This shows that the Chalukyas continued to occupy a subordinate position during the period of Rāshtrakūta supremacy.

If the lithic inscription recently found at Mardagere, in Bairakur hobli, which refers to an Indradēva as ruling over the Earth, may be assigned to this king, it would lead to the inference that during his reign the Gangas continued as the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas. (*M.A.R.* 1924, No. 70).

Amōghavarsha II, 916-917 A.D.

Indra III was succeeded by his elder son Amōghavarsha II, but he seems to have been superseded by his younger brother Gōvinda IV. Chitaldrug 76, which gives a genealogy of the Rāshtrakūta kings, passes over the name of Amōghavarsha II altogether.

Gōvinda IV; Gojjiga; Suvarnavarsha; 918-933 A.D.

In describing Gōvinda IV, it says that he was celebrated like his father. It credits him with defeating the Pallava king, *i.e.*, the Nolamba-Pallava king, probably Ayyapa-Nanniga. It is said that he was so liberal with his donations that the was called Suvarnavarsha (literally raining gold). A lithic inscription (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 119,) which is dated in *Saka* 852 (in words), cyclic year *Vikriti*, corresponding to A.D. 930, acknowledges his suzerainty over Kadambalige 1,000. This province seems to have been continuously under Rāshtrakūta occupation since the time of its original conquest from the early Chalukyas. About this time one Barddhega was its governor. This inscription, found on a stone, near the Īsvara temple at Nandigudi, is interesting because it records, like the Doddahundi stone (*E.C.* III, Narsipur 91), a grant to a person who became a *kīl-gunthe*, *i.e.*, one who to prove his personal loyalty to his feudal lord or superior allowed himself to be buried in under him, *i.e.*, in a pit underneath him. *Kil-gunthe* (or *kil-gunte*) literally means an under-pit, *i.e.*, a pit for the servant below the pit prepared for the master. (See Rice in *E.C.* XI, Trans. 73).

His Suzerainty over Sāntalige.

During his reign, the Sāntalige 1000 appears to have continued under his sovereignty, though there are a couple of inscriptions (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 194 and 322) both dated in *Saka* 858, cyclic year *Manmatha* (or A.D. 935), which do not recognize the suzerainty. Both these inscriptions refer to one Pergade Puliyamma, described as a *Mahā-amātya* (or Prime Minister) and the equal of Brihaspati. Apparently he affected independence about this time. Among the benefits of his vigorous administration was the construction of the big tank at Tānagunda (Sthānagundūr) in 935 A.D. He made grants of land for its maintenance and for the offerings of the god to be kept up perpetually in his name. (Shikarpur 194). In the other inscription (Shikarpur 322) the construction of the tank is again mentioned but the additional fact is recorded that Puliyamma made over the tank to the people of the town and they agreed to the payment of certain annual dues to it.

The Banavāsi 12,000, however, continued under the sovereignty of Gōvinda IV, called Suvarnavarsha in the three inscriptions Honnali 21 to 23 (*E.C.* VII), all of which are dated in *Saka* 857 or A.D. 934. One Santara, described as a Rāma in energy (in war), was its governor at the time.

Extent of his Kingdom.

Gōvinda IV is described in an inscription found at Doddimakala, Adōni Taluk, Bellary District, as "ruling up to the sea." It is dated in *Saka* 852, cyclic year *Khara*, or A.D. 930. His *Mahā-sāmanta*, Kannara, is mentioned in it as governing over the province of Sindavādi 1,000. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B No. 512). This feudatory Kannara and his Jaina queen Chandiyabbe are referred to in an inscription found at Halaharavi, Adōni Taluk, Bellary District, dated in *Saka* 854, or 932 A.D., where however the king is named Nityavarsha. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B No. 540). As Nityavarsha did not begin his rule until long after Krishna III, whose reign extended twenty years after the last regnal year of Amōghavarsha III, Nityavarsha must be treated, in this instance, as a title of Gōvinda IV as it was of his father Indra III. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Part II, Para 38).

Amōghavarsha III, 935 A.D.

As Gōvinda IV left no children, he was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddega or Amōghavarsha III. He is probably the Gabhīndra mentioned in the genealogical list set out in a lithic inscription (at the Kallēsvara temple at Isāmudra, Barmasagara *hobli*) dated in his reign in *Saka* 859, cyclic year *Hēvilambi* or 937 *A.D.* (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 76). In this and in Chitaldrug 77, dated in *Saka* 861, cyclic year *Vikāri* or A.D. 839, the Rāshtrakūta suzerainty over Kadambalige appears to have continued uninterrupted during this reign as well. According to these two inscriptions, the local Rāshtrakūta governor was Mahāsāmanta Kannarasa (or Kanna). He is represented in rather hyperbolic terms as possessed of "stores and treasures" and a standing army of "the thousand force and others, putting down the evil and upholding all." In Chitaldrug 77, above quoted, we have an instance of a land grant to the head of a religious establishment (Bālachandra Dēva, connected with the Bhōgēsvara temple at Isāmudra referred to above), for not only repairing the temple and maintaining ascetics, but also for the benefit of students reading in the *matha* and for the boy students (*vidyārthi mūniyarggam*), who are specially mentioned.

Amōghavarsha's relations with the Gangas appear to have been cordial. He gave his daughter Rēvaka in marriage to Būtuga, the then reigning Ganga king (*E.I.* IV. 350), together with a dowry of territory of the Ganga kingdom (see *ante* Gangas).

Krishna III (Kannara, Akālavarsha) 940-966 A.D.

Amōghavarsha III was succeeded by his eldest son Krishna III. For him, we have numerous lithic inscriptions in the State. They are mostly to be found in the Shimoga and Chitaldrug Districts with a few in the Bangalore District and a reference in a Ganga inscription in the Mysore District. A literary reference to him is to be found in Sōmadēva Sūri's *Yasastilaka Champu*, which refers to him as ruling at Melyāti in *Saka* 881 or A.D. 959. (*M.A.R.* 1925, Page 13). In an epigraph found at Sōlapuram, near Vellore, dated in *Saka* 875 or A.D. 952, he is, under the name of Prithvigangaraiyar, said to have been governing Kalledappūr Maryāda. (*E.I.* VII 195). Whether the Melyāti of the *Yasastilaka* is identical with the Maryāda of this inscription remains to be settled.

His character and conquests

Krishna III was undoubtedly a warlike prince. His numerous inscriptions, found mainly in the central districts of Madras Presidency and the Mysore State show him to have been a personality to reckon with in his days. He must have been both active and intrepid and not quite unwilling also to use likely persons at different courts in his own interests. His mother was, according to the Karhād grant, Kundakadēvi, the daughter of the Haihaya king Yuvarāja. (*E.I.* IV. 218). But in an inscription found at Tiruvorriyūr, near Madras, recording a gift of hers, her name is given as Pūlaichchirāni. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 179). This inscription is dated in the 22nd year of the reign of Krishna III. It is possible that this was another name of the mother-queen. Krishna seems to have been married to a Ganga princess, who is called Gangamadēvi, (*i.e.*, Gangamahādēvi) in an inscription dated in his 19th regnal year. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Appendix B. No. 65). He himself is called in this record and in another dated in 952 A.D. (*E.C.* VII 195) Prithvigangaraiyar. The same queen is called in an inscription at Sōlapuram, near Vellore, as Kāmakkanār, and is described as the daughter of Vānakōvaraiyar Orriyūr-Adiyān and queen of Prithivigangaraiyar. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Part II, Para 83). Krishna, it would appear, had a rival to the throne in one Lalliya, whom he defeated with the aid of his brother-in-law Būtuga, the Ganga king (see *ante* Gangas). Būtuga also assisted him in his war against the Chōla king Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I. Būtuga greatly distinguished himself in this war by engaging in a single combat with Rājāditya, from over the elephant he was riding and killing him in the most heroic fashion. This was in 949 A.D. (*E.I.* VII, 194). It has been conclusively proved now that there was no treachery whatever on his part in doing this act (see *ante* Gangas). The battle at which Rājāditya fell was fought at Takkolam near Arkonam. Krishna rewarded his brother-in-law's active co-operation and help by adding to his dominions the Banavāsi 12,000, which brought the Ganga boundary nearer to the Krishna. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 41). Probably, Krishna III, in return, helped Būtuga to gain his own throne, superseding the claims of his elder brother Rāchamalla. (*E.I.* IV. 249). Būtuga's daughter was also married to Krishna's son, thus bringing closer together the two families. (*Sravana Belgola*, New Edn. 133-Old Edn. 57). The war with the Chōlas ended, and Krishna apparently became master of the South, probably up to Tanjore. Hence the title of

Krishna III in several of his inscriptions as he "who took Kachchi and Tanjai" *i.e.*, Kānchi and Tanjore. As the death of Rājāditya in battle took place in 949 A.D., it is likely that it took place about the tenth year of his reign.

His Kērala ally, Chaturānana Pandita.

In this warfare against the Chōla king, Krishna III appears to have been helped by a Kērala chief, who afterwards became known as Chaturānana Pandita. He was apparently a great favourite of Krishna III. It is stated in an inscription at Tiruvorriyūr, that as a youth learned in all the sciences, he emigrated to the Chōla court and sought service under king Rājāditya. He soon became an intimate friend and subordinate of his. Though he was always near that king, he did not, however (so goes the inscription) die with him on the battle field. Aggrieved that he had thus "done a deed inconsistent with the nature of his caste, family, father and master," Chaturānana resigned the world, bathed in the waters of the Ganges, entered the order of the *Sanyasins* at Ādhigrāma (Tiruvorriyūr), received initiation at the hands of *Niranjana guru* and thereafter, becoming the chief of that *matha*, greatly improved the temple. This narrative of his life history, in an inscription set up by himself, would seem to imply some remorse on the part of Chaturānana for something done by him which he should have later thought was highly improper on his part. If he did not act exactly as a spy, he should have come very near it to discard worldly life and become a *sanyāsin*. Krishna III perhaps followed the policy laid down by Chānakya in the *Arthasāstra* in regard to winning over the friends of foreign kings (see *Artha Sāstra*, Chapter XIV). The inscription in which these details occur is of the 20th year of Krishna's reign. Chaturānana's gift was one of money and consisted of 100 *nishkas* of pure gold. The temple at Tiruvorriyūr under his management seems to have flourished, so much so that we see gifts to it recorded by Krishna's mother and by one of the merchants attached to Krishna's camp. A grant by the latter is dated in the 18th regnal year and by the former in the 22nd. The merchant is described as one belonging to Mānyakhēta, the Rāshtrakūta capital. (*M.E.R.* 1913. Appendix B. Nos. 181, 177 and 179). According to the Karhād grant, Krishna III is said to have taken a large number of people with him into the Chōla country when he invaded it. (*E.I.* IV. 281).

Rāshtrakūta supremacy over Southern India.

One effect of the successful termination of the war against the Chōla king was the establishment of the Rāshtrakūta supremacy over a part of South India. Several inscriptions found in the present Madras, Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts show that his over-lordship in this territory was recognized as a fact. These record gifts by some of his chiefs, who to judge from their names, were probably southern in origin. An inscription of his at Brahmadēsam in the North Arcot District is dated in his 17th regnal year.

Vaidumbas as Feudatories.

The Vaidumbas appear to have been the feudatories of Krishna III. Sankaradēva and Srīkanta, sons of Tiruvaiyan, recognize his suzerainty in inscriptions dated in his 22nd and 25th regnal years. (*M.E.R.* 1906. Appendix B. Nos. 742 and 743). Undated inscriptions found in the modern Cuddapah District indicate his sway over it. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Appendix B. No. 36; *M.E.R.* 1905, Part II, Para 28). Similarly inscriptions found in the Bellary District show that it was part of the Rāshtrakūta kingdom at the time. Some of the inscriptions in the latter district show that Siva worship was triumphant at the time in and around modern Bellary District. There were Chalukya feudatories governing parts of this district, then called the Kōgali 500 and the Mādavādi 140.

(*M.E.R*, 1904, Appendix B. Nos. 75 and 100, dated in *Saka* 868 and *Saka* 878 or 946 and 956 A.D.). This would indicate that in Krishna's time, Chalukyas acted as subordinate officers under the Rāshtrakūtas. In one or two inscriptions in this district, dated in *Saka* 870 (948 A.D.) and in 888 (=965 A.D.), Krishna III is called Akālavarsha Chalakenallāta, apparently implying that he claimed to be both Chālukya sovereign and ruler of Lāta or southern Gujarāt.

Suzerainty over Kadambalige.

A number of inscriptions belonging to his reign, dated from 941 to 965 A.D. and found in the Chitaldrug District, make mention of Kannaiya's governorship of Kadambālige (*i.e.*, ancient Kadamba territory). Of this Kannaiya, we have a few inscriptions. His mother Polegabbe was apparently a widow, given to fasting and purified by bathing in the Ganges. (*E.C.* XI. Holalkere 30). Kannaiya's brother-in-law was Goggi, whose genealogy tracing his descent from the Chalukya king Vikramāditya, is given in Chitaldrug 41. (*E.C.* XI). Krishna III is referred to in these inscriptions as the supreme sovereign and Chitaldrug 49, dated in 947 A.D., says that he was devoted to *dharma*. He is said, in Chitaldrug 76, dated in *Saka* 859, or A.D. 937, to have excelled in his virtues the son of Dharma, Rāghava, Dilīpa and Māndhāta. As this praise occurs in an inscription of his father Amōghavarsha III, it may perhaps be inferred that he had already distinguished himself both as a soldier and as a ruler.

Sūdrakayya seems to have succeeded Kannaiya in the Kadambālige governorship. He is called in Holalkere 23, dated in 967 A.D., Mahāsāmanta, champion over fleeing armies, master of Āndhra-mandala and *bhujanga* (*i.e.*, paramour, or lord) of Ujjeni. A grant of his, in favour of the god of the Siditēsvara temple, built by one Sidilanka Kāma, dated in 967 A.D, and made to one Divyalinga Bhalāra, is interesting for the fact that part of the lands gifted lay in "the Lōkāyata city of Gundēri of the Kūravādi 300." The stone bearing this inscription is in the Kalla-Khambadahālu in the boundary of Gundēri and Mālēnahalli. The Gundēri referred to as a Lōkāyata city is still in existence. The Lōkāyatas were a sect of athiests who followed the doctrines of Chārvāka. Mādhavāchārya reviews their system in the opening chapter of his work the *Sarvadarsana Sangraha.*

Gangas as feudatories of Krishna III.

As regards Gangavādi 96,000, it is clear from Holalkere 88, which may be assigned to 965 A.D. and which recognizes the suzerainty of Krishna III, that Mārasimha Permādi (Mārasimha III) was ruling over it as a feudatory of Krishna. Mārasimha III was the son and successor of Būtuga.

Suzerainty over Banavasi.

In the Sorab Taluk of Shimoga District, we have a number of inscriptions belonging to Krishna's reign. Despite its gift to the Ganga king, Banavāsi 12,000 appears to have come under Rāshtrakūta rule, if indeed it was ever transferred to the Gangas. The statement of Mandya 41 in this regard has apparently to be treated with caution. We have, in fact, numerous inscriptions, ranging from 938 A.D. to 965 A.D., *i.e.*, from about the beginning of Krishna's reign to practically its end, attesting to Rāshtrakūta rule over this province. In 938 A.D., one Māchiyarasa was the officer governing it on behalf of Krishna III. About 941 A.D., the province was apparently divided into two parts, over one of which Sāmanta Kalavittarasa was governing. Similarly, we find one Galavēndra ruling over part of it about 951 A.D. But in an inscription dated in 954 A.D., we see it recorded that the burden of Banavāsi 12,000 was on Kalivattarasa's son Rasanna." Apparently the division was a temporary one. In the same year Māchiyarasa was acting once again. Javanaisa occupied the position in 955 A.D. About 960 A.D., Gabbindara came into office. In 965 A.D., Javanaisa returned to the post. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 203, 246, 240, 474 and 202). In the Shikarpur and Shimoga Taluks, we have mention of Krishna III on a couple of *Vīrakals.* One of these is Shikarpur 183, whose date is not readable but may be about 950 A.D. and Shimoga 22, dated in *Saka* 855 or A.D. 962-963. There can be little doubt, that practically over the whole of the present Chitaldrug and Shimoga Districts, Rāshtrakūta rule continued unabated during the reign of Krishna III.

Khottiga, Nityavarsha; 966-971 A.D.

Krishna III appears to have died in *Saka* 889, cyclic year *Kshaya*, or A.D. 966 and was succeeded by (his brother) Khottiga. This is now definitely ascertained by a lithic record found at Kolagallu, in the Bellary District. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. No. 236). He appears to have had a quiet rule. Records of his time have been found at Bāgali and Kudatani in the Bellary District. Those at Kudatani and Adaragunchi are dated in *Saka* 893 or A.D. 971-2, while the one at Bāgali is dated in *Saka* 894 or 972 A.D. The latter mentions the Ganga feudatory of Khottiga. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Appendix B. Nos. 44 and 79). He is also referred to in a few inscriptions found in the Chitaldrug District. Of these (*E.C.* XI) Chitaldrug 50, dated in 968 A.D., is the first in point of time. He is spoken of in it as Nityavarsha-Dēva and described as an energetic warrior with his capital at Mānyakhēta. He is also recognized as the overlord of the Kadambalige 1,000, which was governed in his name by one Pandayya. In Chitaldrug 74, dated in 968 A.D., Nityavarsha is also called Khōttiga Dēva and the additional information is given that Pandayya or Pandiga, as it calls him, was the son of Goggi, previously mentioned.

Pandayya's wife was a Jaina lady named Jakki Sundari, who built a *basadi*, to which a grant was made by Pandayya. As Pandayya is called the "Chalukya Omnicient," he may be taken to have been connected with the ancient Chalukya dynasty.

During Khottiga's time, a part of Banavāsi 12,000 appears to have been governed by Gabbīndra, who was in power under Krishna III as well. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 531, dated in 967 A.D.).

There is reason to believe that Khottiga was a Jain by religion, unlike his brother and mother, who appear to have been devout Saïvas. He caused, according to an inscription found at Dānavalapādu, in the Cuddapah District, a pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of a Jaina saint named Sānti. This pedestal is in front of a Jaina image in a ruined Jaina temple at that place. From the *nishadhis* and Jaina inscriptions found at the place, it should have been in olden days a place held sacred by Jainas.

Kakkala-Dēva, Amōghavarsha IV, Nripatunga. Kakka II, 972-977 A.D.

Kakka II, also called Kakkala-Dēva, the next king, proved to be the last of the Rāshtrakūta line. He appears to have been a nephew of Khottiga. For him, we have a few inscriptions in the Sorab Taluk. One dated in 972 A.D. records that a certain Chattayya was governing the Banavāsi 12,000. Another, dated in 973 A.D., gives the name Kakka-Dēva, and records the continuance of Chattayya's rule over Banavāsi. A third, undated but assigned by Mr. Rice to 991 A.D., but may be 20 years earlier, refers to Kakka as the ruling sovereign and mentions a grant of 24 *thera drammas* to one Kētaga, who gave up his life in order that the local governor, one Sāntivarma, may have a son. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 479; also see Sorab 531, 455, 457 and 454.) (For *dramma* see *ante* Chapter IV, *Numismatics*).

We have also a couple of inscriptions referring to Kakka's rule in the inscriptions found in the Chitaldrug District. (*E.C.* XI). In Davangere 152, dated in 976 A.D., he is described as ruling as far as the ocean. Kadambalige was, during his reign, still being governed by Pandayya. This, however, is the last we hear of independent Rāshtrakūta rule in Mysore. In Holalkere 85, dated in 977 A.D., we have no suzerain recognized, though the local chief's name—Arabalava—is given. This indicates the troublous nature of the times, which ended in the Chalukya revolution effected under the leadership of Taila II.

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Indra IV, died 982 A.D.

The immediate cause of the fall of the Rāshtrakūta kingdom is not known. But the feebler rulers who succeeded Krishna III, perhaps, provided ample scope for the ambitious designs of Taila II, a scion of the old Chalukya stock, who at a convenient opportunity subverted the kingdom. When exactly this subversion took place is not known. As there are inscriptions recognizing the suzerainty of Kakka up to 976 A.D., the event could not have occurred till that year. Before then, somewhere about 973 A.D., when the Ganga king Mārasimha III abdicated and retired to Bankāpur, Indra IV was crowned by him (Mārasimha) as the Rāshtrakūta king. Indra IV was the grandson of Krishna III, Krishna's un-named son having married a daughter of Būtuga, and was apparently considered the rightful heir to the throne. But Khōttiga succeeded Krishna III and he in turn was succeeded by Kakka II. Mārasimha's attempt has accordingly to be set down as an attempt to assert the superior claim of Indra IV. These internal dissensions should have given an opportunity to Taila II to prosecute his own aims. The attempt of Mārasimha to prop up the right of Indra IV having proved futile, the latter retired to Sravana Belgola and there starved himself to death by the Jaina rite of *sallēkhana* in 982 A.D. An inscription at that place (Sravana Belgola 133) praises his wonderful skill in horsemanship and describes him as great in war as in liberality. It speaks of him also as one devoted to truth, indeed as one who had resolved never to tell a lie and never did utter one. He was apparently a devout Jain and married to the daughter of a chief named Rājachūdāmani, of whom nothing is known. Indra's epitaph (part of which is repeated in an inscription at Hemāvati, *E.C.* XII, Sira 27) shows him to have been a lovable prince born in times least propitious to his talents and character.

Revolution of Taila II, 978 A.D.

The earliest inscription we have for Taila II is Sorab 445 (*E.C.* VIII), but it is unfortunately undated. As it, however, describes him as a *Mahāmandalēsvara*, it is possible he was only a local ruler under the Rāshtrakūta king of the time. It might, therefore, be assigned as Mr. Rice does, to about 975 A.D. There is indeed an inscription of Taila's father Vikramāditya dated in *Saka* 893 (or A.D. 971) which gives him the full regal titles. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 25). This would seem to be a case of coming events casting their shadows before, if the inscription is to be relied upon as a contemporaneous record. In Sorab 530, however, he is given the full royal titles of "Prithvi Vallabha," "Mahārājādhirāja," etc., and is called Nūrmadi Tailappa Dēva. It is dated in *Saka* 903 or A.D. 980. From these inscriptions, it might perhaps be inferred that Taila effected the revolution sometime between 975 and 980 A.D. As there are, however, inscriptions recognizing Kakka's rule even in 976 A.D.,and Taila is a full blown ruler in 980 A.D.,Taila's victory over Kakka may be set down to 977-978 A.D., a date which may be taken as near the approximate date as might be fixed for it, in the present state of our knowledge. Indra IV apparently did not desire to survive the loss of his kingdom long after Taila's victory and died in 782 A.D. With Taila's success, we enter on the history of the revived dynasty of Chālukyas, which, like the one it supplanted, lasted for about two centuries and a quarter.

Simultaneous Fall of Rāshtrakūtas and Gangas.

The fall of the Rāshtrakūtas, followed not long after by that of the Gangas, before the invading hosts of the Chōlas, meant a great blow to the Jain faith. With rare exceptions, the Ganga kings were Jains by religion, and though most of the Rāshtrakūta kings were Saivas, some appear to have been Jainas. But the disappearance of these two dynasties did not for the time being affect the Jain religion, though the Saiva faith was competing with it for supremacy.

Arab tribute to Rāshtrakūta Rule.

It was during the time of the Rāshtrakūtas that the Muhammadans of Sind first got into friendly relations with the Hindus of Western India. Sind had been conquered by Muhammad, son of Kāsim, early in the 8th century. For nearly a century thereafter, they had been opposed by the Gurjara kings of Bhimal, whose territory lay to the east of the Arab kingdom. The Rāshtrakūta kings, being at war with the Gurjara kings, cultivated friendship with the Arabs of Sind. One result of this new policy was that Arab merchants and travellers began to visit Western India, some of whom beginning with the merchant Sulaiman (9th century) have left a record of what they saw. (Elliot, *History of India* I). These writers call the Rāshtrakūta kings "Balharā," a corruption of *Vallabha* and *Ballaha*, which was a title of the Rāshtrakūta kings and of their predecessors the Chaļukyas, and state that they were the greatest amongst the sovereigns of India. Sir Vincent Smith remarks that this tribute of honour to Rāshtrakūta rule is well justified by the achievements of this dynasty. He adds that "the Kailāsa temple is one of the wonders of the world, a work of which any nation might be proud, and an honour to the king under whose patronage it was executed." (*E.H.I.*, New Edition, 447).

Coinage of the Rāshtrakūtas.

No coinage has been attributed to this dynasty during its most flourishing period. Some silver coins, imitated from the coinage of the Kshtrapas of Surāshtra, have however, been attributed to Krishna II, son of Indra (see above). These coins are of Western Gupta fabric and have been found in the Nāsik District, Bombay Presidency. This Krishna was a predecessor of Krishna I, and is said to have ruled about 375-400 A.D. Rapson has characterized this attribution as "certainly incorrect as the date is too early for the style of the coins, which are imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in this locality." For the same reason, he adds, it is impossible to place them so late as the time of the best known King of this dynasty Krishnarāja Rāshtrakūta, *Circa* 756 A.D. (*i.e.*, Krishna III). Their ascription should therefore remain for the present undecided. (See Rapson's *Coins of India*, 27 and 38.)

CHĀLUKYAS (OF KALYĀNI).

We left the early Chalukyas, on their being superseded by the Rāshtrakūtas, in order to follow the history of the latter dynasty. (According to the convention adopted by Indian Epigraphists, *Chalukya—a* short—represents the Early Chalukyas of Bādāmi and *Chālukya—a* long—represents the Chālukyas of Kalyāni). Its downfall, however, restored the supremacy of the Chālukyas, and we may resume the annals relating to this line of kings. It was in the time of Kīrtivarma II that the Chālukyas lost their power. Davangere I of 1123 A.D., which gives a full genealogy of the Chālukya dynasty speaks of him as he "by whom the Chālukya kingdom became impeded in the earth." (*E.C.* XI). He may have been succeeded by another Kīrtivarma, but this is doubtful. Davangere 1, above referred to, states that it was he "who thrust out the wicked people." There is, however, no independent confirmation of this assertion. The names of the subsequent kings of the intervening period are more reliable, namely, Taila, Vikramāditya, Bhīma, Ayyana (who married a daughter of the Rāshtrakūta king, Krishna) and Vikramāditya IV (who married Bonthā-dēvi, daughter of king Lakshmana, of the Chēdi or Kalachurya family). One Chālukya, named Jayasimha, fled to Anhilvāra in Gujarāt, the court of Bhōja Rāja, the last of the Sauras. Here, his son Mūla Rāja married the daughter of Bhōja Rāja, and in 931 A.D., succeeded the latter on the throne, the Salic law being set aside in his favour. He ruled at Anhilvāra for fifty-eight years, and his descendants occupied the throne of that country with great glory till 1145 A.D.

Meanwhile Tailapa, the son of Vikramāditya above mentioned, defeated the Rāshtrakūtas in the person of the king Kakkala, and retrieved the Chālukya fortunes. Davangere 1 states that he cut down the two war pillars (*rana stambha*) that had been erected by the Rāshtrakūta king Karkara and as the original Boar raised up the earth which had been submerged in the ocean, he raised up the fortune of the Chālukya family which had been submerged by the frauds of the Rāshtrakūtas. He succeeded to the throne in 973 A.D., and transmitted to his posterity a kingdom which increased in splendour and prosperity under each succeeding reign for nearly 230 years. The following is a list of the kings for this period:—

	A.D.
Taila II (Nūrmadi Tailā, Āhavamalla)	973— 997
Satyāsraya, (Irivabedenga, Sattiga etc.,)	997—1008
Vikramāditya V, (Tribhuvanamalla)	1009 –1014
Ayyana II	1014
Jayasimha II, (Jagadēkamalla)	1015—1042
Sōmēsvara I, (Trailōkyamalla, Āhavamalla, etc.) ...	1042—1068
Sōmēsvara II, (Bhuvanaikamalla)	1068—1076
Vikramāditya VI, (Vikramārka Tribhuvanamalla, Permādi)	1076—1127
Sōmēsvara III, (Bhulōkamalla)	1127—1136
Perma—Jagadēkamalla II	1136—1151
Taila III	...
Tailapa, Trailōkyamalla	1151—1163
(Kalachurya usurpation ... ... Taila III ruled over only a part of his kingdom till 1163 A.D.)	1156—1183
Jagadēkamalla III	1163—1184
Sōmēsvara IV, (Tribhuvanamalla etc.) .. ... He ruled at different times and places	1184—85 —*Circa* 1200

Taila II, 973-997 A.D.

Of the manner in which Taila II regained the lost kingdom, after a lapse of about two centuries and a quarter, we have more than one graphic description in the inscriptions so far discovered. Davangere 1 has been referred to above. Shikarpur 125 (*E.C.* VII) says:—"The earth and the crown having fallen into the hands of the Rattas, he drove the kings of the Ratta kingdom before him, put them down and overwhelmed them, this millstone (*gharatta*) to the Rattas, and took possession of the crown of the Chālukya kingdom." His father Vikramāditya is referred to in Chitaldrug 25, (*E.C.* XI) dated 971 A.D., and given the usual royal titles, but, as already remarked, it is difficult to assert if it is a contemporaneous epigraph. While Davangere 1 gives some part in the attempt to Kīrtivarman III, it gives no prominence to Vikramāditya. As Kīrtivarman is, according to it, removed by five generations from Taila II, he cannot be connected with the revolution effected by Taila II. Taila ruled for 24 years and was a contemporary of the Chōla king Rājarāja the Great and of the Sinda king Pulikāla. His capital was Kalyāna (or sometimes Kalyāni) in the present Nizam's Dominions. He married Jakkabbe, daughter of Kakkala II, the Rāshtrakūta king whom he had subverted. He is described in Shikarpur 125 as eager for war with Chōla and a terror to him. If the early Chalukyas had been largely occupied in the south in wars against the Pallavas, whose power they ultimately broke, the kings of the restored Chālukyas had to engage themselves in that quarter in struggles with the Chōlas. The thirty years' period of 973 to 1003 A.D., during which the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Vēngi was without a ruler, seems to have been a time when the Chōlas had overrun the country, having first acquired the territories of the Pallavas, including the city of Kānchi, their ancient capital. We accordingly find Tailappa described as full of desire to fight with the Chōla Rāja, and as being a destroying fire to the Chōlas. Taila as king is represented by a few lithic inscriptions in this State. Channagiri 7, dated in *Saka* 914, cyclic year *Nandana*, or A.D. 992, is of his reign. It is a *vīrakal*, badly defaced. (*E.C.* VII). Shikarpur 179 (*E.C.* VII) dated in *Saka* 919, or A.D. 997, refers to Banavāsi and other provinces in Mysore being under the rule of Bhīmarasa. Davangere 114 dated in *Saka* 914, or A.D. 992, is also of his reign. (*E.C.* XI). It refers to the rule of Kadambalige under Jātarasa, the Sinda chief. Besides the provinces of Banavāsi and Kadambalige, in the present Mysore State, Taila II seems to have ruled over Kogali 500 and the adjoining country forming the present Adōni Taluk of Bellary District. In Taila's time, Āryavarman was its governor. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 17; also see Appendix, No. 81 of 1904, dated in A.D. 987-988). Ādityavarman took his place in 992-993 A.D. (*ibid.* No. 36 of 1904); probably Ādityavarman preceded him in the governorship of Banavāsi, as he is in this inscription (*ibid* No. 36 of 1904) called "Lord of Banavāsi. This Ādityavarman was apparently a scion of the Kadamba family who had taken service under the Chālukyas (*ibid*). Taila should have been an active and ambitious sovereign. He not only recovered the dominions of his forefathers in Mysore but also Lāta (Southern Gujarāt), whose ruler Bairappa was directed by him to attack Mūla Rāja, above named. A good part of Taila's time was taken up in fighting Munja, the Paramāra Rāja of Dhāra, who professes to have won six victories over him. But on the seventh occasion, Munja, who had crossed the Gōdāvari, was defeated, captured and eventually put to death. This happened about 995 A.D. (*E.I.* i. 222-228; Fleet. *Dynasties of Kanarese Districts*, in *Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 432; Bhandarkar, *Early History of Dekkan*, *ibid*, 214).

Taila II patronised the Kannada poet Kaviratna, who is probably identical with the pilgrim whose name is found engraved on the Chikkabetta at Sravana Belgola. (Sravana Belgola 449). Kaviratna wrote the *Ajitapurāna* in 993 A.D. and received from Taila II the title of *Kavīchakravarti*. (See *M.A.R.* 1908-1909, para 47 and *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola*, Introd. 76, where Taila III is a slip for Taila II).

Satyāsraya; (Iriva-Bedenga). 997-1009 A.D.

According to some inscriptions, Taila II had two sons Satyāsraya and Dasavarma (Davangere 1); according to others Dasavarma was not his brother, but his son. However that may be, Satyāsraya succeeded Taila II on the Chālukya throne. He is also known as Sattiga or Sattiya in inscriptions. There are only one or two inscriptions of his in this State. In (*E.C.* VI) Mudgere 11 he is referred to under the title of Irivabedanga. There is, indeed, a great paucity of inscriptions of his period, due probably to the Chōla conquest of Gangavādi and Nolambavādi. It was during his reign and that of his successor Vikramāditya V that the Chōlas under Rājarāja I became supreme in Southern India. Rājarāja claims to have conquered Gangavādi, and the Nolambapādi (Nolambavādi) 32,000. The Chōla occupation of Gangavādi is borne out by a considerable number of records found in this State. The conquest of Nolambavādi took place in A.D. 998-999, in the first two years of Satyāsraya's reign. A second invasion of the Chālukya possessions seems to have been undertaken by Rājarāja. The defeat of Satyāsraya which is reported in the Leyden grant and in one of the Tanjore inscriptions was apparently the result of this invasion. The same event is alluded to in the historical introduction prefixed to the epigraphs of this Chōla king by the statement that he conquered the seven and a half *lakshas* of Irattapādi, *i.e.*, the Western Chālukya Empire. This conquest is mentioned first in inscriptions of his 22nd year corresponding to A.D. 1007-1008. The defeat of Satyāsraya and the conquest of the Western Chālukyan dominions should therefore have taken place in or about A.D. 1007-1008. An inscription of Satyāsraya at Hottur in the Dhārwār district, dated in A.D. 1007-1008, of which Sir John Fleet has given an abstract in the *Bombay Gazetteer* i. ii. 433, admits that the Chōla king, called Nūrmadi Chōla, collecting a force numbering 900,000, "pillaged the whole country, slaughtered the women, the children and the Brāhmans, and took the girls to wife, destroyed their caste." Apparently there had been a great fall since the Pallava days in the observation of the laws of warfare set down by Manu. However that be, Western Chālukya power was not established again in Nolambavādi until the accession, in 1018 A.D. of Jagadēkamalla Jayasimha, or a few years earlier. Jayasimha's inscriptions have been found at Bāgali and Kurugōdu. One at the former place is dated in 1018 A.D., and another in 1035-1036 A.D., one at Kurugōdu is dated in 1027-8 A.D. and another in 1030-1031 A.D. The Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla, son of Rājarāja I, claims to have overcome Jayasimha and to have conquered his dominions, while Jayasimha calls himself "the lion of the elephant Rājēndra-Chōla." (See *M.E.R.*, Para, 17 Appendix B. Inscriptions Nos. 37, 64, 65, 93 and 87). Satyāsraya was probably Jain by religion for his *Guru* is said to have been the Jain teacher Vimalachandra, whose death by *Sanyāsana* is recorded in *E.C.* VI Mudgere 11. He seems to have had a daughter named Pampā-Dēvi (by his wife Ambikā-Dēvi), who is referred to in an inscription dated in *Saka* 919 or A.D. 997, in which the king is referred to as Chālukya Permānadi, which must have been one of his titles. (*E.C.* IV Hunsur 50). She is said to have been married to the Pallava King Iriva-Nolambādhirāja. (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 428). Whether she was the same as Vriddhimabbarasi mentioned in the Gonhālu inscription referred to below is difficult to determine. The latter is also said to have been a daughter of Satyāsraya and to have married Iriva-Nolambādhirāja (see below).

During Satyāsraya's time, the Western Chālukyas, however, retained Banavāsi, which was about 1002 A.D., under the rule of Bhīmarāja. (*E.C.* VII. 71). This inscription, is, as pointed out by Mr. Rice, (*ibid*) peculiar in several respects and is not free from doubt or difficulty. The name appears as *Satyāsrayam* for *Satyāsraya*; instead of calling *Kulatilaka*, it has *Kulatilakam*, thus converting the personal name into a family name; the *Saka* dating 934 (A.D. 1012) and the cyclic year *Subhakrit* do not agree, though Subhakrit was *Saka* 924 (1102 A.D.), which is well within Satyāsraya's reign. Satyāsraya is also referred to as the ruling sovereign in Sorab 385 and 386 dated in 1004 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII).

His son, Kundamarasa, Governor of Banavāsi etc. Provinces, 1012-1042 A.D.

Satyāsraya's son Kundamarasa, appears to have been governor of Banavāsi and Sāntalige about 1012 A.D., probably succeeding in that office Bhīma Rāja. (*E.C.* VII Shikarpur 287). His seat of Government was at Balipura or Belgāmi (Shikarpur 125). This prince of the royal blood seems to have retained this position till the accession of Sōmēsvara I, *i.e.*, during a period of about 30 years. He is also called Kunda Rāja and Kundaka Rāja. (Shikarpur 307 and 9). The inscription dated in 1012 A.D., referred to above, is interesting as referring to a charity, which became incapable of being carried out. The case, it would appear, presented a predicament, which it says was like the suit in the *Bhārata*, in which the well belonged to one man, the pot to another, and the rope to a third. The person entrusted with execution of the charity was unable to raise the water to the rice land, so that it bore no crop, he sent for his son-in-law, who expended the money on it and restored the work of merit. (*E.C.* VII. 287). The other inscription referring to Kunda-Rāja (*E.C.* VII. 307 dated in 1016 A.D) quotes an oft-recurring text:—"By these two (classes of) men only is the disc of the sun burst through; the *sanyāsi* absorbed in *yōga*, and he who dies facing the foe in battle." In another inscription, dated in 1017 A.D., Kundamarasa is described as a "Māri to the Tivulas and Sattiga's *hatta*" *i.e.* death to the Tigulas (or Chōlas) and maintainer of the obstinacy (obstinate enmity) of his father Satyāsraya towards them. (*E.C.* VII Shikarpur 285). In Shikarpur 125 of 1019 A.D., he is also called Sattiga's *Chattam* or Satyāsraya's chief man or principal agent. (*E.C.* VII).

Dasavarma.

Dasavarma, the younger brother of Satyāsraya, does not appear to have ruled. His wife was Bhāgyavati. (*E.C.* XI Davangere 1) or Bhāgala Dēvi.

Vikramāditya V; Vikrama, Tribhuvanamalla, 1009-1018 A.D.

Dasavarma's son was Vikrama, or Vikramāditya V, surnamed Tribhuvanamalla. According to Davangere 1, he was called Vikrama, because he was "possessed of a character for valour (Vikrama)." This inscription also states that he succeeded his uncle (*Jyēshta pitri*) on the Chālukya throne.

His supersession of Kundamarasa.

The circumstances under which Satyāsraya's own son Kundamarasa, above named, who seems to have spent his whole life-time as governor of Banavāsi and other provinces in Mysore, did not succeed to the throne, seems nowhere explained in the extant inscriptions. Even Davangere 1, which contains the longest genealogy of the entire dynasty from the early Chalukyas, does not mention more than that Vikramāditya succeeded his "most noble uncle." Probably he was too close to his uncle to be brushed aside easily, more especially as

Kundamarasa was far away in Mysore. Shikarpur 125 seems to throw some faint light on this matter. It states that Kundamarasa was ruling over Banavāsi and other provinces with both rights (*ubhaya sāmyadi*) as far as the Western Ocean. This would suggest that he ruled not only by virtue of position as governor but also by virtue of his sovereign right. He is still styled *Mahāmandalēsvara* in an inscription dated in 1019 A.D., in which Jayasimha (son of Vikrama) is mentioned as the ruling Chālukya king. (*E.C.*VII Shikarpur 125). Apparently he had been superseded by his cousin Vikrama. Dasavarma's another son, Binayita, is mentioned in (*E.C.*XI) Jagalūr 13, which has been assigned to about 1010 A.D. As he is specifically mentioned as Dasavarmarasa's son, there can, it may be presumed, be no mistake about it. He was apparently a local ruler in North-West Mysore, under his cousin Kundamarasa. Of Vikramāditya V, however, we have only very few inscriptions, due probably to the incursion of the Chōlas into the Chālukya territories, as mentioned above. Sir John Fleet has published a copper-plate grant of his from Kauthem. (*I.A.* XVI 15-24). A damaged and mutilated lithic inscription of his has also been traced at Gonahalu in the Adōni Taluk. It seems to be dated in *Saka* 936, (or A.D. 1014) though the last figure is a doubtful rendering. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. No. 722). If this reading is accepted, his reign would be increased by two years beyond the latest date assigned to him by Sir John Fleet. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 428). This record mentions a subordinate of Vikramāditya V named Nolambādhirāja, who has been identified with the Nolamba Pallava prince Iriva-Nolambādhirāja, also called Ghattēya-Ankakāra, who in A.D. 1010-1011 was governing the Nolambavādi 32,000 and other Provinces under Vikramāditya V. He is said to have married a daughter of Satyāsraya, who accordingly was a cousin sister of Vikramāditya V. (*ibid* 332). The Gonahalu inscription, above referred to, gives the name of this princess as Vriddimabbarasi. The relationship suggests that the Western Chālukyas strengthened their hold on Nolambavādi by marital alliances. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 22). Vikramāditya is also mentioned as the ruling sovereign in Sorab 381, dated in about 1010 A.D., and in Sorab 471, dated in 1012 A.D. In the former Sēnavarasa is said to be governing the Banavāsi 12,000 and in the latter Chattyya-Dēva is represented as its governor.

Ayyana II, 1014 A.D.

Ayyana II, also called Ayyanayya Kshitīsvara next ascended the throne. It has been suggested that he would not have been called Kshitīsvara unless he had actually ruled. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 3). His name appears in the list of Chālukyan kings given by eight different inscriptions (*e.g.* Shikarpur 130 dated 1075 A.D.; See *I.A.* LXVII, 287). He is also referred to in an inscription of Vikramāditya VI found at Halyam in the Kudligi Taluk of Bellary District. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. No. 316). It is by a slip referred to as No. 315 in the Report proper, (Part II Para 3). No epigraphs, however, that are directly referable to his reign have yet been found. This fact has been accounted for by supposing that his rule might have been a short and an uneventful one. This suggestion necessarily rules out the inference that he did not reign at all. (Fleet, *loc cit*, 435).

Jayasimha II, Jagadēkamalla. 1018-1042 A.D.

Jayasimha II, surnamed Jagadēkamalla, brother of Vikramāditya V, is better known as a ruler. Sir John Fleet has noticed the Mirāj copper-plate grant of his time. (*I.A.* VIII 10-23). The Bangalore Museum Plates of Vīra-Nolamba Chakravarti (of Chālukya-*kula*) dated in *Saka* 366 has been assigned by Mr. Rice to this king, as he had that title. *Saka* 366, Tārana, the alleged date of the grant, is a mistake for *Saka* 966 Tārana.

(*E.C.* IX Bangalore 142). Jayasimha is stated in Shikarpur 136 (*E.C.* VII) to be known as Nolamba-Pallava Permānadi, being the son of a Pallava Princess. The Chōla occupation of Nolambavādi was probably ended by him, in or about 1018 A.D. In Shikarpur 125, dated in 1019 A.D., (*E.C.* VII), we are told that he caused the lotus king Bhōja to shut up and was a lion to the elephant Rājēndṛa-Chōla. If that be so, is it too much to call him Rājādhirāja? asks the poet who composed the inscription. The statement in this inscription that he "chastised" the Chōlas may not be altogether a poetical exaggeration as we find his inscriptions in Nolambavādi proper. An inscription of his reign dated in *Saka* 940, or A.D. 1018, has been found at Bagali in the Bellary District, while others have been traced at Kurugōdu in the same district. Another inscription of his at Bāgali is dated in 1035-1036; those at Kurugōdu are dated in 1027-8 and 1030-31. These refer to his feudatory who was governing a good part of the Bellary District and the Mysore State. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 7. Appendix No. 87 etc. of 1904). Rājēndra-Chōla's claim to success over Jayasimha should, in view of the existence of these lithic inscriptions, be treated as his referring to some temporary advantage he gained over his adversary. An inscription of Jayasimha, dated in 1021 A.D., at Hire Megulageri in Harpanhalli Taluk, gives his full name and refers to his *mahāsāmantādhipati* Daṇdanāyaka Polamayya. On the other hand, in this very year, 1021 A.D., Jayasimha is said in Chōla inscriptions to have turned his back at Musangi (possibly Uchchangi as Mr. Rice suggests, but more probably Māski) and by 1026 Rājēndra-Chōla is said to have taken Irattapādi 7½ lakhs country from Jayasimha. This seems, from other inscriptions testifying to firm Chālukya rule in it, an exaggeration. Another refers to a subordinate of his called Jagadēkamalla Nolamba-Pallava-Permānadi.

This probably refers to Udayāditya who was in charge of Nolambavādi 32,000, Kadambalige 1,000 and other Provinces in *Saka* 955 and 959 or A.D. 1033 and 1037. In 1032 A.D. Jayasimha was enjoying sports at Ētagiri, identified with Yātagiri in the Nizam's Dominions. (*E.C.* VII Shikarpur 20a). In 1036 A.D., he was according to Shikarpur 126, (*E.C.* VII) at Pottalakere, identified with Dannāyakanakere in the Bellary District. Two inscriptions of the same year have been found at Oravayi in the Bellary Taluk. In these also, he is represented as ruling from (his temporary head-quarters) Pottalakere. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B. Nos. 200 and 201). These two inscriptions seem to be identical in character and record that one Udayādityadēva of the Pallava lineage, "the lord of Kānchipura," as he is called, made a grant to three Brāhmans "who had placed the limbs of Nolamba-Mahādēvi in the Ganges." Apparently, they had carried her bones to Benares and thrown them there in the Ganges, thus evidencing to the ancient character of this custom still in vogue. Evidently, this queen, Nolamba Mahādēvi, who died in *Saka* 958, Dhātri (A.D. 1036-1037), was the mother of Dēvalamahādēvi, queen of Jayasimha II. Sir John Fleet mentions only one queen of Jayasimha II, *viz.*, Suggaladēvi, who is supposed to have converted the king from Jainism to the Saiva faith. While at Pottalakere, a grant was made by Jayasimha (Shikarpur 126) to Vādi Rudraguna (or Lakulīsvara Pandita) for repairs to the famous temple of Panchalinga at Balligāvi. (*E.C.* VII Shikarpur 126). He apparently belonged to the Kālāmukha sect of the Pāsupata school, whose original founder Lakulīsa has been referred to the 1st Century A.D. (*J.Bo. R.A.S.* XXII. 152; *J.R.A.S.* 1907, 419). The grant was for carrying out worship and for food and cloths for the students and ascetics, free of all taxes. The chief Udayāditya of the Pallava family referred to above, and in another record (*ibid* No. 208) as Udayādityayya, receives in the latter the surname of Jagadēkamalla Nolamba-Pallava-Permānadi evidently as he was Jayasimha's subordinate. His residence and capital (*Ikkebīdu*) seem to have been at Kampili, in the present Bellary District. He is probably the same person who is referred to in *E.C.* XI Challakere 21 and 22, dated in A.D. 1027, as ruling over Rodda, Sira, and other *nāds*. He was the son of Irungōla-Chōla-mahārāja, whose other titles were lord of Oreyūr-pura etc. Irungōla's father was Gōvinda Dēva. In Davangere 71, Udayāditya is coupled with Nolamba-Pallava-Permānadi-Dēva and he is said to be ruling in 1035 A.D. In 1037 A.D. Jagadēkamalla-Immadi-Nolamba-Pallava Permānadi was, according to Davangere 126, ruling over Kadambalige and other provinces. In A.D. 1039 Jayasimha was at Ghattadakere. (Shikarpur 153). In A.D. 1042, an *agrahāra* was established at Andhāsura, the place still so called near Anantapur, which appears to have been the capital of the Sāntaligenād. (Sagar 109 *bis*). Such, it seems, was its fertility that hunger was unknown there. Sagar 109 *bis* and Sagar 108 *bis*, both of which record grants by Bijjarasa, during his governorship of Sāntalige 1,000 under Jayasimha, give full particulars about him. He appears to have been a Chālukya prince. His alternative name was Bijja-Bhūpa. His younger brother was Gōna Bhūpa, whose wife was Jākabbarasi. Gōna Bhūpa is highly praised and is said to have earned the title of *Dānavinōdi*, or delighter in gifts. Besides the grant in favour of the Kālāmukha ascetic Vādirudra Pandita, he appears to have constructed a temple at Morittege; also a tank, a well and a temple at Tardavādi, where he is recorded to have planted a grove as well. He seems to have presented these to Brāhmans and to have remitted the money payment for boys and marriages. Apparently Jayasimha's times were peaceful enough for the local rulers to pursue in orderly fashion the daily routine of their administration. Numerous inscriptions in Sorab and Sagar Taluks testify to this fact, though there were the usual cattle raids in which men engaged themselves in rescuing their cattle. There is also a statement in an inscription dated in the reign of Vikramāditya VI that the *mahāsāmantas* and *mandalikas* proved hostile to him and that he was saved from their treachery by Dandanātha Kālidasa, his chief minister. (*M.A.R.* 1914-1915, Para 71). This has not been confirmed by any contemporary inscriptions found so far. It is stated that the treachery was such that the kingdom was about to slip away from Jayasimha's hands, and that the credit of having saved and secured it to Jayasimha, just as a ship about to sink being tossed by the waves is saved by means of an anchor, belongs to none other than Kālidāsa. (See below reign of *Vikrāmāditya VI*). A *vīrakal* dated in 1015 A.D., seems to refer to a time anterior to the accession of Jayasimha. (Sorab 16). Others referring to him are Sorab 46 and 48, both assignable to 1018 A.D., the latter of which refers to one Gorava, as the local ruler of Banavāsi; Sorab 28, bearing date 1023 A.D. refers to Kundayya's (*i e.* Kundamarasa's) rule over Banavāsi; Sagar 7, dated 1025 also refers to him; while Sorab 213, dated in 1029, A.D. refers to Kundamarasa's son Ariya Singa Dēva and to his rule over Banavāsi. Then, we have a series of five *vīrakals* (Sorab 60-64) all dated in 1032 A.D. in Jayasimha's reign. Sorab 191, also dated in 1932 A.D., refers to Brahma Dēva and his rule over Banavāsi 12,000. He was probably another son of Kundamarasa. Sorab 184, assignable to 1033 A.D., and dated in Jayasimha's reign, refers to Alayya as ruling over Banavāsi 12,000. Alayya may have been still another son of Kundamarasa. Sorab 72 refers to the 14th year of Jayasimha, and couples the cyclic year *Srīmukha* with it. If so, it must fall in 1032 A.D. and not in 1034 A.D., to which Mr. Rice assigns it tentatively. Sorab 557, dated in 1040 A.D., also records a grant in Jayasimha's reign but the name of the ruler of Banavāsi referred to in it cannot be read out. In 1042 A.D., we have notices of certain Chōla chiefs connected with Irungōla-Dēva ruling as feudatories under Jayasimha in the north of the present Sira Taluk. (*E.C.* XII Sira 40, 37 and 25). About the same time, we have in Davangere 159, which is much defaced, Chālukya-Ganga-Permānadi ruling over Nolambavādi 36,000 and some Nāyaka governing Kadambalige. With this we reach the last year of Jayasimha's twenty-four years' reign. He was originally a Jain like his forbears and honoured Jain teachers. In Sravana Belgola 67, dated in 1129 A.D., we have mention made of the Jain saint Vādirāja, who is said to have acquired fame in the Chālukya capital and to have been honoured by Jayasimha II. In Sravana Belgola 69, which might be assigned to about 1100 A.D., a Mallikāmōda Santīsa is referred to as a god at whose feet Gunachandra worshipped. This god must have been set up by or after Jayasimha II, whose title was *Mallikamōda*. (*M.A.R.* 1916, pages 46-47).

Sōmēsvara I; Trailōkyamalla, Āhavamalla. 1042-1068.

Jayasimha's son, Sōmēsvara I, next came to the throne. He was crowned king in *Saka* 966, cyclic year *Tārana*, or A.D. 1044-1045. At the time of his accession, he was apparently ruler of Pottalakere and a grant was made by a chief named Pallarasa, a subordinate of Udayāditya to mark the happy occasion. Sōmēsvara I seems to have been better known by the name of Trailokyamalla Nanni-Nolambādhirāja or Trailōkyamalla simply and Āhavamalla. Shikarpur 110 suggests that he was known by the latter title because he was "the celebrated master of victory won in war." (*āhava*). His chief queen was Mailaladēvi, who appears to have visited Srīsaila in A.D. 1058-1059 and to have made gifts in the presence of god Mallikārjuna there to the Kālāmukha teacher Surēsvara Pandita Dēva. (*M.E.R.* 1923 Appendix B. 677 at Kottapalle, Kurnool District). This queen is mentioned in a record of Tilawalli dated in 1053-1054 in the Dhārwār District and noticed by Sir John Fleet. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I, 438). She seems to have lived down to 1058-1059, A.D., the date of the Kottapalle grant. The influence of the Kālāmukha ascetics, which was apparently on the increase during the preceding reigns, continued in this reign as well. They seem to have had some influence in checking the growth of Jainism, since they appear to have claimed adherents from the royal household itself.

There are inscriptions of this king ranging from 1042 A.D., the year of his coronation, to 1068 A.D., both in the Mysore State and outside it. The period of his rule was one of continual warfare against the Chōlas, who would, judging from their own inscriptions, appear to have been trying to recover Nolambavādi and other provinces which had been overrun by the Chōlas during the time of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra-Chōla I The Chōla kings Rājādhirāja (1018-1053), Rājēndra-Dēva (1052-62) and Vīrarājēndra I (1062-1069) claim to have defeated Sōmēsvara I. Rājādhirāja boasts of having burnt the palace at the Chālukya (provincial) capital Kampili; Rājēndra-Dēva to have advanced with his elder brother (*i.e.* Rājadhirāja I) and to have planted a pillar of victory at Kollapuram; and Vīrarājēndra to have defeated Āhavamalla (*i.e.* Sōmēsvara I) five times. Of Rājēndra-Chōla's success over Sōmēsvara I, there is further confirmation from an inscription of Rājēndra's 10th regnal year at Tereyūr (Maddigiri 76) dated in 1061 A.D. In it Rājēndra's victory is described in vivid colours—how he advanced with his allies, adorned with bows, on Kollapura (Kolhāpur), how he showered cruel arrows on Āhavamalla's elephant's forehead, his own shoulders and broad chest, and killed the *mandalika* Sōkan and other princes and caused Āhavamalla to plunge into the Western Ocean, capturing seventy-five elephants of the *bhadra* species including Sattarubhayankara and Karābattīra, camels and his queens. The immediate cause of the war seems to have been a predatory Chōla raid. In 1039 A.D., the Chōlas, under Rājādhirāja, are said to have burnt Kampili, identified with Kampili in Bellary District, the provincial capital, of the Chālukyas. To avenge this, a war seems to have commenced. This occurred while Jayasimha II was still on the Chālukya throne. On the accession of Sōmēsvara I, about 1042 A.D., he was exposed to a formidable invasion by the Chōlas in which they burnt Pulikesa Nagar (Lakshmēsvar in Dhārwār District) and destroyed its ancient Jain temples. That Sōmēsvara I was also taking retaliatory measures is borne out by the fact that Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya who was in charge of Kogali 500, and other adjacent provinces and Kadambalige 1000 was, in *Saka* 987 (A.D. 1065), encamped at Arasiyakere on his way to the conquest of the south under the orders of the king. (*M E.R.* 1919 Appendix B. No. 278 of 1918). Another inscription dated in *Saka* 986 (A.D. 1064) states that Vishnuvardhana was ruling Nolambavādi 32,000. He is here given the titles of *Āhavamalla-nankakara*, *Vēngimandalēsvara* and *Chālukya Mānikya*. (*Ibid* Appendix B. No. 286 of 1918). Uchchangidurga in Harpanhalli Taluk was the capital of Nolambavādi 32,000 at the time and was the seat of the Pāndya feudatories of the later Western Chālukyas. It must have been a powerful stronghold, for a mutilated lithic inscription lying down to its north (*ibid* No. 284 of 1918), states that it withstood attack for 12 years (?) and finally fell into the hands of one Mādava of the Yādava family and a Sāmanta of Ballāla (*i.e.* Chālukya king). Rudrabhatta, the author of *Jagannātha Vijaya*, in commemorating the conquests of Vīra Ballāla refers to the fort of Uchchangi, which, he says, was "considered impregnable." (*Karnātaka Kavicharite*, new Edition, 269). That the Chōlas were defeated is also confirmed by (*E.C.* VII) Shikarpur 118, dated in 1054 A.D., in the reign of Sōmēsvara I. In recounting his conquests, it is there stated that "in the middle of battle, the Chōla king exhausted his valour and died." This must be a reference to the death of Rājādhirāja. Rājādhirāja's claim to victory over Sōmēsvara I's made in Dēvanhalli 75 (*E.C.* IX) dated in 1064 A.D., must therefore be set down as a reference to some temporary though none the less brilliant success obtained during the long warfare that subsisted between the two dynasties throughout his reign. This inscription of Rājādhirāja particularly mentions, with evident pride, to the terror caused by his forces "even to Āhavamalla," and how the army of the latter and his confederates Gandappayan and Gangādharan were destroyed with their elephants, and how also his chief generals of great strength Aikki, Vijayādittan, Sangappayan and others "retreated like cowards." It also mentions how large numbers of elephants, horses and gold were easily captured, and how "Kollipākkai of the enemies" was destroyed by fire. Kollipake, frequently referred to in inscriptions, as "the door of the South," has been identified with Kolpuk in the present Nizam's Dominions. The Vijayādittan of Dēvanpalli 75, above quoted, may be the Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, who was in charge of Kogali and other provinces. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix B. No. 278). He appeared to have retrieved the fortunes of the Chālukyas in some war anterior to 1065 A.D., the date of that inscription. The reference may be to the battle of Koppam, which Sir John Fleet has, it may be added, identified with Khidrapūr (near which the site of the battle has to be located), 30 miles east by south of Kolhāpur, where there is a well-known temple of "Koppēsvara" on the "great river" or Krishna. (Fleet, *E.I.* XII. 298). Sir John Fleet is, however, wrong in dating the battle "shortly before the 20th January 1060." (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 441). Kielhorn has determined it as 1052 A.D. It was apparently a decisive battle. After that we do not hear for a time of Chōla attempts against Sōmēsvara I, who is described in Shikarpur 167, dated in 1067, A.D., as ruling "free from all enemies as far as the elephants at the points of the compass." This inference seems safe, despite the boast of Rājēndra Dēva that though his brother lay dead on the field at this battle, he himself was severely wounded and several of his principal leaders were lost, he continued to slay many of the Chālukya princes and made Āhavamalla flee in terror. (*E.C.* IX Bangalore 108, *E.C.* X Mulbagal 107 dated in 1057 A.D., and *E.C.* X Kolar 107, dated in 1054 A.D.). This would mean that the reverses sustained in 1046 A.D. were made good six years later in 1052 A.D., by one of the same generals who had lost the day previously and was consequently put in charge of Nolambavādi 32,000 with enhanced territory, powers, and even titles. Bearing this in mind, it is possible to understand the titles of Āhavamalla-Nankara and Chālukya Mānikya assumed by Vijayāditya in the inscription mentioned in *M.E.R.* 1919 (Appendix B No. 286) above referred to. If the identification of this battle where Vijayāditya won such a signal victory over the Chōlas is correct, then the credit that has been usually allowed to Sōmēsvara for it should be shared by him with his able general. Rājādhirāja, as mentioned in Shikarpur 118, dated in 1054 A.D. "fell in the middle of the battle exhausted in valour and died." Sorab 325 (*E.C. XIII*), an inscription assigned by Mr. Rice to 1178 A.D. but is more correctly to be referred to A.D. 1118—the source of the error being the mere name Tribhuvanamalla-Dēva without any indication of the ruling king—refers apparently to the same Chōla king when it refers in its historical introduction to king Āhavamalla (*i.e.* Sōmēswara I) slaying with invincible courage "the warlike Chōla." This is confirmed by an inscription at Annigere in Dhārwār which states that the wicked Chōla (Rājādhirāja), who had abandoned the religious observance of his family penetrated the Belvola country and burnt the Jain temples erected there (by the Ganga king) Ganga-Permādi, but that he eventually yielded his head to (the Chālukya king) Sōmēswara in battle and forfeited his life. (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 441.) On the other hand, as we have seen above, a Chālukya inscription in Mysore, (*E.C. VII.* Shikarpur 118) dated in 1054 A.D.—within two years after the battle—states that the Chōlika (or Chōla king) valiantly fell on the battle field. (The actual words used are *Ahavānganadōl Chōlikan ammi Sattan.* See *E.C. VII.* Text No. 118, page 157). It is interesting to note that this inscription records the founding of a temple by Sōvi Setti, the *Vaddavyavahāri* or senior merchant of Baligāmi and the setting up of a *linga* in the name of the king—at Baligāmi, the capital of the Banavāsi province—which he called by the name of Abhinava Sōmēsvara-Dēva and endowed it with lands for conducting the daily worship.

In the above quoted inscription, there are references to the warfare carried on by Sōmēsvara I against other kings, north and south, such as the Kalingas, Pānchālas, Magadhas, Mālavas, Kēralas and the Nēpalas. The Seven Mālavas, the Seven Konkanas and the Seven Malēs are also referred to as having been conquered by him. But these seem poetical exaggerations, the more so as several of these exploits are mentioned in connection with some of his predecessors as well.

The Sāntara kings seem to have acknowledged Sōmēsvara's suzerainty. (See *E.C. VIII* Nagar 47, dated in 1062 A.D.) Vīra-Sāntara-Dēva is said to have freed Sāntalige 1000 from those who had no claim to it and made them powerless and being free from all troubles, was ruling in his own capital, Pombuchcha. Apparently the Sāntara country had been made part of the Chālukya dominions some years before, for we see two Chālukya princes, Bijjarasa and Gōna Rāja, ruling over it in 1042 A.D. (*E.*C. *VIII* Sagar 109 *bis*). The Sāntaras seem to have regained their territories about 1062 A.D., though subject to the suzerainty of the Chālukyas as indicated in Nagar 47. Vīra Sāntara was probably the chief who won back his ancestors' kingdom. He seems to have built many Jain temples. His wife Chāgala Dēvi also built a temple, dedicated a *basadi* in her own name—Chāgalēsvara—and performed the *mahādāna*, and gave many gifts to Brāhmans, virgins, gold, etc. She was evidently far famed for her liberality. Through her, apparently, her mother Arasikabbe also rose to fame. Vīra Sāntara's *mahapradhāna* was Brahmādhirāja Kālidāsa. (Nagar 47).

About his rule over his several provinces, there is, however, something to be said. Among these were Banavāsi and Sāntalige; Kadambalige; Nolambavādi 32,000; Kogali and Sindavādi, etc. Banavāsi and Sāntalige were under a governor in 1046 A.D., who is called the "guardian of Kollipāke," which is termed as before mentioned, "the door of the south." The governor, in 1046, A.D., was Singanna Dēvarasa, who is styled *mahāmandalēsvara* of these provinces and of the country as far as the western ocean. He repaired the temple of the goddess Bhagavati Balliyabbe near Baligāmi and endowed it. (Shikarpur 323). In the same year, Chāmundarāyarasa was appointed governor of Banavāsi and other provinces as well. (Shikarpur 160). An inscription of the following year describes him in eulogistic terms as lord of Banavāsi-pura, a brave at the Courts of three kings, making sport of Konkana, a wild fire to Kanagile-vāda, thruster aside of Kannama, Āhavamalla-Dēva's Hanumān, Jagadēka-dāni, etc. The splendour of his elephants and horses moved to jealousy, it is remarked, the Gurjara, Chēra, Chōla and other kings. He erected in 1047 A.D., the fine monolithic pillar called the Ganda-bhērunda at Balagāmi, which has an inscription at its base. The pillar has surmounted on it, the image of Bhērundēsvara in human form with double eagle's head. (See Chapter V ante, *Sculpture and Painting*). He himself is called (in Shikarpur 120, dated in 1048 A.D.) *Gandabhērunda*, and a *bhērunda* pole, perhaps the length of the pillar, was (as suggested by Mr. Rice) established as a measure for land. Chāmunda Rāya—also apparently called Chāmunda Nāyaka—was acting as ruler of Banavāsi in 1063 A.D. (Shikarpur 63).

Sōmēsvara's son by the Pallava wife is referred to in lithic records found at Kogali and in the Mysore State. In Honnali 107 and 119, dated in 1048 and 1054 A.D., we have mention of Trailōkyamalla Ṅanni-Nolamba Pallava-Permānadi Dēva as Governor of Kogali 500 and other Provinces. In these two inscriptions he is described as "Pallavānvaya," "boon lord of Kānchipura," and "glory of the Pallava-kula." In the inscriptions found at Kogali and near about, he is described as ruling over that and other Provinces. In a record dated in 1055 A.D., is mentioned a gift by a Jaina teacher to a *basti* built by Durvinīta. The *basti* referred to is the one at Kogali itself, where the slab is found. The Durvinīta referred to was possibly the Ganga king of that name. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 17. Appendix B. Nos. 93, 64 and 65 of 1904). An inscription dated in *Saka* 983 (A.D. 1061) and not *Saka* 903 as stated in *M.E.R.* 1920 Appendix B No. 710, at Kanchagara Belagalla, in Bellary District, this prince's wife is mentioned as Dharevala Dēvi, who is represented in it as making gifts to certain Vishnu temples.

As to Nolambavādi 32,000, it is stated in an inscription at Harkanhal, Bellary District, dated in *Saka* 988 (A.D. 1066) that it was under the governorship of Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja Vijayādityadēva. (*M.E.R.* 1925 Appendix B, 322). He was evidently the same general mentioned in Dēvanhalli 75 and *M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix B, No. 278, who retrieved the Chālukya fortunes at the battle of Koppam (see above). He must also be the Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja Vijayāditya mentioned in Channagiri 18, dated in 1063 A.D. (*E.C.* VII). In this inscription, the fact is mentioned that he had made an expedition to the south and was in camp at Mudukakere, when he sanctioned a grant in favour of the Mallikārjuna temple there. In some inscriptions he is specially termed "Āhavamalla's warrior," etc. (See Davangere 11, dated in 1066 A.D.). In this latter inscription, he is called the plunderer of foreign countries, a rampart to the camp, a sun of heroism and the piercer of the hearts of hostile king's sons. He is described in the Harkanhal inscription as Vēngimandalēsvara or lord of Vēngi, which would show *prima facie* that he was either an Eastern Chālukyan prince or had some control or dominion over that province. In Molakalmuru 29, dated in *Saka* 986, cyclic year *Krōdhi* 1064 A.D., he is designated "Srī Trailōkyamalla-Chakravartiya *magam*" *i.e.*, son of the Emperor Trailōkyamalla. In Davangere 11, dated in 1066 A.D., he is again called "his son" (*tan nandanam*) and entitled "Chālukya ruby." In this inscription, he is also called "his father's garland" (*ayyana dande*) and "warder" (*dandi*). Sir John Fleet also refers to two other inscriptions of this local chief in which he is described as the son (*tanaya*, *nandana*) of Trailōkyamalla, while in Devanhalli 75 (dated in 1046

A.D.), in the Gudihalli inscription (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix B. No. 278 dated in 1065 A.D.), and in the Harankal inscription dated in 1066 A.D., all above referred to, he is spoken of without any mention of his relationship as son, while in the last of these he is termed "a worshipper at the lotus feet" of Sōmēsvara I. It has been suggested that he was not a son of Sōmēsvara, as suggested by Sir John Fleet, but only an Eastern Chālukya prince in the service of the Western Chālukyas. (*M.E.R.* 1925 Part II Para 3.). In support of this inference, it has been stated that Bilhana in his *Vikramānka-Charita* has mentioned only three sons of Sōmēsvara I and has omitted all reference to this Vijayāditya, his alleged fourth son, and that there are not wanting instances where subordinates and kinsmen have called themselves "sons" of kings. (*E.I.* XV, 26; *E.C.* X Kolar 102.). It is quite possible that Vijayāditya was a favourite and succeessful general of Sōmēsvara and perhaps, was treated with special honours. He may have been connected chiefly with the Eastern Chālukyas, who were at the time under the nominal suzerainty of the Chōlas. But it must, at the same time, be confessed that the relationship of "son" so specifically and repeatedly mentioned in certain of the inscriptions quoted above seems to leave the impression that he was actually another son of Sōmēsvara I and that he greatly distinguished himself in war and was specially honoured by his father for his services. Vijayāditya's mahāsamantādhipathi Dandanāyaka Dēvapayya is mentioned in the Harkanhal inscription and in Davangere 11, dated 1066 A.D., where he is described as the Dandanāyaka for peace and war. Another feudatory of Sōmēsvara was Gandarādityarasa, who is described as "lord of Mahīshmatipura" and ruler of Madhyadēsa, in charge of Sindavādi 1,000 and other provinces in 1047 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Appendix B. 1919. No. 711).

Sindavādi seems to have formed one of the Eastern provinces of the Western Chālukya Empire. A part of it was modern Adōni and the adjoining country, forming a sub-division, as it were, of 500 villages in Sindavādi *Vishaya* 1000. The capital of this Kogali 500 as it was called, is stated to have been Tumbalum, a village about 8 miles due west of Adōni, which is still full of ancient remains. Nolamba-Pallava Permādi, already named, (see also *M.E.R.* 1916, Part II, Para 40) was its governor in 1054 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. 1915, No. 489). According to two inscriptions, dated in 1052 A.D. and 1054 A.D., his proper name seems to have been Vīra-Nolamba Ghattidēva. (*ibid* and No. 561). In 1044 A.D. before his success in the Chōla war, he appears to have been ruling over the districts of Kadambalige 1000, Kogali, 500 etc. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 30).

In 1051 A.D., according to Holalkere 65, (*E.C. XI*) Sōmēsvara appears to have visited Bandanikke, and in 1054 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 561) to have been at Kampili, the capital of the Sindavādi province on the Tungabhadra, and to have made gifts to shrines there. Another of his provincial capitals was at Koluru. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para II, Para 5, inscription dated 1058-1059 A.D.). Among the other feudatories of Sōmēsvara was Kateya Nāgayarasa of the Mayūra-varma family ruling over Kadambalige 1,000 in 1052 A.D.

Sōmēswara I seems to have been, judging from the inscriptions of his reign, both an energetic and a warlike prince. His struggle against the Chōlas appears to have been both steady and manly and bore fruit. He seems to have been well served both by his sons and by his generals, of whom Vijayāditya was, perhaps, the greatest. He had also a notable master of the robes in Lakshma or Lakshmana, to whom he is said to have given rank next to the royal princes, and entrusted him with the government of the Banavāsi province. He is said to have been a true servant in war, in revenue accounts, in sport, in accomplishments and was liked as much by subjects as by foreigners. He was governor of Banavāsi in 1066 A.D. (Shikarpur 19) and was still occupying that post in 1068 A.D. (Shikarpur 136). Chāmundarāya was another. Though Sōmēsvara was probably at first a Jain by religion, he seems to have been later a Saivite. Some at least of Sōmēsvara's wives were either of the Saivite or Vaīshnavite persuasion. According to Sravana Belgola 67, dated in 1129 A.D., Swāmi, a Jaina teacher, is said to have been honoured with the title of *Sabda Chaturmukha* by him at his Court. Buddhism also appears to have claimed some adherents at the time. In fact, it seems to have been still flourishing as a living religion in Banavāsi. Sōmēsvara's great minister, Dandanāyaka Rūpabhattaya, who was in charge of the principal taxes, and the eighteen *agrahāras*, we are told in Shikarpur 170 dated in 1065 A.D., a lithic inscription still to be seen at Baligāmi, established the Jayanti Bauddha Vihāra at that place and made grants for it and for the worship of Tāra-Bhāgavati and of the gods Kēsava, Lōkēsvara and Bauddha-Dēva with all their attendant gods and for distribution of food to the *Yōginis, Kusalis* (both apparently women) and *sanyāsis*. The site of this *Vihāra* is still pointed out and the image of Tārā-Bhagavati is still to be found at the place, though somewhat mutilated. (See *ante*, Chapter V, *Sculpture and Painting* for description etc., of same). The image of Tārā-Bhagavati appears to have been made, according to Shikarpur 169 dated in 1067 A.D., by Nāgiyakka, wife of the Nād-pergade, Sahavāsi Hampa Chatti. She is described as belonging to the Bappura family, no doubt the same, as suggested by Mr. Rice, as the Batpūra family, from which the Chālukya Pulakēsi obtained his wife in 550 A.D., and the *Ādimahā-Bappūra-Vamsa* to which Satyāsraya Dhruva Indravarma, the Chālukya governor at Rēvatidvīpa in 611 A.D., belonged. Nāgiyakka seems to have been living in 1078 A.D., according to Shikarpur 108, in which inscription she is designated *savasi* of the Bauddhavihāra, exactly like her husband in the inscription of 1067 A.D. Apparently both husband and wife were lay devotees of the Buddhist *Vihāra*, and it seems probable from Shikarpur 108, that the wife survived the husband. From the nature of the image of Tārā-Bhagavati installed at Baligami, it might be inferred that the form of Buddhism prevalent in the Banavāsi country about this time—11th century A.D.—was the Mahāyāna. (For further particulars see *ante* Chapter V).

Sōmēsvara, if he did not actually found Kalyāna, identified with his dynasty as their capital, seems to have made it a great and renowned city of India. He appears to have been moving freely about his dominions and the fact that he died far away from his own seat of Government shows that he held his position as ruler in high esteem and did not mind the inconveniences incidental to kingly office. Sōmēsvara I seems to have married at least three wives. His chief queen was, as above stated, Mailāla-dēvi, a Ganga princess, by whom he had two sons, who succeeded him, and who assume all the Ganga titles of Kongunivarma Satyavākya Permādi. He must also have had, as we have seen, a Pallava wife, his son by whom, Jayasimha, usually styled Jayasimha III, takes the Pallava and Nolamba titles. He is probably the person referred to in Davangere 133 and in Chitaldrug 82, dated in 1071 and 1074 A.D. and described as ruling over Kadambalige 1,000 and Kogali. He also had a wife of the Hoysala family, though no issue of this marriage is recorded. (*E.C.* VII Honnali, dated in 1055 A.D.). She made a grant in that year for a *tīrta* which a Gauda of Onnali (Honnali) had established on the Tungabhadra. She was then in residence at Kalyāna, the royal capital. She is styled the senior queen in this inscription and called Hoysala Dēvi. If Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, who is styled the lord of Vēngi, was really another of his sons, as suggested by Sir John Fleet (see above) he would be his fourth son. As we have seen above, he was ruling over Nolambavādi 32,000. In 1063 and 1065 A.D. he was still occupying that position (*E.C.* XII Sira 18, and Davangere III) with the seat of his government at Kampili. (*E.C.* XI Molakalmuru 29). His second son Vikramāditya, who is given all the Ganga titles, was ruling in Balligāve as Viceroy; in 1058 A.D., over the Banavāsi, Sāntalige and Nolambavādi provinces and had his residence at Balligāve (Shikarpur 83). Two years later, he was ruling over Gangavādi. (Shikarpur 152 152 and Davangere 140).

Sōmēsvara II; (Bhuvanaika-malla), 1068-1076 A.D.

Sōmēsvara I was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēsvara II, surnamed Bhuvanaikamalla. The exact date of his accession is given in Shikarpur 136 as *Saka* 990, cyclic year *Kīlaka*, 7th day of Vaisakha Suddha, under the star Ijya (Pushya), on Friday, the sun being fully in the sign of Cancer, corresponding to 11th April 1068. From this, it follows that he assumed the throne fourteen days after his father's tragic death. There are inscriptions of his reign in the State dating from 1068 A.D. the first year of his reign, to 1076 A.D., which is his last year. (*E.C.* VIII Sorab 315). These inscriptions are mostly to be found in Sorab and Shikarpur Taluks. An inscription of his dated in 1068-1069 A.D., Kīlaka, the year of his accession, has been found at Chinna Tumbalam in the Bellary District. (*M.E.R.* 1916 Part II Para 41). Another of the same year has been found at Bāgali in the same District. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Pages 9-10 See No. 103 of 1904). He was a Ganga on his mother's side and had as minister the powerful Ganga prince Udayāditya, as also Lakshma, who was a trusted servant of his father. Immediately on his ascending the throne, he had to contend against a Chōla invasion. A vivid picture is drawn for us of Chōla ambitions on the Chālukya dominions at this time, in Shikarpur 136 dated in the very year of the enthronement of Sōmēsvara II. Here is an extract from it, which cannot be improved :—

> "At that juncture—saying 'A new reign'; (a kingdom) fit for a hero; this is the time to invade it; I surround Gutti and beseige it," in this pride, Chōlika, with an immense army, laid seige and was doing immense damage. On hearing which, he said "March," and when the cavalry force which was sent came into contact, in a fierce battle which gave him no rest, Vīra-Chōla, showed his back to king Sōmēsvara's army and fled."

This prompt reply struck terror, we are told, into the minds of the evil-doers and enemies soon turned into friends. The Vīra-Chōla referred to in the above quoted inscription should have been Vīrarājēndra Chōla I, who began to rule from 1063 A.D. He was also known as Vīra Chōla and Kasikāla Chōla, and was an younger brother of Rājēndra-Dēva. As we have seen above, Vīrarājēndra is one of those who boasts to have defeated Sōmēsvara I five times. Apparently he tried once again immediately after Sōmēsvara's death, when he thought the opportunity a good one, but was beaten back by Sōmēsvara II. The Gutti referred to may be Chandragutti, in the Sorab Taluk of Shimoga District.

During his rule of eight years, the Chālukya kingdom seems to have had some peace. The incessant warfare of the previous reign had had some effect on the Chōlas. Nor was the lesson lost on Sōmēsvara II himself. He appears to have formed three provinces, extending from coast to coast, to prevent Chōla aggression. These were Banavāsi, Nolamba-Sindavādi, aud a third one extending from Alampura (? Alamparva in the present South Arcot District). These three provinces he placed under tried Viceroys Lakshmana, Vikrama-Nolamba and the

Ganga Mandalika, undoubtedly the trusted servant, as he is called, Udayāditya. (Shikarpur 136). Udayāditya continued as governor of Gangavādi, Banavāsi and Sāntalige provinces from 1070 A.D. to 1075 A.D. and had the seat of his government at Baligāmi. (Shikarpur 109 and 130). Sōmēsvara himself had his chief residence at Bankāpur (Shikarpur 129, 128). His brother Jayasimha was in A.D. 1068 governing the Kogali 500, which means the greater part of modern Bellary District. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Appendix No. 103 of 1904). That he was also governing a good part of North-West Mysore as well is established by his Jatinga-Rāmēsvara inscription. (*E.I.* IV, 214). About 1068 A.D., he also seems to have been ruling over the Nolambavādi 32,000 and the Sindavādi 1,000 with his capital at Kampili. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Part II, Para 41). He is called in this inscription Nolamba-Pallava-Permādi-Jayasimha-Dēva, while Shikarpur 136 gives for him the very shortened name of Singa. Even in 1072 and 1074 A.D., he was still ruling over Nolambavādi. (Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer* i, ii, 443 and *E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 82). Of Udayāditya, we have a few interesting particulars in one or two inscriptions. One of the earliest inscriptions referring to him is Davangere 70 dated in 1035 A.D., in the reign of Jayasimha II, where he is styled an ornament of Pallava-kula and boon lord of Kānchipura. Davangere 11, dated in 1066 A.D., however mentions a Udayāditya Nāyaka, who probably was quite another person, as no titles are given him in it. But there is no doubt whatever that the Dandanāyaka and senior minister Udayāditya mentioned as ruling over Banavāsi-nād in Sorab 274, dated in 1070 A.D., and Sorab 299 and Nagar 30, both dated in 1074 A.D., is identical with this Mahāsāmanta-Udayāditya. According to Shikarpur 109, dated in 1070 A.D., he was a Ganga prince of royal blood, who is described as "*mahārājādhirāja paramēsvara*," "boon lord of Kōlālapura," "lord of Nandagiri," and other Ganga titles, and seems to have at first held the governorship of Gangavādi; then also of Banavāsi 12,000 and the Sāntalige 1,000. He was of "Brahma-Kshatra heroic descent." He seems to have had a beautiful, accomplished and gifted lady, named Lachchala-Dēvi for his wife. In Shikarpur 110, also dated in 1070 A.D., he is spoken of as the destroyer of the valour of his enemies and distinguished by the title of "Bhuvanaika-Vīra," and "Emperor of all Brāhmans," probably because he was of Brahma-Kshatra descent. In Shikarpur 129, dated in 1071 A.D., he is entitled *mahāsāmantādhipati mahāprachanda dandanāyaka*, chief over the property of the court, and as senior minister for war and peace. In business, he is described as a *yōgandyāra* and as the raiser of the Chālukya kingdom. He must have been noted for his personal valour, for he is spoken of as "pre-eminent in valour" and "unassisted hero." Though tolerant to the Jain faith (see Shikarpur 221), he was evidently a great devotee of Siva, for with the consent of his sovereign, he made a grant to the temple of Hariharāditya and the *matha* attached to it at Baligāmi. The gift was conveyed by washing the feet of Gunagalla Yōgi, the great *Advaita* luminary who was at the head of the *matha*. Gunagalla Yōgi is praised as the embodiment of learning, as having conquered the spirit and as one who had attained *mukti* (bliss) by his pre-eminent learning and austerities. He was evidently a great exponent of the *Advaita* doctrine, and seems to have been considered as second to none in ascetic greatness. He is said to have built as many as five temples, three of them in Baligāmi, all dedicated to Siva and at Kuruvati, he is said to have created the Siddhatīrtha. He is called in the inscription Gunagalla Nāgavarmāchārya and his effigy is among the sculptures at the head of the stone with his name over it. In 1074 A.D., Udayāditya made by order of the senior queen, a grant to the god Rāmēsvara of agrahāra Bhattara-Posavūr. The grant in the case consisted of the proceeds of the tax on marriage pandals of Eppattu Vokkalu (or Seventy families) and on looking glasses of the dancing girls, which throws some light on the sources of revenue about the middle of the 11th century A.D. (Shikarpur 295). About 1075, Udayāditya was still in high favour as "head-jewel of chieftains" and "mahārājādhirāja Paramēsvara." He obtained a grant in that year for a new Jain *basadi* erected at Baligāmi. (Shikarpur 221). In the same year, the Mandali 1,000 and the eighteen *agrahāras* were added to his charge. (Shikarpur 130). In 1075 A.D. he is spoken of in even more complimentary language and is said to have spoken and moved away the neighbouring Chēra, Chōla, Pāndya, Pallava and other kings, from whom he is said to have taken tribute. He is also said to have extended his territory as far as the four oceans and accomplished the desire to be a great conqueror. Whatever his success over other kings, it might, perhaps, be conceded that he should have done something effective to check the Chōla aggression which reared its head once again at the outset of the reign of Sōmēsvara II.

Another equally important functionary at the court of Sōmēsvara II was Lakshmana, already mentioned. He had seen service, as we have seen, under Sōmēsvara's father and as such is described as having belonged to "two reigns," in both of which he had won high praise. In Shikarpur 136, we see him as the chief mayor of the palace. He was given the full and dignified rank of coming next after those of royal blood. Many exploits are attributed to him—the treading down of Konkan, the driving back of the seven Konkanas and the uprooting of the seven Malē—but these seem poetical exaggerations as they are seen attributed to most of the Chālukya kings. He is called *Rāyadandagōpāla* and as being feared by the hill chiefs and as combining in himself the chief heroic characters of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Bhārata*. He is, what is noteworthy, described as being indispensable to the Chlāukya kingdom, and as such granted royal dignities confirmed by a royal charter engraved on copper-plates. Apparently he was held in the highest esteem by Sōmesvara II—very much more than even by Sōmēsvara I. His minister and chief treasurer was Sāntinātha, (not *Sōmanātha* as stated by a slip in *E.C.* VII. Introd. 21,) who was a Jain and a most distinguished poet. Sāntinātha was known by the title of *Sarasvati-mukha-mukura* and was the author of *Sukumāra-charita*. (Shikarpur 136 and Narasimhachar's *Karnātaka Kavi Charite*, new edition, 83). He is described as possessed of an unsullied fame and his work *Sukamāra-charite* is said to be "filled with beautiful taste, with imagination and with truthful description." It is also said of him that he accumulated jewels but instead of hiding them in a corner, used them for the relief of the distressed. He persuaded Lakhma to build of stone the Mallikamōda-Sāntinātha *basadi* at Baligrāma, which was at the time of wood; and in doing so, set up, he says, a stone pillar at the principal entrance, recounting all his names and titles. As *Mallikamōda* was a title of Jayasimha II, it is possible that the God in the original temple was either set up by him or named after him, as was common in those days.

Sōmēsvara an upholder of Saiva faith.

Sōmēsvara II was apparently a faithful follower of the Saiva faith. It is frequently said of him in inscriptions that "his head (was) as the lotus feet of Siva." (Shikarpur 110-130). During his period, the Kālāmukha ascetics had perhaps reached the height of their popularity in the land, eclipsing to some extent the Jains on the one side and the waning Buddhists on the other. Many grants in their favour are recorded in the inscriptions of this period. Several teachers of note are also referred to in them, some of them being represented as founders of temples dedicated to the worship of Siva. Among these the foremost was the great Rājaguru Sarvēsvara Sakti Dēva who is referred to in *E.C.* VIII Sorab 276, dated in 1070 A.D. He is styled Ekkōtisamaya-Chakravarti, priest of seventy-seven temples, Sarvēsvara Sakti Dēva and is described as ruling in peace the kingdom of penance (*tapo-rājyam*). He belonged to the famous *agrahāra* of Kuppattūr and was the head of the Ananta-Kōti-bhuvanēsa temple. A grant in his favour is recorded in the above quoted inscription and it is stated that the grant was made by Dandanāyaka Udayāditya, in the presence of the Emperor Sōmēsvara. Sōmēsvara also gifted for the decorations of the God, for the great illuminating, and the great ceremonies, vessels, cloths and a village, and directed that the 1,000 (Brāhmanas) and Udayāditya should maintain them. Another was Lōkanātha Pandita who is mentioned in Sorab 249 dated in 1065 A.D. He also belonged to Kuppattūr and was, according to it, a bee at the lotus feet of Hara, proficient in logic, politics, dramas, music and the arts. One Chandrabhūshana Pandita is also mentioned. He appears to have been well versed in logic and other sciences. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Part II, Para 41). A grant is also recorded in favour of a certain Nārāyanadēva for *vidyadāna*, *i.e.*, for imparting education, which seems to have been held in high esteem (*ibid*). A grant is made to one Purnānanda-bhattāraka, the chief priest of Balagāmi in 1075. (Shikarpur 130).

Sōmēsvara's dethronement.

Sōmēsvara II is mentioned in Chōla inscriptions as having been defeated by Vīrarājēndra, driven out of the Kannada country and deprived of his dignity as heir-apparent, which was conferred on his younger brother Vikramāditya VI, as the latter had, in the meanwhile, married a Chōla princess. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 17). There is no mention of this in the many inscriptions of Sōmēsvara found in this State, though there is confirmation of his marriage with the Chōla princess from Bilhana's poem *Vikramānka Dēva Charita.* Apparently after his defeat in the initial year of his reign, Vīrarājēndra never seems to have comein the way of Sōmēsvara II, whose new territorial arrangements, as we have seen, were such that Chōla aggression was altogether impossible.

Somēsvara's death.

Sōmēsvara seems to have died in or about 1076 A.D., though we have so far no direct mention as to when or where his death occurred. He seems to have been a quiet and unostentatious ruler, though politic and determined to a degree in his administration. The kingdom seems to have enjoyed the blessings of peace and gave apparently abundant opportunities for building temples and *basadis* and providing for their maintenance. Sōmēsvara seems to have favoured Bankapūr as his residence, for many inscriptions mention it as the place from where he ruled his kingdom. His arrangements for its internal administration seem to have been well conceived, for they put down aggression on the one side and helped towards the realization of a higher life for his subjects on the other. About the close of his reign, he probably had some trouble from his immediate younger brother Vikrama, as he certainly seems to have had at the outset of his reign, but the information available is too meagre to warrant any definite conclusion. In Shikarpur 129, dated in 1071 A.D., Udayâditya is called *Chālukya rājya samuddharana, i.e.*, the raiser of the Chālukya kingdom. It is possible that he proved himself useful in nipping in the bud some incipient revolt. In the same inscription, he is termed *āsthāna vastu nāyakam*, chief over the property of the Court, a position he possibly owed to the signal service he had thus rendered to the ruling king. It is probably the revolt of his brother Vikrama referred to by Bilhana in his poem and narrated at some length below. It is probably also this revolt that induced Sōmēsvara II to leave the home or northern provinces with Kalyāna as capital to his brother Vikrama and himself to settle down at Bankāpur. However this may be, an epigraphic record dated in 1098 A.D., found at Gadag, states that after Sōmēsvara II had enjoyed the sovereignty for a time, he became intoxicated with pride, and neglected the sufferings of his subjects, whereupon Vikramāditya being virtuously minded, punished or confined him and became king. Another inscription found at the temple of Kalinga at Kalige in the Nizam's Dominions adds that Vikramāditya, by the strength of his own arm, seized in battle the sovereignty of Sōmēsvara while it was still of no long duration, and made himself emperor. (Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii, 444). As these particulars are mentioned in inscriptions of Vikramāditya dated in his own reign, they may be taken to represent his version of the dispute, whatever it was, between the two brothers. Seeing that Vikramāditya quarrelled in turn with his younger brother Jayasimha, we may not be far wrong if we inferred that he might have been as much at fault as his brother Sōmēsvara in the dissensions that arose between them. What became ultimately of Sōmēsvara is not known. Perhaps, he died in prison. In the absence of direct evidence on the point, it is difficult to state how long this dispute lasted between the brothers, though from the Kalinga inscription it is inferable that it started early in life. But Bilhana's narrative seems clearly to refer to two different incidents, one which ended with his giving up the pursuit of his two brothers Vikrama and Jayasimha and another which ended in his capture and imprisonment. While the former might have ended from his being driven from

Kalyāna to Bankapūr, the latter should have occurred about 1076 A.D., up to which there are inscriptions of his reign. This is entirely in keeping with what Bilhana says about the later events taking place just before the coronation of Vikramāditya VI. Eastern Chālukya records show that Rājiga Kulōttunga-Choladēva annexed the Chōla dominions in his first regnal year, *i.e.*, 1063 A.D. From this it would clearly seem to follow that the war in connection with the first part of the narrative and the war which ended in Sōmēsvara's imprisonment have been mixed up by Bilhana. The date of the earlier part too cannot be fixed at 1063 A.D., the date of the conquest of the Chōla country by the Eastern Chālukya Kulōttunga Chōla I, for it is too early for Sōmēsvara II, who is said to have aided Kulōttunga against his brother Vikrama. Sir John Fleet suggests that this might not have really happened before 1076 A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 445).

Vikramāditya VI., 1076-112 ? A.D. (Vikramārka, Vikramānka, Permādi, Tribhuvanamalla).

If Bilhana may be believed, Vikrama in or about 1076 A.D. expelled his brother, seized the throne and became one of the most powerful of the Chālukya monarchs. He set aside (literally rubbed it out as schoolboys rub out the figures they write in the sand) the *Saka* era, and from his accession established the Chālukya Vikrama era, which continued in use as long as the Chālukyas were in power. Many interesting particulars regarding him are contained in Bilhana's poem on his history. (*Vikramānka-Dēva Charita*, published by Dr. G. Bülher in Bombay). Bilhana says that for some time Vikrama and his brother Sōmēsvara II lived in friendly intercourse at Kalyāna, the younger duly honoring the elder as the chief of his house and his king. Sōmēsvara, it is said, however fell into evil courses, and even tried to do harm to his brother. Thereupon, it is added, Vikrama left Kalyāna, taking with him all his followers and also his younger brother, Jayasimha III, who, he considered, could not be safely left near the king. Sōmēsvara sent forces in pursuit, to bring the brothers back. But he was unsuccessful, and at last desisted from the attempt. Vikramāditya went on to the Tungabhadra, from where he had gained so many important victories, chiefly against the Chōlas and other powers south of the Tungabhadra, that his brother, moved by jealousy, sent forces into the Banavāsi country (Shimoga district) to seize him, but Vikrama destroyed them. He seems, however, to have taken the precaution of strengthening himself by alliances, for he married his daughter to Jayakēsi, king of the Kadambas, whose capital was then at Goa; and formed a friendship with his former enemy, the Chōla Rāja, receiving a Chōla princess in marriage. This Chōla king has been indentified with Rājakēsarivarman, otherwise known as Vīra-Rājendradēva I. (*S.I.I.* II. 231-232). The Chōla king died soon after and his kingdom was thrown into a state of anarchy. On hearing this, Vikrama, who was still tarrying on the Tungabhadra, at once started for the south, in order to place his wife's brother (probably Adhirājēndradēva *alias* Parakēsarivarman, *M.E.R.*1892, Page 5) on the throne. He entered Kānchi and put down the rebels there; then he did the same at Gangakunda (Gangaikondasōlapuram in the north-east of Trichinopoly District) and re-established the Chōla power. But not long after his return he learned that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that Rājiga, the lord of Vēngi, had taken possession of the throne of Kānchi. This Rāja was probably the Eastern Chālukya king Kulōttunga-Chōla-dēva I, whose original appellation was Rājēndra-Chōla. (Fleet, *ibid.* 445). Vikrama at once prepared to march himself against the usurper; but the latter opened negotiations with Sōmēsvara, who, thinking a favourable opportunity had offered itself for the destruction of his hated brother, eagerly entered into the alliance. He followed so closely on Vikrama's march to the south, that when the latter came up with Rājiga's army, Sōmēsvara's forces were encamped not far off in his rear. A terrible battle ensued, in which victory wa declared for Vikrama; Rājiga fled and Sōmēsvara was taken prisoner. The narrative adds that Vikramāditya at first intended to restore his brother to liberty and to the throne. But eventually he decided otherwise, had himself proclaimed king, and then appointing his younger brother, Jayasimha, in the government of Banavāsi, proceeded to Kalyāna and established himself there. Vikrama appears to have been greatly assisted in his attempt against his brother Sōmēsvara II by the Yādava prince Seuna (Seunachandra II), mentioned in the *Vratakhanda* of Hēmādri. (Bhandarkar, *Early History of Dekhan* in the *Bombay Gazetteer* I. ii. 234). Seuna is there represented to have saved Paramardidēva, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI, who is styled a "luminary of the Chālukya family," from a coalition of his enemies and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāna. The coalition referred to must be the pact between Kulōttunga-Chōla and Sōmēsvara II, whose dates are consistent with the statement of Hēmādri. He there heard that a *svayamvara* was proclaimed for Chandralēkha or Chandala-dēvi, daughter of the Silahara prince of Karahata, and possessed of marvellous beauty. He also ascertained that the lady, on hearing of his valiant exploits, had fallen in love with him, and therefore hastened to the festival, where he was chosen as the bridegroom from among the assembled princes of Ayōdhya, Chēdi, Kanyākubja, Kālinjara, Mālava, Gurjara, etc., who though filled with anger at the result, were restrained from violence through fear of the great Chālukya (the names of five other wives of his occur in inscriptions). Next year his brother Jayasimha rebelled, and collecting a large army advanced to the Krishna. Vikrama, being forced in self-defence to take the field against him, a battle was fought, in which Jayasimha was defeated and taken prisoner. The remainder of Vikrama's reign seems to have been peaceful, with the exception of an expedition in 1081 A.D. against Kānchi and the Pallavas, and one north of the Narmada in 1083 A.D. But towards the close he was invaded by the Hoysala king, who was driven back by his general, Achyugi Dēva. In his celebrated law book, the *Mitākshara*, Vijnanēsvara, who lived at Kalyāna at this period, says, "There has not been, there is not, and there will not be, on the surface of the earth, a city like Kalyāna; and never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramārka seen or heard of." (Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekhan*).

Story of his reign.

Such is the story told from literary and other works of Vikramāditya VI. We may now turn to the evidence afforded by the inscriptions, copper-plate and lithic, of his period. There are numerous lithic inscriptions referring to him in the Chitaldrug, Shimoga, Kadur and Hassan districts. In the first two of the districts mentioned, his governors were administering the provinces that formed part of the Chālukya empire of his time, while in the Kadur and Hassan districts, the inscriptions mention him only as the suzerain of the ruling Hoysala kings. Of the numerous inscriptions belonging to his reign in these districts, the name commonly given to him is *Tribhuvanamalla*. In only one inscription occurring in the Shimoga district, he is called by the name of *Vikramāditya-Dēva*. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 442, which might be assigned to about A.D. 1100). In another undated inscription, but assignable to about 1106 A.D. occurring in the Hassan district, he is mentioned as *Tribhuvanamalla-Chālukya-Vikrama*. (*E.C.*V. Channarāyapatna 169). In an inscription occurring in the Tumkur district (*E.C.* XII, Tiptur 105), dated in *Saka* 1000, cyclic year *Kālayukta* or A.D. 1078), which includes also a grant in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 31, cyclic year *Sarvajitu* (or A.D. 1107), he is called *Tribhuvanamalla Permādi-Dēva*. Permādi-Dēva is perhaps the Paramardidēva, the name given to Vikramāditya in the *Vratakhanda* of Hēmādri. (See also Fleet, 446). There are inscriptions of his reign from 1076 A.D. to 1126 A.D., *i.e.*, from the first year of his reign to his 51st year. A few of these mention his regnal years. Others are dated either in the *Saka* or in the Chālukya-Vikrama or in, as in some cases, both these eras. The following are a few of the inscriptions in the eras mentioned found in the Mysore State and in some of the Madras border districts:—

Chālukya-Vikrama 4=1079 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1914).
Chālukya-Vikrama 6=1081 A.D. (*Saka* date also given).
Chālukya-Vikrama 9=1084 A.D. (*Saka* date also given *E.C.* VIII. Sorab 235 and 236).
Chālukya-Vikrama 12=1087 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1913).
Chālukya-Vikrama 13=1088-9 A.D. (*Saka* date also given) (*E.C.* VIII. Sorab 388).
Chālukya-Vikrama 21=1097 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1913-14).
Chālukya-Vikrama 22=1099 A.D. (*E.C.* V. Belur 200).
Chālukya-Vikrama 25=1100 A.D. (*Saka* date also given) (*E.C.* VI. Kadur 164).
Chālukya-Vikrama 31=1106 A.D. (*E.C.* XII. Tiptur 105).
Chālukya-Vikrama 37=1112 A.D. (*Saka* date also given) (*E.C.* VIII. Sorab 327).
Chālukya-Vikrama 41=1116-17 A.D. (*E.C.* V. Belur 116) (*M.A.R.* 1914).
Chālukya-Vikrama 47=1122 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1906 and 1918).
Chālukya-Vikrama 48=1123 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1913).
Chālukya-Vikrama 50=1125-6 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1920) (*E.C.* VIII. Sorab 1126; *M.E.R.* 1920).
Chālukya-Vikrama 51=1126-27 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1918).
Chālukya,Vikrama 51, Cyclic year *Parabhava*, the latest date now available for him. (*M.E.R.* 1906—Appdx. B. of 1905. No. 258. Ins. at Tripurāntakēsvara temple, Tripurāntakam, Kurnool District).

As 1076 A.D. is called his 2nd regnal year (*E.C.* VIII. 172), we may take it that he was crowned king in 1075-1076 A.D. Taking the year 1075 A.D., as his first regnal year, the dates of the inscriptions in which both the *Saka* and Chālukya-Vikrama eras are given work out correctly. As *Pingala* is said to be the 2nd regnal year, the cyclic year *Nala* should have been his first regnal year and this corresponds to *Saka* Samvat 999.

Vikramāditya's Governorship of Banavāsi.

There is one inscription of his dated in *Saka* 995, cyclic year *Pramādīcha* or A.D. 1074 (*E.C.* Chitaldrug 82) in which he is given the full Chālukya royal titles and in which his brother Jayasimha III is described as *Chālukyadikkunjaram* and *Anna-nissīmam*, phrases which show that he was the Chālukya regent in the Banavāsi area and that he enjoyed his brother's unbounded confidence. Apparently this inscription should be taken as belonging to the period when the rupture between Vikrama and his elder brother Sōmēsvara was already complete. In the light of this inscription, this period might have to be set down at about 1073-1074 A.D. Jayasimha III was, as we have seen before, governor of Nolambavādi and other places in 1068 and 1072 A.D. He was still in that province in 1074 A.D. and if we are to believe this inscription (Chitaldrug 82), he held Banavāsi in 1074 A.D. as the agent of Vikrama and not of Sōmēsvara II, Vikrama having apparently declared war by about that year against Sōmēsvara II. Vikramārka himself was, according to an inscription at Niralgi, in the Hangal Taluk, Dhārwār District, dated in 1074 A.D., cyclic year *Ānanda*, Mahāmandalēsvara (or governor) of Banavāsi, and requested Sōmēsvara II at Banākpur to make a grant. As Chitaldrug 82 is dated in 1074 A.D., cyclic year *Pramādīcha* and the Niralgi record in 1074 A.D., cyclic year *Ānanda*, it stands to reason that the final difference between the two brothers, Sōmēsvara and Vikramārka should have occurred between these two cyclic years.

Founding of the Chālukya-Vikrama-Era.

Among the first public acts of Vikramāditya's reign was his proclamation of the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla or

Chālukya-Vikrama-varsha in supersession of the *Saka* era. The first year of the new era was the first year of his own reign, *i.e.*, 1076-1077 A.D. As the Gadag inscription dated in 1098 A.D. puts it:—" By his amplitude, and unaided, Tribhuvanamalla, the king Chālukya-Vikramāditya caused all the hostile kings to bow down, and became lord of the world. Having rubbed out the brilliant *Saka-varsha*, he, the impetuous one, the most liberal man in the world, who delighted in religion, published his own name throughout the world under the form of the Vikrama-varsha." Another record, dated in 1094-1095 A.D., says:—"Having said, 'why should the glory of the kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?,' he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (*era*) which has the name *Saka*, and made that (*era*) which has the Chālukya counting." (See Fleet, *ibid* 447). As Sir John Fleet has observed, instances are not known of the era having been adopted by the kings of any other dynasties. But a great many records of his own reign are dated in his own era, the cyclic years being the usual ones. In this State, several inscriptions contain both the eras mentioned in them, as above indicated. Some of his successors and his feudatories, attempted to continue his era. There are inscriptions of this era ranging from 1127 A.D. to 1169-1170 A.D., in its 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 60th, 61st, 84th and 94th years. (Fleet, *ibid* 447-448). Apparently its use did not extend even to a full century. Inscriptions dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama era 57 and 58th year have also been found. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appdix. B. Nos. 502 and 588 and *M.E.R.* 1918, Appdix. No. 673). Apparently from the above quoted inscriptions of 1094-1095 A.D., Vikramāditya wanted to eclipse the founder of the *Saka* era. Vikramāditya's son Sōmēsvara III started an era of his own called Bhulōkamalla-Varsha, which commenced with the last year of Vikramāditya VI. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 15). It does not appear to have survived beyond his reign. Two inscriptions dated in this era, both in the 8th year, are known. (*M.E.R.* 1920. Appdix. B. Nos. 695 and 699).

Vikramāditya's Capitals.

Vikramāditya appears to have ruled from Kalyāna, his principal capital. Other subsidiary (or provincial) capitals are also known. One of these was Nadiviyappayana-vidu, somewhere near the frontier between the north-east part of the Bijāpur district and the Nizam's Dominions, where, according to the Wadageri inscriptions, he was ruling in 1077 A.D.; Etagiri or Yatagiri in the Nizam's Dominions, not far away from Malkhed; Vijayapura, modern Bijāpur; Manneyakere; and Vikramapura, identified with Arasibidi, in the Bijāpur district. According to Bilhana, Vikramāditya is said to have beautified and enlarged the last of these capitals by building grand temples and palaees in them. (See Fleet, *ibid* 450). He seems to have had a southern capital or two, one probably at Baligāmi and another at Gōvindavādi, identified with Gōvindavāda in the Rāyadrug taluk, where he had a provincial residence in 1073-1074 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 5).

His Rule.

During the long reign of 51 years, Vikramāditya seems to have maintained his kingdom free from foreign aggression and except for the rebellion of his younger brother Jayasimha referred to below, also from internal dissensions. His administration of the different provinces seems to have been on the traditional lines, though apparently somewhat stricter. The existence of different capitals and the personal residence of the sovereign at several of these at different times, shows that Vikramāditya frequently toured his dominions and halted for considerable periods at a time in them. For instance, the name of his capital Nadiviyappayana-vidu was probably so called because he stayed at Nadivi for a long time after a long journey—*uppayana* meaning the "cessation of journey." (*M.A.R.* 1914-1915, Para 73). The capital should have been originally called Nadivi. An inscription found at Nagai in the Nizam's Dominions, dated in the 10th year of his reign, represents Vikramāditya as staying at Benneyadandu, having stopped for the journey (*Benneya dandina palavum devasad uppayanavidinol*) and made some grant. He was residing at Etagiri in 1077-1078 A.D. (Shikarpur 124 and 135), and he was at Banavāsi in 1091. (Sorab 549). He was in residence at Gōvindavādi in 1073-1074 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 5).

Expulsion of the Chōlas from Nolambavādi.

During his reign Nolambapādi 32,000 was governed by the Pāndyas of Uchchangi, of whom Nigalankamalla-Pāndya, who is mentioned in an inscription dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 4, *Siddhārti* (1079 A.D.) at Bagali, in Bellary, is the earliest. Tribhuvanamalla-Pāndya was the next. These Pāndya feudatories boast of having frustrated the designs of Rājiga (*i.e.*, the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulottunga I). According to Mr. Venkayya, this boast is probably based on some service which they rendered to Vikramāditya against his Chōla enemy. The *Vikramānkadēvacharita* states that the Chālukya king overcame Rājiga, while the Tamil inscriptions of the latter report that he defeated the former. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 18). That Vikramāditya should have won some notable victory against the Chōla is repeatedly referred to in his inscriptions. (Shikarpur 124 dated in 1077 A.D. and Shikarpur 114 dated in 1096 A.D.). In the latter of these, his general Kālidāsa is named as the "terrifier" of his enemies. He is represented as bringing as spoil the treasury of defeated kings, their elephants, wives and horses. In Channagiri 33, assigned to 1083 A.D., we have mention made of

Tribhuvanamalla Pāndya-Dēva, who is described as the defeater of the designs of Rājiga Chōla. He is spoken of as governing the Nolambavādi 32,000. Similarly in Shikarpur 137, dated in 1114 A.D., we have a reference to the Chōla king losing his territories and holding his ears. The recently discovered Nilgunda copper-plate grant of this king throws additional light on this conquest of the Chōlas. This grant is dated in the 12th and the 48th years of the Chālukya-Vikrama era and as such belongs to 1087-1088 and 1123-1124 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Part II, Para 48). A passage of some interest in this grant is the one which refers to Vikramāditya VI as Chālukya-Rāma, who with his younger brother is stated to have gone like the Epic hero Rāma to recover (Sīta) the prosperous royalty of the Vallabha (*i.e.*, the Chālukya) kings born of (his father) Janaka, and on the side of the sea, to have received homage from the Drāvida king who had fled for refuge from "(his) country of many sides," *i.e.*, a country which was in a state of revolt. It is inferable from this passage that the Chālukyas had lost a good part of their territory, which was recovered by Vikramāditya VI. The two grants mentioned in the plates were made by the king to certain immigrant Brāhmans from the Dravida (*i.e.* Chōla) country who had settled in Vikkiga 70—a district included in the Kogali 500. When the first grant was made, Vikramāditya in 1087-1088 A.D. was at Kalyāna; and when the second was made, he was at Jayanti-pura (*i.e.*, Banavāsi). The first included Nilagunda, identified with the place of that name in the Harpanhalli Taluk, Bellary District. The first grant was made at the request of Palata-Pāndya, the governor of Nolambavādi 32,000, evidently the same chief who is mentioned as Palanta-Pāndya in *E.C.* XI, Davangere 39 as the successor to the Chālukya and Chōla kings and their kingdoms. His grandson Rāya-Pāndya, called Tribhuvanamalla Rāya-Pāndya, is described as the right hand of Vikramāditya in Davangere 1390 dated in 1106 A.D. and other inscriptions. (see Holalkere 25). Such was the confidence reposed in him by Vikramāditya that he was considered by himself capable of breaking the pride of the Chōla and other kings. He is described by his valour to have brought the whole earth encompassed by the four oceans into subjection to king Vikrama. His residence was at Beltur or Bettur, north-east of Davangere. (Davangere 3, dated in 1121 A.D.; see also *M.E.R.* 1919, Para 31. Appendix B. 229 of 1918; *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 3; Nos. 278 and 31 of 1925 dated in the 35th and 36th years of Vikramāditya VI). In 1124 A.D., he seems to have ruled over Santalige 1,000 and various *agrahāras* in Banavāsi Province as well (Davangere 155). In this inscription he is called the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla Vīra-Nolamba-Permādi-Dēva, who has to be identified with Vikramāditya's younger brother Jayasimha. How he came to be described as Jayasimha's brother is not evident, but perhaps, as Mr. Rice suggests, the designation "is intended in a complimentary sense as betokening a close intimacy between Chālukya-Pallava prince (Jayasimha) and the Pāndya chief (Vīra Pāndya)." (*E.C.* XI, Introduction 17). In an inscription dated in his son's governorship, he is also described as "the confounder of the Chōla king" etc. Apparently, he was one of those connected with the final driving away of the Chōlas from the Nolambavādi 32,000, which took place in Vikramāditya's time.

Vikramāditya's other conquests.

As some inscriptions of Vikramāditya have been found in Gooty in the Anantpur District, it has to be presumed that his dominions extended as far as that place. In several inscriptions, Vikramāditya is also described as having conquered the kings of other countries as well —Magadha, Pānchāla, Nēpāla, Barbara, Karhāta, Chehadi, Kasrhira, Gurjara, Kalinga, Āndhra, Varatalata, Sindhu, Turushka, etc. (Holalkere 25; Davangere 3; Shikarpur 124, and 137). There appears to be much poetical exaggeration in this description of his conquests. His conquest of the Chōlas is referred in some cases as the conquest of the Dramilas. (Davangere 3 and Holalkere 25). His conquest of the Dramilas (Tamil or Chōlas) and Pānchālas is also referred to in an inscription at Yerabalu (in the Harpanhalli Taluk), dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 47 or 1122 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix B. No. 245 of 1918). This inscription registers a grant in the governorship of Vīra-Pāndya over Nolambavādi 32,000, within which the Harpanhalli Taluk was also included at the time. From an inscription at Kuruvatti, also in the same taluk, dated in his 27th year (or 1102 A.D.), we find Vikramāditya, though far away at his imperial capital of Kalyāna, chastising his own subordinate, a certain Mannaya Boppaya, who capturing a place called Gandarādityanaholalu, had plundered private property and killed Brāhmans. Vikramāditya ordered him to forfeit all claims for the *Mannaya* of the village. The complaint in this case was, it may be added, preferred by the *Mahājanās* of the *agrahāra* of the Gandarādityana-holalu, a Chaturvēdimangalam. The king also took from Boppaya that he and his successors should secede from the government of the *holalu*. He did so, we are told, in the presence of the 32,000 representatives of the Bennavuru 12, Nigunda 2, etc. and drank water at the temple of Tripurāntakadēva. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix B. No. 214 of 1918). This shows in an unmistakable form the strength of Vikramāditya's provincial administration. It is to be remembered, however, that Nolambavādi was the battle ground of the Chālukyas and Chōlas and that it was in Vikramāditya's time that the final expulsion of the Chōlas from that area had taken place with the aid, apparently, of the Uchchangi Pāndyas under the leadership of

Tribhuvanamalla Pāndya-Dēva, who held the titles of "the punisher of the Parichchēdins" and "the vanquisher of the hopes of the Chōla king Rājiga-Chōla." (See above). It is possible that Vikramāditya was, from political motives, even more strict in this area than elsewhere. Another instance of his strictness in the same province is afforded by the personal interest he took in putting down a rebel chief named Dandanāyaka Biddayya in 1071-1072 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix No. 127). He seems to have encamped at Gōvindavādi after this event, and "pleased with the victory over" this chief—apparently a traitor—he made a grant, at the request of the *mahājanas* of Kōtinaguru, to the temple of Kallēsvara at Huvinahadgalli, where the slab containing the inscription is still to be seen.

His conquest of Chchēdins and Āndhras.

There may be some ground for the boast of Vikramāditya that he conquered the Chchēdins, the Āndhras, etc. The Chchēdins may be the "Parichchēdins" referred to above, whom Pāndya-Dēva is said to have vanquished. The Āndhras referred to are probably the Telugu-Chōda chiefs said to have been captured by Vikramāditya VI in his inscriptions at Draksharāma. The Pithapuram inscription of Prithivīsvara records that Kulōttunga I bestowed the Vēngi 16,000 on "his adopted son," Chōda of Velanandu. An inscription of this chief at Draksharāma shows that in A.D. 1120-1121, he was a vassal of Vikramāditya VI. It may be concluded from these two statements that when Vikrama-Chōla went to the South, Kulōttunga I entrusted Vēngi to Chōda of Velanandu, but the latter became a dependant of Vikramāditya VI, who took advantage of Vikrama-Chōla's absence in the Chōla country as co-regent of his father and of the subsequent death of Kulōttunga I, for conquering the Vēngi province. The inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI at Draksharāma range from A.D. 1120-1121 to 1123-1124 A.D. Shortly after, Vikrama-Chōla must have re-conquered his northern dominions. For, two inscriptions of his reign at Chebrōlu and Nidubrōlu are dated 1127 and 1135 A.D. (see *M.E.R.* 1903; also *S.I.I.* III. 180). Apparently, the conquest of Vēngi in 1127 A.D. by Vikrama-Chōla was not left unnoticed by Vikramāditya VI. Some inscriptions of his at Tripurāntakam in the present Kurnool District throw light on the reprisals he adopted on Vēngi. An inscription of his 51st year (*M.E.R.*, 1906, Appendix B. No. 258 of 1905) or 1127 A.D. mentions an officer of his named Anantapāla and his nephew Gōvindarasa, the latter of whom is described as the son of one Krishnarāja and as the governor of Kondapalli 300 at the time. This Gōvindarasa, identified with Gōvindarāja of the Ablur inscriptions (*E.I.* V, 215), claims to have burnt Bēngipura (*i.e.*, Vēngipura), to have defeated a prince, whose name is not given, at Jananāthapura and to have conquered Gonka. Perhaps this refers to an encounter with the Eastern Chālukyas and their Velanandu feudatories. The success, if any, of Gōvindarasa was of an ephemeral character, for we have evidence of Vikrama-Chōla's re-occupation of his northern dominions in an inscription of 1135 A.D. at Nidubrōlu (see above). The campaign against the Chōlas which ended in these encounters is possibly the one which is referred to by Bilhana as having occurred in Vikramāditya's reign, after a long time of peace. (*Vikramānkadēva-Charita*, Introduction 44.). The Chōlas—apparently he means the Eastern Chālukyas—again became proud and insolent and that Vikramāditya marched on Kānchi and took the City; that he amused himself there for some time and then returned to the capital. Sir John Fleet has suggested that this campaign was responsible for the many inscriptions referring themselves to his (Vikramāditya's) reign at Draksharāma and other places in the Godāvari, Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, outside the limits of the Western Chālukya kingdom. This occasion may also be the one on which, according to the Eastern Chālukya records, Kulōttunga-Chōla-Dēva I pursued Vikramāditya VI from Nangali in Mysore to Manalur on the Tungabhadra. (*S I.I*, II. 22).

Rebellion of Jayasimha III.

An event that seems to have disturbed Vikramāditya's rule to some extent seems to have been the rebellion of his younger brother Jayasimha III. He had been made, as we have seen, *Yuvarāja* by him and was ruling over the Banavāsi and other provinces, in fact all the territory as far as the southern ocean in 1079-1080 A.D. (Shikarpur 109, 293 and 297). In 1080 A.D., he appears to have been on the most affectionate terms with his elder brother. As Sir John Fleet has suggested, the fact that there are no indications of his rule over these provinces after 1080 A.D. corroborates Bilhana's account that not long after his appointment, Jayasimha rebelled and was removed from office. (*Ibid* 449). The rebellion was apparently nipped in the bud, for it does not appear to have produced any consequences adverse to Vikramāditya's fortunes. Sir John Fleet thinks that he probably died before Vikramāditya VI. At any rate, it is certain he did not succeed him on the throne. (*Ibid* 454).

Feudatories of Vikramāditya.

Among his other provincial rulers and feudatories were a few who are noticed by Sir John Fleet.

The *Mahāmandalēsvara* Kīrtivarman II, of the family of the Kadambas of Hangal, who in A.D. 1076-1077 and the following year was ruling the Banavāsi twelve-thousand; the *Mahāsāmatādhipati*, *Mahāsēnādhipathi*, *Mahāpradhāna*, and *Dandanāyaka* Barmadēva, who also in A.D. 1077-1078, was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, the Sāntalige thousand, and the eighteen *agrahāras*; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Munja, of the Sinda family who in A.D. 1082 was governing in the neighbourhood of Tidgundi in the Bijāpur District; the

Mahāsāmanta Satyadēva, with the title of "lord of Mahīshmati, the best of towns," who in A.D. 1084-1085 was governing in the neighbourhood of Gobbur in the Nizām's Dominions; the *Mahāsāmanta* Kaliyammarasa, of the Jimutavāhana lineage and the Khachara race, who in A.D. 1085-1086 was governing the Basavura hundred and forty; the *Mahāsāmanta* Dhadibhadaka or Dhadibhandaka, described as born in the "great" Rāshtrakūta lineage, who in A.D. 1087 was governing in the neighbourhood of Sitabaldi near Nāgpur, in the Central Provinces; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Kannakaira II., of the Ratta family, who in A.D. 1087-1088 was ruling at Saundatti; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Sāntivarman II., of the family of Hangal, who in A.D. 1088-1089 was ruling the Banavāsi twelve-thousand and the Panumgal five-hundred; the *Pergade* Changadēvayya, who in the same year was managing the *vaddarāvula* and other taxes of the Banavāsi twelve-thousand; the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and *Mahāmandalēsvarādhipati* Anantadēva, of the Sīlahara family, who was ruling in the Konkan in A.D. 1095; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Kārtavīrya II, of the Ratta family, who in A.D. 1096-1097 was ruling at Saundatti; the *Mahāpradhāna*, *Antahpurādhyaksha*, *Heri-Lāla-Kannada-sandhivigrahin*, and *Manevergade*, the *Dandanāyaka* Bhivanayya, on behalf of whom the *Mahāpradhāna* and *Dandanāyaka* Padmanābhayya was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand in A.D. 1098; the *Mahāmandalēswara* Guvala, *i.e.* Guhalla, of the family of the Kadambas of Goa, who in A.D. 1098-1099, at his capital of Gove, *i.e.* Goa, was ruling the Palasige twelve-thousand; the *Mahāpradhāna* and *Dandanāyaka* Padmanābhayya, who in the same year was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand; the *Mahāpradhāna*, *Banasaveggade* and *Dandanāyaka* Anantapālayya, also styled *Mahāsamantādhipathi*, who was ruling the Belvola three hundred and the Pullegere three-hundred in A.D. 1100-1101 and the same districts, with the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, and with the management of the *Vaddaravula* and *pejjunka* taxes, in A.D. 1102-1103 and 1107-1108, and is also described in A.D. 1103-1104 as managing the *pannaya* tax of the whole of the seven-and-a half lakh country; the *Mahāpradhāna* and Dandanāyaka Bhivanayya, who in A.D. 1102-1103 was governing the Palasige twelve-thousand, and was managing the *pannaya* tax of the seven-and-a-half lakh country; the *Dandanāyaka*

Gōvindarasa, who, under Anantapāla, was managing the *melvattēya-Vaddaravula*, the *eradu bilkode*, and the *perjunka* taxes in A.D. 1102-1103, and who subsequently was promoted to the offices of *Mahādandanāyaka*, *Mahāsamantādhipati*, *Mahāpradhāna* and in A.D. 1114-1115 and 1117-1118, was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand itself; Ballāla I., of the Hoysala family, for whom we have a date in A.D. 1103; the *Mahāmandalēswara* Tailapa II., of the family of the Kadambas of Hangal, who was ruling the Panumagal five-hundred in A.D. 1103-1104 and 1107-1108, and the same district, with the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, in A.D. 1108-1109 and 1124-25, and probably both the districts again in A.D. 1125-1126; the *Mahāmandalēsvara.* Yanemarasa, with the title of "Lord of Mahīshmati, the best of towns," and belonging to the Ahihaya-vamsa, who in A.D. 1104-1105 was governing in the neighbourhood of Kammaravādi in the Nizām's Dominions; the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, *Mahāpradhāna*, *Bhanasaveggade*, *Dandanāyaka*, and *Achchupannayad-adhishthayaka* Bammarasa, who in A.D. 1108-1109 was administering the *pannaya*-tax of the Nolambavādi thirty-two-thousand; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Gandarāditya, of the Karad branch of the Silahara family, who was ruling his hereditary possessions in A.D. 1109-1110 and 1118-1119; the Pāndya *Mahāmandalēsvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Kamadēva, with the title of "lord of Gōkarna, the best of towns," and the designation of "ruler of the Konkana *rāshtra*," for whom we have a date in A.D. 1112; the *Mahāpradhāna*, *Dandanāyaka*, and *Kannada-Sandhivigrahin* or minister of peace and war for the Kanarese districts; Srīpatiyarasa, who in A.D. 1112-1113 was governing the Belvola three-hundred and the Permādi, of the Western Ganga family, who in the same year was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand the Santalige thousand; a member of the Gutta family of Guttal, named Malla or Mallidēva, who is to be placed about A.D. 1115; the *Mahāpradhāna* and *Dandanāyaka* Nāgavarmayya, who was governing the Belvola three hundred, the Purigere three-hundred, and the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, in A.D. 1115-1116 and 1117-1118; the Hoysala *Mahāmandalēsvara* Vishnuvardhana, who in A.D. 1117 was ruling the Gangavādi ninety-six-thousand; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Permādi, of the Jimutavāhana lineage and the Khachara race, who was governing the Basuvura hundred-and-forty in A.D. 1121-1122; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Tribhuvanamalla-Pāndya-Dēva who in the same year was ruling the Nolambavādi thirty-two-thousand; the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Acha or Achugi, of the Sinda family, who in A.D. 1122-1123 was ruling the Kisukad seventy; and the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Jayakēsin II., of the family of the Kadambas of Goa, who in A.D. 1125-1126 was ruling the Konkana nine-hundred, the Palasige twelve-thousand, the Payve or Hayve five-hundred, and the Kavadidvīpa lakh-and-a-quarter. One of the most interesting of the records is the Dambal inscription of A.D. 1095, which records grants made to *vihāras* of Buddha and Ārya-Tara Dēvi at that town, and thus shows that Buddhism still held a place in the Kanarese country as late as the end of the eleventh century A.D. A record of A.D. 1088-1089 speaks of Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmada, and conquering kings on the other side of that river. And another of A.D. 1098, shows that then again he was in the northern part of the kingdom, on the banks of the Narmada. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 450-2).

References to his Feudatories.

Some of the above mentioned are referred to in other inscriptions found in this State and the adjacent districts of Madras Presidency. Kaliga or Kaliyammarasa, who held the title of "the mast elephant of Chandaladēvi," one of the queens of Vikramāditya, was, according to an inscription dated in 1092 A.D., at Chinna-Tumbalam, in the Bellary District, ordered from his charge of Panungal 500 to the governorship of "the Southern Country." He appears to have built a temple at Chinna Tumbala, dedicated to Sōmēsvaradēva," for which he, the chief Pottipi-Chōla-Mahārāja Ghatteyanna and the *mahājana* of Tumbala made grants. Another inscription found at the same place and dated 1079 A.D. mentions *Mahāmandalēsvara* Joyimmarasa, who was ruling the Sindavādi 1000. A tank named after him as Joyigasamudra seems to have been constructed somewhere near Tumbalam. *Mahāmandalēsvara* Jogimayya mentioned in an inscription at the Bhōgēsvara temple at Rāmadurga, Bellary District, also dated in 1079 A.D., has, perhaps, to be identified with this *Mahamandalēsvara* Joyimmarasa. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Appendix B. No. 697). According to a third inscription, found at Konakondla, Gooty Taluk, Anantapur, this Joyimayyarasa was a Jain by faith and was entitled *Pesanagaruda*. His wife was Navikabbe, who built a Jain temple called Chatta-Jinālaya, at Kondakundeya-tīrta (modern Konakondla) for which her husband made a grant. This was in the 6th year of Vikramāditya's reign, *i.e.*, about 1081 A.D. Joyimayyarasa was also in charge of the divisions Edadore 2,000 and Kullakelage 500. The former has been identified by Sir John Fleet with a part of the modern Raichur District. Thus, it would appear, he had charge of the whole of Ādoni (Sindavādi) and parts of Anantapur and Raichur Taluks, with his capital apparently at Tumbalam. Other subordinates are mentioned in another inscription at the same place (Konakondla) in an inscription dated in 1087 A.D. These were the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Balaya-Chōla Mahārāja, who was ruling the Sindavādi 1,000, apparently after Joyimayyarasa, and whose *prasasti* begins with the words *charana-saroruha*, etc., apparently of the Telugu-Chōla family (see *M.E.R.* 1906, Appendix No. 350 of 1905); the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Chiparasa of the Mahābali race and the Mahāsāmantas Chandarasa, Barmarāsa and Revarasa of Kondakunde whose *prasasti* coincides with that of the Chōlas of Cuddapah. (*E.I.* XI, 343, No. 3 and *M.A.R.* 1916, Part II, Para 43). An inscription found at Karakantapuram, near Peda-Tumbalam, Bellary District, and dated in 1106 A.D., shows that Sindavādi was under the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Mallarasa who is recorded to have made a grant to the temple of Kara Kantēsvara at that place. His eulogy supplies the information that he was "a brilliant sun in dispelling the darkness, *viz.*, the heroic enemy forces of the Chōla camp, crowded with hordes of elephants, horses and sturdy soldiers, (the hero) that cut off the heads of the Dravila *mandalikas* (*i.e.*, the chiefs of Dramila), the destroyer of Pallikōta and the terror of the Gurjara." The first two epithets clearly show that he took part in the campaign against the Chōlas and had exhibited personal bravery in it. (See *M.E.R.* 1916, Part II. Para 42 and insciptions quoted in it). Another *Mahāmandalēsvara* Dasavarma-Dēvarasa is mentioned in an inscription in the Kēsavasvāmi temple at Holalgundi, Bellary District. He is described as belonging to the solar race and the Kāsyapa-gōtra and as bearing the title of "lord of Mirinlegoharipura," *i.e.*, lord of Mirinj (Mirāj) and Gokaripura (Gōkak). He is said to have had his capital at Holalkonde, where the inscription is found. As the inscription is dated in the 50th Chālukya-Vikrama year, he ought to have been governing the Mirāj and Gōkak country about 1125-1126 A.D., or about the close of the reign of Vikramāditya VI. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 15; also Appdx. B. No. 708).

Vikramāditya's Ministers and Generals.

Some notable Brāhman ministers of Vikramāditya VI are also referrred to in his inscriptions. One of the most powerful of these was Rāviga-Dandanātha or Rāviyana-Bhatta. In an inscription found in the Kēsavasvāmi temple at Huvinahadagalli, Bellary District, dated in 1090 A.D., he is described as having been at the very root of Vikramāditya's administration and to have conquered the Seven Mālavas. Rebbambbe or Rebbaladēvi, the wife of this (Brāhman) military officer, was a native of Huvinahadagalli. She built there a temple dedicated to Kēsavasvāmi, to which she made gifts of land. Other grants were also made to it by Tribhuvanamalla Vīra-Pāndya Dēva, the local ruler, at the request of her husband. An inscription dated in 1110-1111 A.D., found at Nilgunda, Harpanhalli Taluk, refers to Dandanāyaka Muddarasa, another chief minister of

Vikramāditya, and states that he was in charge of tolls of Kibbatti, apparently an important frontier post. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 12 and Appdx. B. Nos. 128 and 204). Another great minister of Vikramāditya was Kālidāsa Dandanātha, who had the titles *Rājādhyaksha*, *Kaditavergadde*, *Kannada-sandhivigrahi*, *Mahāprachanda Dandanāyaka*, a scent-elephant of his father and the promoter of the prosperity of the Chālukya kingdom. His other name appears to have been Dandanāyaka Kālimarasa, which seems a shortened form of Kālimahārasa. He is mentioned in two inscriptions at Nāgai, Hyderabad State, dated in 1085 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1914-1915, Paras 70-74). He is described as possessed of a literary taste, as a great leader of the army, a *Brihaspati* in politics, a *garuda* in daring, etc. He appears to have belonged to the Banasa (or Vanasa) family and of the *Vasishta gōtra*. Whether he is the same as the *Mahāsāmanta* Kāliyammarasa, of the Jimūtavāhana lineage and of the Khachara race, above mentioned by Sir John Fleet, who, in 1085-1086 A.D., was governing the Basavara 140 division, is difficult to determine. It will be seen that though the names and the dates agree, the pedigrees differ. The Kālimarasa of the Nāgai inscription was the son of Madhusūdana and Malaladēvi. Madhusūdana was the chief minister of Trailōkyamalla (*i.e.*, Sōmēsvara I), who, it is said, made him *Yuvarāja*, a rare distinction to confer on a Brāhman minister. He was also entitled *Mahāprachanda-Dandanāyaka*, *Karnātaka Sandhivigrahin*, promoter of prosperity of the Chālukya kingdom, etc. Madhusūdana's father was, it is stated, Dandādhipa Kālidāsa, who married Rebbanabbe, and was entitled *Sangrāma Kanthīrava*. This Kālidāsa was, it would appear, the son of Gōvinda and Echikabbe and is said to have secured the kingdom to his lord Jayasimha, apparently Jayasimha II, the predecessor of Sōmēsvara I —when owing to the treachery of the *Mahāsāmantas* and *Mandalikas* he was about to lose it. Thus Kālidāsa I, his son Madhusūdana, and his son Kālidāsa II seem to have successively served Jayasimha II, Sōmēsvara I and Vikramāditya VI in the post of chief minister. Kālidāsa I appears to have founded the *agrahāra* of Nāgavāvi (modern Nāgai in the Nizām's Dominions) for 400 Brāhmans well versed in the *Vēdas* and obtained a copper-grant for it from king Jayasimha II. Nāgai is described as the capital of the Eyalu 300 of the Kuntala country. His son Madhusūdana apparently beautified the *agrahāra* by building in it a temple called Kataka-Kamalārka, in honour of the Trimūrtis, the Rāmēsvara temple with the Rāmatīrta, and the Madhusūdana temple, so named after himself, adorned with female figures, towers, gold finials touching the clouds, dancing halls, golden garuda-pillars, gateways of three storeys, lofty enclosures, rooms for lodging *ēkadandis*, *tridandis*, *snātata* and other kinds of Brahmachārins, *hamsās* and *paramahamsās*, and *mathas* for the study of the *Vēdas* and Vēdāngas in all their various *sākhas*. He obtained in 1063 A.D., a grant for these, grants of land from Sōmēsvara I and from one Boddināycha, who is described as the "lord of Mahīshmati" and as the descendant of Kritavīrya and sun to the lotus of the Ahihaya (Haihaya) family. In 1085 A.D., Madhusūdana's son, Kālidāsa II, obtained the grant of a village from Vikramāditya II and some additional lands from Lōkarasa, the lord of Mahīshmati, apparently the son Boddināycha, who was, besides, the ruler of Eralu 300 in which Nāgavāvi was included, and divided both the village and the lands among the 400 Brāhmans of the *agrahāra* and the temples. It is interesting to note that provision is made for the priests who worship the Madhusūdana god observing the *Brahmachārya* vow (or vow of celibacy), for night feeding, for sleeping on the (bare) ground, for dancing girls, for feeding strangers, for repairs to the temple, etc. We are also told that a Brāhman of some rank, named Nārāyana Nāyaka, who was the protector of the charities made by the great Dandanāyaka (Kālidāsa), caused the temples to be built agreeably to his master's orders, and that the sculptor who worked at the temple was one Nagōja, an expert in sculpture and other arts. Another grant in favour of the temple was made by Kālidāsa and the *Mahājanas* and merchants of the place in 1092 A.D. All the income was, under the arrangement made, to be deposited with respectable merchants and drawn upon for legitimate expenses (*e.g.*, providing for decorations, offerings, festival charges, repairs, etc.) for the service of the god. (See *M.A.R.* 1914-1915, Para 72-74). There can be hardly any doubt that this Kālidāsa is different from the general of the same name mentioned in Shikarpur 114 dated in 1096 A.D., who is described as the head-ornament of good warriors, a terror of the enemy and as the conqueror of different kings and the plunderer of their treasuries, elephants and horses, for he is spoken of as a Brāhman beolnging to the *Vatsa gōtra* and the *Kamme-kula*. Another *mahāprachanda dandanāyaka* mentioned in an inscription dated in 1098 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 13) is Anantapāla.

Provincial Rule.

As regards the provinces in Mysore proper, in 1076 A.D., Banavāsi, Santalige and the eighteen *agrahāras* were under the governorship of Barmadēvarasa. (Shikarpur 124 and 135). He obtained in that year a grant for a *basadi* in Banavāsi, which had been established by Vikramāditya himself when he was governor in that province (Shikarpur 124). He was followed first by Gandamarasa (Shikarpur 111) and then by Vikramāditya's brother Jayasimha III. The latter seems to have been appointed about 1088 A.D. He is praised in rather notable language. He is said to have so shot his arrows that they went through the body and came out at the back. He is also credited with the conquest of the Seven Konkanas on behalf of Vikramāditya. Under him, it would appear, was one Tamba-chamupa, who was governing the Santalige 1,000. As we have seen, he won victories for his brother and was on the most affectionate terms in 1080 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 293 and 297), but later revolted against him.

As to Nolambavādi Province, it was, as stated above, under Tribhuvanamalla Pāndya-Dēva in 1083 A.D. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 33). Pāndya-Dēva seems to have been later transferred to Banavāsi, Kadambalige and Santalige provinces. But in 1125 A.D., we find his son Rāya-Pandya ruling over Nolambavādi and Santalige (Channagiri 61). In 1098 A.D., the *Mahāprachanda Dandanāyaka* Anantapāla seems to have been vested with the governorship. He seems to have been in office in 1100 A.D. (Shikarpur 13 and 311). Banavāsi, however, was under Padmanābhayya, who seems to have been a dependant of Bhīmanayya, the Kannada Minister for peace and war. (Shikarpur 106). About 1100 A.D. Gōvindayya was in charge of Banavāsi. He was a dependent of Anantapālayya, and was entitled Rana-Ranga-Bhairava. (Shikarpur 311). The genealogy of this local ruler is given in an inscription dated in 1104 A.D. (Shikarpur 131). He was a Brāhman of the Vasishta *gōtra* and appears to have been minister for peace and war. He appears to have been in power (together with Anantapāla) till 1114 A.D. (Shikarpur 192 of 1107 A.D. and 137 of 1114 A.D.). From Shikarpur 137, we learn Gōvinda was the brother-in-law of Anantapāla. An inscription dated in 1117 A.D. (Shikarpur 316) shows Gōvindarasa to have been still in power though Anantapāla's name disappears. In 1123 A.D. we find one Rāmayya ruling Banavāsi. (Shikarpur 243).

The Nāgarakhanda part of Banavāsi 12,000 was at first apparently under Vikramāditya's brother Jayasimha (Sagar 109 dated 1079 A.D.). He also was governor of the whole of Banavāsi 12,000, Santalige 1,000, etc. His minister was Tambarasa, holding sway over Santalige 1,000. Under him was Māchi Rāja, the Royal Inspector, or *Rājādhyaksha* of the *nād.* He was a Brāhman and had his capital at Andhasura, modern Anantapur, where he founded the temples of Māchīsvara, Āditya and Vishnu in 1079 A.D.

In 1123 A.D. Banavāsi and Kadambalige were under Tribhuvanamalla Pāndya-Dēva's governorship. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 1). It would seem as if Rāmaiya acted under Rudradēva. The capital was at Jayantipura, or Banavāsi. It is stated he appointed himself to it "by his own victory." He appears to have dug two tanks and granted them to god Tribhuvanamalla Pāndyēsvara, apparently named after himself. As Beltur (modern Bettur, between Harihar and Anaji in the Chitaldrug District), the locality of one of the tanks, is said to be in the Kadambalige 10,000, it might be inferred that Kadambalige 1,000 was the country round about it. A point of some interest in regard to the gifting of these two tanks is that it is proclaimed to the people of the locality in terms which recall to our minds the text of Asōka's famous edicts:—

> "He, Tribhuvana Malla-Vallabha-Nārēndra-Dēva . . . being in good health commands all who are concerned,—you the *rāshtrapati*, *vishayapati*, *grama-kutana ayuktaka*, *niyuktaka*, *ādhikarika*, *mahattara* and all others, etc., etc."

Apparently the civil administration was a highly decentralized one in Vikramāditya's time. Numerous inscriptions found in the Tumkur, Hassan, Kadur and Chitaldrug Districts show that they were included within the dominions, real or nominal, of Vikramāditya VI. An inscribed slab dated in 1000 A.D. (Kalayukti year), which includes also another inscription dated in Chālukya Vikrama 31, Sarvajitu (1109 A.D.) mentions Vikramāditya VI as Tribhuvanamalla Permādi Dēva and says Hoysala Vijayāditya was ruling Gangavādi 36,000. (*E.C.* XII, Tiptur 105). This shows that the Hoysalas were becoming strong and asserting themselves. As they grew in power, the suzerainty of the Chālukyas over them became more nominal than real. Many inscriptions found in the State attest to this conclusion. (*e.g.*, *E.C.* V, Hassan District: Hassan 34 dated in 1080 A.D.; Arsikere 43, which may be assigned to 1090 A.D.; Arsikere 87, probably belonging to 1090 A.D.; Belur 200 dated in Ch.-Vik. 22 or 1099 A.D.; Belur 199, dated in *Saka* 1023 or A.D. 1101; Belur 116 dated in Ch.-Vik. 41 or 1117; A.D. Chennarāyapatna 45 dated in *Saka* 1001 or 1079 A.D.; and Chennarāyapatna 169, undated but assigned to 1106 A.D. *E.C.* VI, Kadur District: Kadur 22, dated in 1090 A.D.; Kadur 164, dated in Ch.-Vik. 250 or 1100 A.D. mentioning Hoysala Bittiga or Vishnuvardhana; Chikmagalur 160, assignable to 1103 A.D. mentioning Vikramāditya as suzerain of Hoysala Vinayāditya; Chikmagalur 151, assignable to 1122 A.D. mentioning Bittidēva, and his recognition of Vikramāditya's suzerainty over him.). The last of the inscriptions quoted, *i.e.*, Chikmagalur 151, is interesting because it recognises, though only nominally, Chālukya suzerainty, though it is dated after the great defeat that Bittidēva's general Ganga Rāja inflicted on Vikramāditya's army in a night attack at Kannegala, from which their real independence of the Chālukyas commenced. Spirited accounts of this attack are given in Sravana Belgola 125 (old Edn. 45) and 73 (old Edn. 59) both dated in 1118 A.D. Ganga Rāja captured the whole of the enemy's stores and vehicles and presented them to his own sovereign.

As regards Santalige, it was being governed by the Santaras. In Nagar 35 dated in 1077 A.D., Nannisantara is mentioned as ruling under Chālukya suzerainty. Nanni traces in this inscription his descent from the Gangas and his adopted mother Chattaladēvi is described as building the Panchakūta basti. She is again referred to in Tīrthahalli 192 dated in 1103 A.D. In Sagar 80 dated in 1096 A.D., Rāya Santara is described as governing the Santalige under the suzerainty of Vikramāditya. Under him was Sirivarma, from whom was descended Pergade Nāgavarma. His brother was the minister Kanna, who at the bidding of Santara chief Tailappa is said to have extirpated the hostile army and established himself. He was styled Bilankakāra (warrior with the bow). Bhārati herself is said to have inscribed his name "Billanka-Rāya" on pillars all round the world! Similarly Humcha recognized the suzerainty of Vikramāditya. (*E.C.* VI Koppa 43, dated about 1090 A.D.).

Nolambavādi 36,000 continued as before under Chālukya rule as a province. It included the modern Chitaldrug and a portion of Tumkur Districts (see *ante*). An inscription of Vikramāditya has been found on the Nagarpade rock on the Jatinga Rāmēsvara hill, Molakalmuru Taluk in the extreme north of the State. (*M.A.R.* 1908-1909, Para 155).

Kālāmukha Saiva Revival.

The Saiva cult seems to have received further impetus during this reign in the Banavāsi, Nolambavādi and the adjacent provinces. The Kālāmukha ascetics grew more and more into royal favour and the gifts of land and villages made to them increased their popularity. Several temples devoted to Siva came to be built in the Banavāsi province. Though Vikramāditya VI was probably a Jain in religion—he is, as stated above, said to have even built a *basadi* when he was governor of Banavāsi—he favoured the Kālāmukhas. Some of his many wives also were probably adherents of the Saiva and Vaishnava cults. Vikramāditya appears to have been, as many of his predecessors were, catholic in religious patronage. Not only Jainism, but also Saivism and Vaishnavism and even Buddhism, which still claimed votaries in the land received support at his hands. Several inscriptions of his reign testify to this fact. In Shikarpur 99 dated in 1113 A.D., he is described as the gratifier of all the hosts of Brāhmans. Kālāmukhas appear to have belonged to the Mūvara-Kōneya-Santati of the Parvatāvali (Shikarpur 99). The head of these was, it would appear, Divyajnāni Kāsmīra-Dēva, who is described as the heavenly seer, the emperor of the Kālāmukha *munis*. The Mūvara-Kōneya-Santati is also referred to as Dēvavrata-muni-santati. (Shikarpur 108). There seems to be some reason for believing that these line of Saivas had some connection with the Kāshmir-Saivas, not the least significant part of the evidence of this view being the definite suggestion that the emperor of the *munis* of this order was Kāsmiradēva. In his descent—*i.e.*, succession—was Trilōchana-munīndra, whose senior disciple was Varēsvaradēva. Through Varēsvara's teaching, Sarva-Dēva Dandadhīpa, the senior uncle of Dandadhīpa Kālidāsa, above named, caused to be built, as an ornament to the Tripurāntaka temple at Baligrāma, a temple of Sarvēsvara with a golden *kalasa*. So wonderful, we are told, was this temple that it seemed as if Indra had come to see the royal city of Baligrāma, the most beautiful in the eyes of all the Earth, and caused his *vimāna* (celestial aeroplane) to stop there. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 114 dated in 1096 A.D.). The temple of Kēdarēsvara at Baligrāma (Balligāve) was the chief seat of the Kālāmukhas. It is called the Southern Kēdarēsvara to distinguish it from the Kēdarnāth in the Himālayas and is highly praised as an ornament of Banavāsi 12,000 and as resembling the waving clusters of curls (*Kuntala*) of the lady of the Kuntala land—the name by which Banavāsi and the neighbourhood went in ancient days. (Shikarpur 98 dated in 1103 A.D.). Of the Saktiparshe, Kēdara-sakti is to be the *agrani* or chief. He is called *Yatipati* in the above quoted inscription. He may have been, if not its actual founder, at least the head at the time, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the 12th century A.D. (*Ibid*). His disciple was Srīkanta, described as the "faultless" and as "praised by the learned." He is said to have understood the *parmātmāgama*, and he is spoken of as skilled in overpowering eloquence and as distinguished by all the *āchārya* qualities and as having practised several penances. He is described as another Lakulisa, *i.e.*, an incarnation of Lakula, the founder of the Pāsupata sect. His disciple was Sōmēsvara, who is praised both as a great *muni* and as a distinguished poet. (Shikarpur 99 dated 1113 A.D.). He is said to have made the Lakulasiddhānta to blossom. He was the recipient of a grant from the local ruler for the repairs of the Kēdarēsvara temple at Baligrāma and for the supply of sandal, flowers, incense, lights, offerings, and all manner of services, and for the food of the ascetics and others there, in the Chālukya-Vikrama 37, when Vikramāditya VI was ruling at Kalyāna. Sōmēsvara *yati* was apparently a great pacifist, for we see him described as one to whom war appeared as tears, and a battle as filled with demons. He was apparently something of an orator, for it is said of him that he was "a delight to speakers." (*Ibid*). The temple of Kēdarēsvara is described in high flown language in several of the inscriptions of this period. Shikarpur 100 says that the god Kēdara at Balligāve, thinking with supreme benevolence on his faithful worshippers, afraid of the cold and unable to make that distant pilgrimage, frees them from all sins here. At the Kēdarnāth, on the Himālayas, the presiding priest is a *Jangama* from the Mysore State. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Old Edn. VIII. 109).

Vikramāditya's patronage of Brāhmans.

Other evidence of the patronage extended during Vikramāditya's reign to Brāhmans may be briefly noted. There is a grant by a Gamunda in his 14th year (or A.D. 1089) to Brāhmans for a *satra* for distributing food to those of the country and for those from other parts; another in the 10th year (or 1085 A.D.) for another *satra* for feeding Brāhmans, both of the country and strangers. Both these grants are in favour of the Begur *agrahāra*, of whose virtues and learning, long accounts are given in them. They are stated to have mastered all the systems of philosophy including *Nyāya*, *Vaiseshika*, *Lōkayata*, *Sānkhya*, *Bauddha* and *Mimāmsa*. Similarly in Shikarpur 178 dated in 1092 A.D., we have a long account of the 32,000 Brāhmans of Tanagundur, of their immigration from Ahichchatra and of their being residents of 144 villages, etc. (Shikarpur 186 to be assigned to A.D. 1123 and not 1200 as suggested by Mr. Rice—see *E.C.* VII,) Shikarpur 186 gives an account how they were brought down to the Kadamba country by Mayūravarma. Both these record grants in favour of these famous Brāhman settlers. The second grant is particularly interesting for it records the setting up at Tanagundur by a certain Brāhman named Trilōchana of the god Mādhava—Prayāga Mādhava, the famous Mādhava at Prayāga or Allahabad—and made grants of land to the Brāhmans of the place for its decoration and illuminations. (Shikarpur 186). It is stated in this inscription that the god Prayāga Mādhava appeared in a dream to Trilōchanadēva and said: "As to the boy Praharāda (*i.e.* Prahallāda) I was in the pillar, so I will be in the stone," and vanished. Apparently about this time Prayāga Mādhava was a famous god as a Vaishnavite deity in Southern India. From this it would seem to follow that the cult of Vishnu was being revivified about this time in the Banavāsi area. Similarly we note Anantapāla, the Mahāprachanda

Dandanāyaka, in 1098 (Shikarpur 13) directing the manager of the *Vaddaravula Sunka* of Banavāsi to remit a certain portion of the taxes for the god Vishnu in what is here called the Marasinga Begur *agrahāra*. From Shikarpur 131, we note Īsvarayya Nāyaka, the minister for war and peace, making a grant in 1104 for the god Narasimha and all the other ministers and king's servants contributing certain amounts every year.

Description of Baligāmi.

In Shikarpur 106, dated in 1098 A.D., we have an interesting picture of Baligāmi, the capital of the Banavāsi 12,000. The royal city, we are told, was like the twining curls (*kuntala*) of the lady of the Kuntala country, "with clusters of lotus, with swarms of bees, with mango groves filled with beautiful swans, parrots and cuckoos, surrounded with climbing betel vines, areca palms, bignonias and *muchukunda*." We are told in Shikarpur 98 and 99, dated in 1103 and 1113 A.D., that there were three *puras* (or townships) in Baligāmi, and five *mathas*, the names of the *āchāryas* presiding over the latter being given. There appears to have been at the head of the town a mayor, called *pattana sāvi* (or *swāmi*). The Buddhists seem to have held their place in it equally with the Jains, Saivas, and Vaishnavas. For in a grant dated in 1098 A.D. (Shikarpur 106) we see Nāgiyakka the *sāvāsi* of the Baudha temple at the place, is cited as a witness to it together with other leading men of the place. That the Buddhists were still powerful in the land and that Buddhism was still a leading religion of the people is also clear from the Dambal inscription of 1095 A.D., which, as above mentioned, records grants to *Vihāras* of Buddha and Ārya-Tāradēvi at that town, Tāradēvi being the very goddess which, as we have seen, was the goddess set up by Nāgiyakka at Baligāmi in 1067 A.D. (Shikarpur 169 and 170, dated in 1067 A.D. and 1065 A.D.). Apparently the worship of Tāra—*i.e.*, the Mahāyana form of Buddhism—was spreading in the land. (See Chapter V above). Baligāmi should at about this time have been not only a famous religious centre, for every one who hears the *dharma* expounded there made a grant, but also a beautiful and well-known city, rich with royal and religious associations. The many descriptions we have of it need not necessarily be treated as poetical exaggerations. These accounts of its beauty and greatness are in one sense less poetical and more matter of fact in character, though a poetical turn is given to them by the poetical composers of inscriptions. Vikramāditya himself was attracted to the place, near where, at Banavāsi, also called Jayantīpura, he was in residence in the 13th year of his reign and is even represented as ruling the kingdom from that place. (Sorab 549 dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 13, Prajōtpatti). Of course, he should have resided at it as governor of Banavāsi during his younger days. The place was also a great centre for religious and philosophical training, for all the main religions of the land were actually professed by its many inhabitants and at their *maths* were eagerly taught and learnt. A fact to note in connection with them is that there appears to have been considerable good feeling among these differing religious sects as may be inferred from many of the inscriptions that have survived the ages at this place. If the kings were tolerant and entertained equal regard for all faiths, the people at large seem to have been no less eager to show their catholicity of feeling by the spirit of good fellowship they showed towards each other—a fact in striking contrast with what we note a century or two later. Learning was in high repute; charity appears to have been proverbial; and the desire for digging tanks or wells, founding alm-houses, rest houses (*satras*), building temples and providing for the maintenance of schools and religious centres seems to have been at its height during this period. The Vēdantic school had come into prominence; the Kālāmukha ascetics were spreading the tenets of the Pāsupata faith and helping towards the Saiva revival that was shortly to come; and the Vaishnavite faith was, as it were, showing signs of reawakening even at the centre of the strongest Saiva cult at the time. Poets must have flourished and some of the poetry composed by them must have been good, if the descriptions enshrined in the extant texts of inscriptions are any real guide to their probable excellence in other directions. One inscription (Nagar 35) dated in 1077 A.D. in Vikramāditya's reign shows that long before this period Rājasekhara, Bhāravi, Bāna, Mayūra, Vālmīki, Kālidāsa and Vyāsa were well-known in this part of India. The same inscription is witness to the existence of numerous Jaina philosophical and other literary works in it. Teaching appears to have been prized as much as learning. A Jain teacher was called Srīvijaya, we are told, "from giving *sāstras* to the learned and their needs to the destitute." (*Ibid*). The poet who composed Shikarpur 98 and 99 calls himself an *āsu-kavi* or impromptu poet and an *ati-patu-kavi*, a very fast poet. His name was Malli-deva or Mallikārjuna of Gobbur, who was, besides, an adept at mnemonic feats. If two from two different sides should together come writing it down from the end and reading it out, he would arrange the poem so read out, whatever it might be, as a new poem; would repeat four stories from hearing them (simultaneously) repeated; and make calculations in any given figures. He is called *avadharana-chakravarti* and *dharana-sārvabhauma*; also a *Nitalaksha* and a *Shanmukha* among good poets. Bilhana flourished at Vikramāditya's court and wrote its annals in his *Vikramankadēvacharita* in which we have a picture of his times. The great Hindu lawyer (or rather glossator) Vijnanesvara, who wrote the commentary called the *Mitakshāra* on Manu's famous laws, lived at his imperial capital, which with its ruler he has glorified in terms of high praise. (see above). Kalyāna must have been a city of great joy and beauty at the time and Vikramāditya a prince who had proved himself a liberal patron of the arts and learning. Architecture received an impetus, for many temples were founded during Vikramāditya's reign all over his vast territories and thus must have been evolved the famous Chālukyan style, which, later in the hands of Hoysala architects and sculptors, became the leading style in all Mysore and the adjoining Kannada districts of Bombay and Madras.

Character of Vikramāditya's Rule.

Vikramāditya appears to have had, after the final defeat of his younger brother Jayasimha, a comparatively peaceful rule. His free movements throughout his territories with prolonged stays at his different provincial capitals should have helped him in the easy and regular administration of his kingdom. He seems to have been, on the whole, well served by his generals, governors and ministers. He seems, at any rate in the earlier campaigns, to have led his armies in person, though he appears to have been assisted by his skilled generals. The constant change of provincial governors, which is indicated in the many inscriptions of his long rule of nearly half a century, shows that he seems to have relied on the political maxim *do ut des*: 'I give that you may give.' They proved loyal to him, because he gave them opportunities to distinguish themselves as much in war as in peace. The grades of provincial rule made it possible for him to promote his officers not only from one place to another but also from inferior to superior positions in succession, and thus they were kept away from schemes or alliances inimical to himself and his house. As above mentioned, delinquent governors and generals were severely punished and had even their emoluments cut off. This was the more easy to do as because of the fair treatment that was accorded to the generality of them. There is hardly any doubt that in this he was following well established practice, but there is at the same time equally no room for suspicion that he improved on it by giving his trust unreservedly and receiving it ten-fold from his subordinates and feudatories. It is on some such basis as this that we could at all explain the mystery of his personal rule over a territory extending from near the Gōdāvari in the north to the Cauvery in the south and the sea on the west to the borders of the Eastern Chālukyan territory on the east. A point of some interest is that even those who were really independent kept up forms of friendly intercourse which were indistinguishable from those of feudatories. The Hoysalas were a notable example of this type of nominal feudatories, a position that diplomatically should have proved mutually beneficial. It argues no little political instinct on the part of Vikramāditya to have followed in this matter a peaceful policy with his neighbours. He may be set down as the antithesis of the normal old-world ruler who revelled in war and forgot peace. A great soldier and general, Vikramāditya seems to have grasped the fundamental fact that all war is intended for securing lasting peace and once it was attained, there was no further need for war. The progress of the arts—especially temple architecture—and learning during his rule amply testify to the peace that his kingdom should have enjoyed.

His domestic life.

In the domestic sphere Vikramāditya should have been equally fortunate. As we have seen above, Bilhana mentions the fact that he possessed four wives. The inscriptions mention as many as six. He may have had some more. Vikramāditya was apparently a believer in the old tag, *domus et placens axor* (*i.e.*, a house and pleasing wife). His wives, apparently distributed over his different capitals, had ample provision made for them, and they appear to have even, in some cases at least, administered over parts of the territory granted to them for pin-money. They seem to have been drawn from the families of dependent chiefs or high officials. Thus, there was Savaladēvi, daughter of the Mahāmandalēsvara Jōgamarasa or Jōgamarana, of the Sūryavamsa, who is spoken of as the lord of the Darikadu-nād and the Mahāmandalēsvara of Mangalavāda (which may be the modern Mangalavād in the Bombay Presidency) and of his wife Tāradēvi. In or about 1077-1078, A.D. she was managing the *agrahāra* of Nareyamgal identical with Narengal in the Hangal Taluk, Dhārwār District, which her husband had bestowed on her for her *angabhōga*, which Sir John Fleet translates as pin-money. Next, we have Lakshmadēvi, who is invariably spoken of with the title of *piriyarasi* or chief queen. She is mentioned in A.D. 1084-1085 as ruling at the capital of Kalyāna; in 1095-1096, as ruling the eighteen *agrahāras* and the town of Dharmapura, *i.e.*, Dambal; and in A.D. 1109-1110 and the following year as managing the village of Nittasingi. She was, according to inscriptions at Sudi, Dambal and other places in Dhārwār District, still alive in A.D. 1125-1126, the last year of Vikramāditya's reign. Next we have Jakkaladēvi, daughter of Tikka of the Kadamba stock. In 1093-1094 A.D., she was managing, according to the *tribhog-abhyantara-siddhi*, the village of Ingunige (identified with Ingaligi, in the Nizām's Dominions, where, in the Jain *basadi*, an inscription of hers has been found). Then we have Malleyamadēvi, or Malayamatidēvi, who in 1094-1095 A.D., was governing the district attached to the *agrahāra* of Kiriya Kereyūr, which is probably the modern Chikka Kerur in the Dhārwār District, where an inscription of hers has been found. Next we have Chandaladēvi, who was also styled *piriyarasi*, and in one passage (referred to by Sir John Fleet) *agramahāmahishi*. She has been identified with Bilhana's Chandaladēvi and Chandralēkha and according to him she was the daughter of one of the Silahara princes of Karad—probably of Mārasimha. She is spoken of in 1102-1103 A.D., as the mother of Jayakarna and in the following as causing certain grants to be made to the god Kēsavadēva at the *agrahāra* of Ruddavādi, identified with the place of that name in the Nizām's Dominions. Sir John Fleet has suggested that she is the Chandala, who is described in the *Rājatarangini* (Calcutta Edition VII. 1122) as the wife of King Parmandi (*i.e.*, Permanadi, an old title of Vikramāditya) the lord of Karnāta, of whom Harsha of Kāshmir, among his other follies, became enamoured through seeing a portrait, and contemplated acquiring possession of her by destroying Vikramāditya VI. (Sir John Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 449 f.n.3). Next we have Malaladēvi or Malika, daughter of Sanabova (*i.e.*, Shanabhōga) Rāyana and his wife Olajikabbe, who is mentioned in an inscription dated in 1113-1114 A.D., at Yalawatti in Hangal Taluk, Dhārwār District. Another of his queens Engaladēvi is said to be referred to in an inscription found at Belambigi in the Nizām's Dominions but Sir John Fleet is not quite sure whether she was a wife of Vikramāditya VI or some one else. There is, however, no doubt, that at least two other queens of his are mentioned in two recently discovered inscriptions in the district of Bellary. One of these was Padmaladēvi, who made a grant in favour of the Navamala temple at Rangāpura in Hadagalli Taluk in 1116-1117 A.D. It is stated that she was induced to make the gift while "ruling with pleasurable conversation" with the Brāhmans of the place. Mangola is probably represented by Rangāpura, where the temple to which the grant was made still exists, with the inscribed slab set up in it.

(See *M.E.R.* 1914, Appdx. B. 1913 No. 122. Also part II, Para 12). Apparently she was present at the place at the time of the grant. Another queen of Vikramāditya is mentioned in an inscription at Sirugoppa, Bellary District, dated in 1091-1092 A.D. She is spoken of in it as Abhinavasarasvati Piriya Kētaladēvi, queen of Tribhuvanamalladēva. She is stated to have been a very learned lady and deeply accomplished in music. She was, it would seem, familiar with many languages. It was perhaps on this account she was known as Abhinavasarasvati. She is described as governing the three villages of Siruguppa and the other villages in the Ballakunde 300 and Takkakallu 12 and making a gift, providing for worship, etc., in favour of the temple of Svayambhu-Kētalēsvaradēva at Sirugappa, a temple apparently founded after herself. The Sambhulingasvāmi temple at Siruguppa where the slab on which the inscription giving these particulars is found, is perhaps, the Svayambhu-Kētalēsvaradēva temple founded by her. Her local subordinate, the Sinda chief Mahāsāmanta Manneya Chokarasa, also made a gift to it on the occasion. (*M.E.R.* 1923. Appdx. B. 1922, No. 672, dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 16. Also Part II, Para 24). Queen Chandaladēvi mentioned by Sir John Fleet is referred to in an inscription dated in 1092-1093 A.D. found at Chinnatumbalam, Bellary District, in which the Mahāmandalēsvara Kaliga (or Kalimamarasa) is described as the "mast elephant of Chandaladēvi." The association of her name with this general, who was governor of Hangal, shows probably the interest taken by this royal lady in the administration of the country. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appdx. B. 1915. No. 515, dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 17 and Part II, Para 42). Another inscription at Chinnatumbalam, dated in 1106-1107 A.D., mentions a grant by the chief queen Malayamatidēvi, who is described as *piriyarasi pattamahādēvi.* She is stated to have owned—evidently in her own right—the capital town of Tumbala itself and to have granted it to the *mahājanas* of the place so that they might maintain a commentator on the *Sāstras*, the reader of the *Purānas*, the teacher of the *Rig-Vēda* and the *Yajur-Vēda* and of the *Brāhmana* of the Agnishtoma, besides a feeding house (*satra*).

His probable change of faith.

It has been suggested above that Vikramāditya was probably professing Jainism in his early age while he was yet a governor. In later life, he seems to have been a Saivite or at least one not disinclined to view it with favour. However it be, there are at least a few inscriptions which refer to Saiva teachers as his *gurus*, they being called in fact *Rāja-gurus*. A Nāgari inscription at Kallattipura, Tarikere Taluk, (*E.C.* VI, Tarikere 34-35), which is undated but assigned to 1080 A.D. by Mr. Rice, refers to one such *guru* who is called Nijarudrapāda. He is described in the inscription as in some way connected with Vikramāditya, probably as *guru*. The inscription is on a rock around the Vīrabhadra temple at the place and states that he erected a temple (probably the Vīrabhadra temple) and set up the *linga*. An inscription found at Chinnatumbalam, Bellary District, dated in 1079-1080 A.D., mentions the *Rājaguru* Sōmēsvara Pandita. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appdx. B. 519). In an inscription found at Guruzala, dated in 1111 A.D., there is mention made of the *Rājaguru* Anantasivadēva, and he is described as being in charge of two villages called Unakalu and Gurindalu, the latter of which is probably represented by modern Guruzala.

His personal traits.

The reign of Vikramāditya should, on the whole, have been a prosperous one. He was undoubtedly the greatest of his line. Though distracted by war in the early part of his reign, he seems to have gained successes enough to have conferred the blessings of peace on his kingdom. The fact that his inscriptions are found literally in almost every village throughout his kingdom shows the practically undisputed sway he held over it. Active, wise and tolerant, he should have proved himself both popular and successful as a ruler. The last years of his long reign appear to have been marked by peace abroad and happiness at home. The chief political event of his reign was the rise of the Hoysalas, who under Bittiga (or Vishnuvardhana) drove the Chōlas out of Talkād and later even defeated, as we have seen, Vikramāditya's troops at Kannegala, near Hassan. His independence was virtually recognized by Vikramāditya.

Sōmēsvara III, Bhūlōkamalla, Sarvajna-chakravartin, 1126-1138, A.D.

By his many wives, Vikramāditya seems to have had two sons and one daughter, The elder of the sons was probably Jayakarna, by Chandaladēvi. He seems to have governed, according to inscriptions found in the Bijāpur and Belgaum Districts and in the Nizām's Dominons, dated in 1102, 1120 and 1121 A.D., in the more central parts of his father's kingdom. As no inscriptions of his reign have been found after 1121 A.D., either in this State or in the home parts of the Chālukyan territories, Sir John Fleet has suggested that he probably died before his father (*Ibid* 455). The daughter, Mailaladēvi (or Mailalamahādēvi) by queen Mailaladēvi, was married to Jayakēsin II of the Kadamba family of Goa. His other son, Sōmēsvara III, entitled *Bhūlōkamalla* and Sarvajna-Chakravartin, succeeded him on the Chālukya throne. He ruled from about 1126 A.D. to 1138-1139 A.D. There are a number of inscriptions of his reign, mentioning him as Sōmēsvara or Bhūlōkamalla in the Shimoga and Chitaldrug Districts. (*E.C.* VII, VIII and XII). In Tiptur 104, dated in 1130 A.D., he is referred to by both names combined. (*E.C.* XII). He seems to have had a quiet and peaceful reign. He made, in the 3rd year of his reign, a *digvijaya* to the Banavāsi province and was encamped at the Hullinatīrta. Here he confirmed a grant in favour of the Kālāmukha temple at Balagāmi, which had been made by the Kadamba governor of the place. (Shikarpur 100, dated in 1129 A.D.). The fortune of the Kēdaramatha was, we are told in this inscription, planted through Sōmēsvara; through Vamasakti it threw out branches, spread abroad and blossomed, and then through Gautama it bore fruit. Banavāsi in his time was ruled by the Kadambas (Sorab 141) while the Pāndyas (under Vīra-Pāndya) continued to govern Nolambavādi with their capital at Uchchangi fort (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 4), and the Chōla feudatories Irungola and others, the territories in the north-east. His mahāpradhāna and Kannada *Sandhi Vigraha* in 1129 A.D. was Bhoga Bhattaiya. This general and minister was apparently enjoying the Vaddaravula tax of the 7½ lakh country and Banavāsi 12,000. Mahādandanāyaka Chōladandēva was, at about this time, governor of Nolambavādi 32,000. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appdx. B. No. 234). His chief minister in 1131 A.D. was Anantapālaiya. (*M.E.R.*, 1914, Appdx. No. 230). He is also called Sēnādhipathi. In 1134 A.D., his chief minister was Sandhare Ganganda Garudhi Setti, a merchant. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Appdx. No. 699). The Haihaiyas were also his feudatories. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Appdx. No. 596 dated in 1129 A.D.). He started an *era* of his own called *Bhūlōkamalla era*, which did not last beyond his reign. It began in the last year of Vikramāditya's reign. Sorab 289 (*E.C.* VIII) dated in 1138 A.D., is dated in this *era*. During his reign, the Kālāmukhas were in high favour. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 100; *M.E.R.* 1919. Appdx. Nos. 277, 278 and 204 of 1918). His capital, throughout his reign, was Kalyāna. During his reign, there was little change in the territorial extent of the kingdom.

Sōmēsvara was apparently a man of some literary taste. He is known as the author of a Sānskrit work named *Abhilāshitārtha Chintāmani* or *Manasollāsa*, which deals with a variety of topics including polity, administration of justice, medicine, elephants, alchemy, astrology, arms and rhetoric. The following description of it is given by Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Dekhan*:—

> The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom; in the second, those that enable the king to retain it after he has acquired it; in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power, firm; in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure: and in the fifth, sports or amusements. Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless friends and adherents, etc. Under the second head are described what are called the seven *angas*, *i.e.*, the ideal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, etc. The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, etc. The diversions are military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cock-fights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing and others. The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields, or on mountains and sand-banks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, etc. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sānskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, and dogs, etc. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of *Sarvajnabhūpa* or the "all-knowing king." In the *Mānasollāsa*, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the beginning of the month of *Chaitra*. one thousand

and fifty-one years of *Saka* having elapsed, the year of the cycle being *Saumya*, while the king Sōma, the ornament of the Chālukya race, who was the very sage Agastya, to the ocean of the essences of all the *Sāstras*, and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth. This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

The title of *Sarvajna* or all-knower attributed to Sōmēsvara (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 41) and the statement that he had been "lauded by all learned men" are therefore not without foundation.

Jagadēkamalla, Perma, 1138-1150 A.D.

Sōmēsvara III was succeeded by the elder of his two sons, Jagadēkamalla, entitled Perma, Permadi, or Permadi-Dēva. He also seems to have borne the further title of *Pratāpa-Chakravarti*. (*E.C.* VII, Sorab 233 dated in 1139 A.D.; *E.C.* XII, Pavagada 43, dated about 1150 A.D.). That he possessed this title is known from other sources as well. (Sir John Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer* 456). A number of his inscriptions have been found in the Shimoga and Chitaldrug Districts. During his reign Kalyāna continued to be the capital. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 43). He is described in an inscription dated in 1143 A.D., as Kuntala Rāya and as frightening and driving away in alarm the Chōla king in battle and to have made the *Chōlnela* (*i.e.*, the Chōla country) to be as if an *āl-nela* (*i.e.*, slave or servant country). This apparently refers to some fresh aggression on the part of the Chōlas and of his inflicting a defeat on them. His defeat of the Chōlas is confirmed in an inscription dated about 1164 A.D., in the reign of his brother Taila III. In this record it is stated that he churned with his arm the vast armies of the Chōla and Gurjara kings and captured their herds of elephants and troops of horses and wealth. (*E. C.* Shikarpur 108). Similarly we are told that he is said to have attacked the Hoysala king and to have increased his fame by capturing his elephant. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 85). The Hoysala king referred to should have been Nārasimha I. But according to Sorab 414 (dated in 1139 A.D.) we hear of Bittiga (or Vishnuvardhana) laying siege to Hanugal, just beyond the Shimoga border in Dhārwār. (*E.C.* VIII). During his reign Vīra-Pāndya was still ruling over Nolambavādi. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 85 and *E.C.* VII, Channagiri 38 and 39). His senior Kannada minister for war and peace, Bamma-Dēvarasa, was governing Banavāsi in 1147 A. D. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 267). He is referred to as Bommanayya in Sorab 335 dated about 1140 A.D. (*E.C.* VII). He was also his general. His son Dandanāyaka Rēcharasa was ruling over Sindavādi in the 11th regnal year of Jagadēkamalla. (*M. E. R.* 1916, Para 43, Appendix B, 1915, No. 503). In an inscription assigned by Mr. Rice to about 1145 A.D., (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 67) Gorava-Dēvarasa is described as the lord of Banavāsipura, who among other things is credited with having dedicated 48 temples to Siva and Vishnu, performed 18 horse sacrifices and having set up a pillar of rock crystal on the great peak of the Himavat mountains. As regards the local Chōlas, Irungola's son Malla (or Malli-Dēva), surnamed Jagadēkamalla, evidently after his suzerain, ruled over Henjeru and the surrounding country. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 43; see also *M.E.R.* for 1913, Para 49). The Malli-Dēva is, like his father, termed Chōla Mahārāja. A feudatory of the latter was Tantrapāla Nāman, who held charge of Nidugal, where he built a temple of Nāgēsvara and a tank and donated it to one Chandrābharana Pandita, apparently a Kālāmukha teacher. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 43). Jagadēkamalla Pāndyadēva was ruling over the Nolambavādi 32,000 in the 10th year of this king's reign. In his 9th and 11th years, Jagadēkamalla Vīra-Pāndya-Dēva is represented as ruling over it. Apparently Pāndya-Dēva was also known as

Vīra-Pāndya-Dēva. His capital was at Uchchangi. The Sinda chief Irmadi-Bhīma governed Sindavādi (modern Adōni, etc.). A grant by his younger brother Rāchamalla to the Saiva teacher Nirvanidēva of the Ēlkoti-chakravarti *matha* at Sindagere is referred to in an inscription at Sindagere, Bellary District. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B for 1913, No. 206). The grant is dated in Jagadēkamalla's 4th regnal year and states that the donee was the pupil of one Vāmadēva of the Kālāmukha sect and presiding priest of the Svayambhudēva temple at Mulugunda. Vāmadēva is described as well-versed in all *sāstras*, such as grammar, logic, philosophy, literature, drama, medicine, lexicography, etc. Apparently he was a great and well-known scholar of the time. Irmadi Bhīma and his brother were, according to another inscription, (*Ibid* No. 211 dated in Jagadēkamalla's 10th regnal year), ruling over the Ballakunde-nādu and built certain temples at Kolur. An interesting fact mentioned in this record is that the Kuntala country of seven-and-a-half lakhs (of villages ?), *i.e.*, the Rattapādi of earlier years, over which the Western Chālukyas claimed suzerainty, was first ruled by the Mauryas of the Nanda and Gupta races and after them by the Rāshtrakūtas. This statement is also made in *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 225, where it is stated that the Kuntala country was ruled by the *Nava Nandas* of the Guptakula Maurya kings and then by the Rattas. (See also above).

Jagadēkamalla had several other feudatories and subordinates under him. (Sir John Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer* 457-459). Some of these are mentioned in recently found inscriptions. Mahāpradhāna Srīkarana Herilala Sandhivigraha and Sēnapati Kēsimayya, son of Kamma Nāyaka, are referred to in two inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1920 Appendix B, 696 and 701; see also *M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B, 549 dated 1143-4). His son Dandanāyaka Chīyamarasa was ruling over Sindavādi-nādu under his father. The records are dated in the 5th and 6th years of the Jagadēkamalla *era*. (*i.e.*, in 1144 and 1145 A.D.). Bhīmarasa, one of his Mahāmandalēsvaras, is said to have fallen in a fight, as testified to, by an epigraph dated in his 13th year (at Dēvagudi, in the Kurnool District. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 40, Appendix No. 347 of 1905). With the aid of the Sindas, he seems to have vanquished several of his neighbours. Permādi I of the Sinda family is described as vanquishing Kulasēkarānka, besieging Chatta, pursuing Jayakēsin, and seizing upon the royal power of the Hoysala, who was foremost among fierce rulers of the earth and as going to the mountain passes of the "Marander," Bittiga (*i.e.*, Vishnuvardhana of the Hoysala line), besieging Dōrasamudra, pursuing him till he arrived at and took the city of Belupura, and driving him on as far as the mountain pass of Vahadi (*Ibid* 459). Bijjala (or Bijjana) of the Kalachurya line, who usurped the Chālukya throne in the reign of Sōmēsvara IV, appears as a contemporary of Jagadēkamalla II. Vijaya-Pāndya-Dēva is said in certain records to have been ruling over Nolambavādi 32,000 under Bijjala. It has been inferred from this statement that Bijjala must have held some high office under Jagadēkamalla II. (*Ibid* 459).

An *era* of Jagadēkamalla is also known from certain of his inscriptions. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 253 dated about 1141 A.D.; 422 dated in 1142 A.D.—his 3rd year). The first year of this *era*, according to Sir John Fleet, was the *Siddhārtin Samvatsara*=A.D. 1139. (*Loc. cit.*, 457).

There is an interesting description of the Kuntala country (country round N.-W. of Mysore State) in an inscription dated about 1145 A.D. in this king's reign. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 138). If it is in any extent typical of the peace and contentment that the provinces enjoyed during the latter part of the Chālukya rule, it ought to be worthy of note. After observing that the Kuntala country is an ornament to the fine face of many countries forming the world, the composer of the inscription says:—

> "Adorned with great oceans, to the exulting earth goddess like carefully formed curls (*Kuntala*) did the Kuntala country appear; to which the Banavāsi country was a mine of enjoyment, an ocean of happiness, a source of gladness, a settled abode of fortune. In that *nād*, with rows of rice fields from town to town; with running channels from place to place; with flower gardens filled with the fragrance of areca, *punnāga*, *nāga*, *vakula*, *champaka*, jasmine, screw-pine, sandal, *kanavīra* and white rose; with groves of areca, cocoanut, plantain, jack, mango, rose-apple and other trees; with darkly shaded gardens of betel leaf, and plantations of sugar-cane trickling with juice; with lines of gardens of waving lotus and water-lilies; most beautiful to behold, devoted to *yōgis* and pleasure, a pleasing jewel-mirror to that *nād*, was *Jidvalıge-nād*."

Making some allowance for poetic exaggeration, a good part of the country forming the N.-W. of the State should have enjoyed the blessings of peace and happiness during the greater portion of this reign.

Taila III, Tailapa, Trailōkyamalla, etc., 1150-1163 A.D.

Jagadēkamalla II was succeeded by his younger brother Taila III, also called Tailapa, Trailōkyamalla, Nūrmadi Taila, etc. He also bore the title of *Chālukya-chakravarti*. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 175 dated 1156 A.D. and Sorab 290 dated 115). He appears to have been known also as Chālukya Chakravarti Vikramārka, after his famous grandfather, the famous Vikramāditya VI. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 14, Appendix C, No. 15 dated in *Saka* 1084 or 1162 A.D.). *E.C.* XII, Tiptur 61, dated in 1162 A.D. seems to support this view, for the reigning Chālukya king is named in it as Tribhuvanamalla-Dēva, *i.e.*, the title by which Vikramāditya VI was known. From Shikarpur 104 dated in 1156 A.D., we note that it records a grant in his sixth regnal year, the cyclic year *Yuva*. He therefore appears to have succeeded to the throne about the beginning of 1150 A.D., a conclusion which is fully in accordance with other evidence adduced by Sir John Fleet. (*Loc. cit.* 459). There is an inscription of his dated in 1151 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 1164); another dated in his 4th regnal year (Sorab 525), which is a *vīrakal* and a third in his 9th regnal year (Sorab 290). He had been nominated *yuvarāja* by his father, apparently in preference to his elder brother. An inscription dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 57 (1132 A.D.) actually refers to him as Yuvarāja Tailapadēva. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appdx. B. No. 502). Under him in 1156 A.D., Mahādēvarasa was ruling the Banavāsi 12,000, associated with Bijjana *i.e.*, Bijjala-Dēva. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 104). This Mahādēvarasa is mentioned in *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 510, dated in 1154 A.D. and is described as Taila's great minister, Sēnādhipati, Hergade Dandanāyaka, etc. In another inscription, which has been assigned by Mr. Rice to 1164 A.D., but which may be dated a year or two earlier, Taila III is described as ruling in "unparalleled glory," apparently because of the successes attained by Bijjala, whose usurpation was becoming an accomplished fact. (Shikarpur 108). What is more, Taila is called "a double of Rāvana, tenfold of Dasasthabhuja (*i.e.*, Kārtavīryārjuna), a hundred-fold of Rāma, a hundred-fold of Mahēsa"—hyperbolic language is employed to show that Bijjala's victories had brought renown to his sovereign. Davangere 35, assigned by Mr. Rice to about 1160 A.D., but which may be two years later, speaks of the "ever valiant Nūrmadi Taila" whose fame was "like a brilliant moon." This inscription also mentions Bijjala and quoting the text that "the Earth is for the enjoyment of the brave" remarks that that saying had not proved false, for, it adds, Bijja (*i.e.*, Bijjala) had subdued the earth from the southern ocean to the northern limit of the Chālukya capital. The above inscriptions show that Taila III had not been long on the throne when he was eclipsed by one of his Mahāmandalēsvaras, Bijjala. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that under Taila III, the Chālukya power, which had reached its zenith in the reign of Vikramāditya VI, began rapidly to decline. It appears to have been actually overturned by Bijjala, in or about 1162 A.D. It seems as though that for some time before that date, Bijjala had slowly encroached on the royal power and in the end wholly usurped the sovereign right and title. The story of the revolution wrought by him will be found told at some length in the section relating to the *Kalachuryas* below. Here it may be briefly summarised as follows:—As the Chālukya power declined during the reigns of Jagadēkamalla and Taila III, some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief (Mahāmandalēsvara) Bijjala of the Kalachurya race, who held the office of *Dandanāyaka* or minister for war under Taila III. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master and endeavoured to secure the sympathetic co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs. Vijayārka, the Mahāmandalēsvara of Kōlhāpur, was one of those who assisted him; and Prolarāja, of the Kākatiya dynasty was another. The latter is represented to have fought with Taila III, and to have captured him and then let him off through devotion for him. The Anumakonda inscription (1163 A.D.) which records this fact says:—"In an instant he (Prola) made captive in war, the glorious Tailapadēva, the ornament of the Chālukyas, who was skilled in the practice of riding upon elephants,—whose inmost thoughts were ever intent upon war—and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud (*in size*); and then, at once, he, who was renowned for the rite of severing the throats of his enemies, let him go, from goodwill produced by his devotion." Taila appears to have been under complete subjection till *Saka* 1079 (1157 A.D.), when he fled to Annigere in the Dhārwār District. As there is an inscription in *Saka* 1079, Cyclic year *Isvara* (1159 A.D.) in Bijjala's name, and the next year *Bahudānya* is spoken of as his second year, 1156-1157 A.D. may be fixed as the year of Bijjala's usurpation. Taila seems later to have gone further south and established himself at Banavāsi. This must have been before 1162-1163 A.D., before which he should have died; the date of the Anumakonda inscription of Rudradēva, in which the fact that he was then dead is mentioned. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 222, 462). A few steps in this eventful revolution may be noted to indicate its general nature. A Bijāpur inscription dated in 1151 A.D. mentions Bijjala as a feudatory of Taila III. He had under him Dandanāyaka Mailārayya governing Tardavādi 1,000, *i.e.*, the country around Bijāpur. (Sir John Fleet, *loc. cit.*, 460). Dandanāyaka Mahādēvarasa is, in Sorab 504, dated in 1154 A.D., described as Taila's great minister. But in Shikarpur 104, dated 1156 A.D., he is spoken of as governing Banavāsi under Bijjala. In this inscription, Bijjala is further described as a *Mahāmandalēsvara* ruling all the countries, putting down the evil and upholding the good. Mahādēvarasa is besides spoken of as Bijjala's Mahā-prachanda-dandanāyaka. This would seem to show that Mahādēvarasa had transferred his allegiance to Bijjala and had become his Dandanāyaka by about 1156 A.D. He apparently should have had a hand in effecting the revolution in favour of Bijjala. Associated with him were apparently four *Karanas*, chief revenue officers, Potarasa, Chattamarasa, Padmarasa, and Savarasa who, we are told, were "the embodiments of the mind of Bijjana, wishing stores in granting the desires of their dependents, suns in dispersing the darkness, the poverty of the needy." (Shikarpur 104). These may have proved themselves useful in effecting Bijjala's object. There were, however, still a few adherents of Taila III among his Mahāmandalēsvaras, while a few more recognized Bijjala and acted under him as Mahāmandalēsvaras. (Sir John Fleet *loc. cit.* 460-461). While the Bijāpur inscription of 1151 A.D. referred to above and another at Kembhāvi in the Nizām's Dominions dated in 1157 A.D. mention Kalyāna as the capital of Taila III, an inscription at Harasur in the Nizām's Dominions dated in 1161 A.D. states, according to Sir John Fleet, that he was then reigning at Jayantipura, *i.e.*, Banavāsi. This would seem to indicate that Bijjala's usurpation was *fait accompli* about 1162 A.D. Davangere 35 and Shikarpur 108, both of which may, as stated above, be assigned to 1162 A.D., show that Taila had yielded the royal position to Bijjala, who though still described as a *Mahāmandalēsvara* is given a position equal to that of his sovereign and described as a Râma in war and as Nissankamalla, etc. As in an inscription dated in 1158 A.D., dated in the 3rd year of Bijjala Dēva, corresponding to Cyclic year *Bahudānya*, he is called Kalachurya-Bhujabala Chakravarti (Shikarpur 162), it must be inferred that he was already in 1158 A.D. in full possession of the royal powers and that he counted his usurpation actually from 1155 A.D. Taila had apparently retreated southwards into Banavāsi, but was afterwards reconciled to Bijjala. Though in most records Bijjala is represented in Taila's reign with the designation of *Mahāmandalēsvara*, it would, in the face of Shikarpur 162, above quoted, be incorrect to state that he did not assume even the title of *Bhujabala-chakravarti*, *i.e.*, emperor by the prowess of his own arms, a distinctive title assumed by him and his descendants, by that date. In Shikarpur 92, dated in the 16th Kalachurya year, corresponding to Cyclic year *Sarvadhāri*, apparently the last year of Bijjala's reign, he is described as "Mahārājādhirāja paramēsvara, paramabhattāraka," "Bhujabala chakravarti," "Tribhuvanamalla" etc., some of which titles are among the full titles of the Chālukya kings. There is little doubt, as Sir John Fleet has observed, that Bijjala assumed, after his usurpation, beginning from 1155-1156 A.D., practically all the titles of the ruling sovereign, whose position appears to have been reduced to one of a purely titular character. The advance of Taila III towards Banavāsi in about 1162 A.D., spoken of above may be taken to suggest that the trouble arose in the Banavāsi area, where the local chiefs had apparently declared themselves in favour of Bijjala. (Shikarpur 104). The mention of the Chālukya capital being at Kalyāna, in the reigns of Taila III and Jagadēkamalla III, would seem to indicate that these princes were probably reconciled to their dethronement and preferred to stay at their established capital. The causes that contributed to Bijjala's revolution are nowhere definitely mentioned though hints are not wanting that it was the weakness of Taila and the martial prowess of Bijjala that directly contributed to it. Apparently it was the case of an ambitious and crafty soldier, with pretentions to nobility of some kind, dethroning his own sovereign and declaring himself the ruler of the land. Nothing is more significant than the language of Shikarpur 92, dated in 1167-1168 A.D., which states that the Earth which had been for long reduced to the condition of a cow through the stupidity of Prithu, was chosen the crowned queen of Bijjana-Dēva; likewise, we are told, like the jewel which, covered up under the lord of the sea-shore, became *kausthubha* on Vishnu's breast, so by the king's choice she (the Earth) became as renowned. These significant words and phrases throw light on the nature of the revolution effected by Bijjala. His was a semi-political, semi-military revolution effected partly by the strength of his arms and partly by the aid of his friends. Hence he had, among his other titles "Bhujabala-chakravarti." (See below). Taila seems to have died about 1162-1163 A.D., in the very year in which Bijjala completed his usurpation. (Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, 462). Where he died is not known. He was apparently a weak and incapable sovereign, though he is described in terms of high praise by the panegyrists of the period, transferring to him the exploits of his minister and supplanter, Bijjala. Both Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Sir John Fleet refer to an inscription in the fifteenth year of Taila III, Cyclic year *Pārthiva* or A.D. 1165 (*Bombay Gazetteer* 223 and 463); but this seems to be a reference to Davangere 77, which is actually dated in *Saka* 1087 (1165 A.D.) in the reign of Jagadēkamalla III. (*E.C.* XI). As both Bhandarkar and Fleet do not mention the reign of Jagadēkamalla III, it is possible that this inscription was quoted by them as an authority for saying that it was one of Taila III and that he lived up to 1165 A.D., which is directly contradicted by the statement in the Anumakonda inscription that he had already died before January 1163 A.D. It might now be taken as settled that Taila had ceased to live sometime prior to 1163 A.D. Where actually he died—whether at Banavāsi or at Kalyāna—is not known. As the Banavāsi leaders were among the chief revolutionaries who set themselves up on behalf of Bijjala, it is possible Taila returned to his capital and reconciled himself to his position as nominal ruler. This is the more reasonable as we find his succesor Jagadēkamalla III ruling, of course in name, at Kalyāna during a long period of time. The position of Taila III and Jagadēkamalla III seems to have been one of quiescent hope. Bijjala having completed his usurpation about 1162 A.D., had his hands full in connection with the suppression of the disorders that broke out in connection with the establishment of the revived Saiva

(Vīrasaiva or Lingāyat) creed at Kalyāna. He retired in favour of his son in 1167 A.D. and shortly afterwards appears to have been put to death. His son did not prove himself as capable as himself and thus the way was opened for a counter-revolution, which ended, as described below, in the restoration, though only for a brief period, of the Chālukya power under Sōmēsvara IV.

Jagadēkamalla III.

There are a number of inscriptions which refer to a Jagadēkamalla, who seems to have succeeded, at least in name, Taila III. He appears to have ascended the throne, though perhaps only to rule as nominal sovereign, in 1164 A.D. Davangere 43, which is dated in the eighth year (in words) of the Kalachurya year, corresponding to the Cyclic year *Subhānu*, refers itself to the reign of Jagadēkamalla III. The exact relationship of Jagadēkamalla III to Taila III is not known; probably he was his elder son, who has not been so mentioned by the genealogists, his other son being Sōmēsvara IV, surnamed Tribhuvanamalla. He is, in the conventional language of the poet who composed Davangere 43, described as of "matchless valour," though this description is coupled with the name of the "mighty king Bijjala," which indicates what he was. (*E.C.* XI). He is called Chālukya-Chakrēsvara, in the inscription above quoted. In Davangere 77, dated in *Saka* 1087, Cyclic year *Pārthiva* (1165 A.D.), he is given the full Chālukya titles and called *Pratāpa Chakravarti.* His feudatory Vijaya-Pāndya-Dēva is said in it to have been governing the Nolambavādi 32,000 with Uchchangi as his capital. In another inscription dated in 1167 A.D., he is termed as Chālukya-Chakravarti, and in (*E.C.* XII) Chiknāyakanhalli 43, dated in 1173 A.D., as Bhuvallabha-Rāya-Permādi Dēva. In (*E.C.* VI) Kadur 30 dated in *Saka* 1092 (1170 A.D.) he is mentioned as Tribhuvanamalla-Permādi Rāya and as ruling from Kalyāna. In Kadur 37, 38 and 36 the Chālukya king is named as Bhuvallabha Permādi Rāya. These inscriptions are dated in (?) 1187, 1191 and 1203 A.D. A feudatory of his was Mallidēva termed Chōla Mahārāja, named above, who ruled over the Chōla territory to the north-east of Mysore, whose capital was at Henjeru. Henjeru is, in this inscription, described as a *pattana* and as a *ghatikasthāna*, where there appears to have been a resident priest, who was the *Rājaguru*. Mallidēva's wife was Sīta-Dēvi-arasi, who made a grant to the Rājaguru Anantasiva-Dēva, the local priest, for maintaining a *satra* (or feeding house) in connection with the Nonambēsvara temple there. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 23, dated in 1167 A.D.). The Gangavādi 36,000 was under the Hoysalas, who recognize the suzerainty of Jagadēkamalla-Permādi. (*Ibid* Chiknāyakanhalli 43, dated in 1171 A.D.; 13 dated in 1181 A.D.; Chiknāyakanhalli 14 dated in 1187 A.D.; 20 dated in 1188 A.D.; 16 dated in 1194 A.D.; and 35 dated in about 1200 A.D. by Mr. Rice but probably more correctly in or about 1194 A.D.). In the Chiknāyakanhalli inscriptions referred to and in Kadur 30 dated in 1170 A.D., Jagadēkamalla III is stated to be ruling from Kalyāna and over the 7½ lakh country, corresponding to the old Rāshtrakūta kingdom. All these are Hoysala inscriptions, down to about 1194 A.D., and they recognize the suzerainty over them, of Jagadēkamalla. The Chālukya-Chakravartin mentioned in an inscription registered in *M.E.R.* 1899 (No. 12, dated in *Saka* 1070 (1168 A.D.) must, accordingly be Jagadēkamalla III and not as suggested in *M.E.R.* 1917 (Part II, Para 14) Taila III, who, as stated above, appears to have been known also as Vikramadēva. Accordingly Jagadēkamalla III should have continued as titular sovereign in 1168 A.D., which is quite in keeping with the mere incidental mention made of him—as Chālukya-Chakravartin. He is so referred to in an inscription dated in the reign of the Chōla feudatory

Malli-Dēva, who apparently had passed under the yoke of the usurper Bijjala and so just kept up the appearance of acknowledgment to the Chālukya Emperor. (See *M.E.R.* 1917, Part II, Para 14). The Jagadēkamalla mentioned in the inscription at Madhudi, Anantapur District (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. 733 dated in *Saka* 1091, Cyclic year *Virōdhi* (A.D. 1169), should accordingly be identified with Jagadēkamalla III and not with Taila III as suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Part II, Para 9). This is also an inscription recording a grant by the Telugu Chōla chief Malli-Dēva, son of Irungola. Malli-Dēva's minister was Hiriya Tantrapāla Nāmana, the person mentioned in *E.C.* XII, Pavagada 43 (see above). Similarly the Jagadēkamalla "ruling from Kalyāna," mentioned in the Madalavāda inscriptions (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix B. 1918, No. 257), dated in the 4th year of Rāya Nārāyana Āhavamalla, Bijjala's son (A.D. 1183-1184) should also be identified with Jagadēkamalla III. In this view of the matter, Mr. Krishna Sastri's suggested identification with Taila III, has to be given up. (See *M.E.R.* 1919, Part II, Para 34). As Jagadēkamalla is mentioned in inscriptions as late as 1203 A.D. as stated above, it is possible he continued to rule with his brother Sōmēsvara IV. The break of twenty years between 1163 A.D., the latest date of Taila III, who appears to have died in or about that year, and 1183 A.D., the earliest date of Sōmēsvara IV, has been ascribed by Sir John Fleet to Kalachurya usurpation. In the Telugu-Chōla, Pāndya and Hoysala records no such break is, as we have seen, recognized and the ruling Chālukya king (whether Taila III or Jagadēkamalla III) is mentioned as the sovereign, Bijjala and his son Āhavamalla being at the same time set down as actually governing the kingdom. The position of the Chālukya sovereign seems much like a *raifaineant* and no more during this period, the actual powers of the sovereign being in the hands of the usurping minister Bijjala or his son, as the case may be. It may be, as suggested by Sir John Fleet, that the Telugu-Chōla, Ucbchangi, Pāndya, Hoysala and other chiefs entertained hopes that the Chālukya suzerainty would be restored and therefore thought it wise to acknowledge it in their own inscriptions. (*Loc. cit.* 463).

Sōmēsvara IV or Vīra Sōmēsvara IV. Tribhuvanamalla; Vīranārāyana.

Sōmēsvara IV, called also Vīra-Sōmēsvara, apparently younger brother of Jagadēkamalla III. is described as the reigning Chālukya sovereign in several inscriptions. He restored the Chālukya power for a time, wresting it back from the usurping Kalachuryas. He is described specifically as "the destroyer of the Kalachurya race" in an inscription dated in *Saka* 1107, *Visvāvasu* or A.D. 1185, recently found at Satasivaram, in the Madaksira Taluk of the Anantapur District. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix C. No. 28). Perhaps the earliest mention of him is in an inscription at Chinna Tumbalum dated in the Cyclic year *Yuva* corresponding to A.D. 1155-1156, which falls into his father's reign. It refers to him as Mahāmandalēsvara Trailōkyamalla Bhujabala Vīranārāyana Āhavamalla, one of whose titles was "the lion of the elephant Pāndya," the reference being to the Pāndyas of Uchchangi. His titles were *Tribhuvanamalla* and *Vīranārāyana*. While yet a Mahāmandalēsvara, he seems to have been known as Āhavamalla also. At this time, he was apparently only a Mahāmandalēsvara or governor, administering the province of which Chinna Tumbalam was the capital. In an inscription dated in *Saka* 1092, *Virōdhi*, or 1170 A.D., he is spoken of as ruling at Kalyāna. (*M.E.R.* for 1924, Appendix B. 1923, No. 461). This is a Telugu-Chōda inscription, in which Malli-Dēva, son of Irungola, who has been mentioned above, is represented ruling from Gōvindavādipura, modern Gōvindavādi, in Rāyadurg Taluk. Gōvindavādi as we have seen above, was one of the principal capitals of Vikramāditya VI. At the date of this inscription, it is impossible that Sōmēsvara IV had regained his kingdom. That event seems to have taken place some thirteen years later. The statement that he was ruling at Kalyāna at about this time must, perhaps be explained as the use of conventional language on the part of the composer of the inscription. The fact seems to be that he was resident at Annigere, in the present Dhārwār District, which is described in an inscription dated in 1184-1185 A.D., and found at the place as *Rājadhāni-pattana* or Royal capital city, while Kalyāna is mentioned as the *nelevidu* or capital, at which Sōmēsvara was reigning according to an inscription dated in 1185, Cyclic year *Visvāvasu*, month *Asvija* (September-October), found at Hodal in the Nizām's Dominions. This latter inscription is cited as of the fourth year of Sōmēsvara IV. Accordingly Sorab 419 (*E.C.* VIII) which is dated in 4th year of his reign, cyclic year *Sōbhakritu*, may be assigned to 1183-1184 A.D. Shikarpur 249 (*E.C.* VII) dated in the 5th regnal year of Sōmēsvara, cyclic year *Visvāvasu*, (*Chaitra Bahula* 14) is a few months earlier than the Hodal inscription. The first regnal year of Sōmēsvara IV seems apparently reckoned from the date of his accession to the Chālukya throne after the counter revolution effected by him, the earlier dates being referable to his nominal rule from "at Kalyāna" or really from Annigere, over a small part of his inherited kingdom. The date of the counter-revolution should, therefore, be fixed somewhere about the year 1179-1180 A.D. The terminology used in certain of his inscriptions from about that date fully confirms this view. Thus in Sorab 419 (*E.C.* VIII), which refers itself to his fourth regnal year (or 1123-1124 A.D.), he is described as *Chālukyābharana* or ornament to the Chālukya race. In Shikarpur 249 (*E.C.* VII) dated in his fifth regnal year, he is given the full Chālukya royal titles, including *Samastha-bhuvanāsraya Srīprithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēsvara parama bhattāraka Satyāsraya-kulatilaka Chālukyābharana*, etc. Similarly, in Sorab 47 (*E.C.* VIII), dated in *Saka* 1109, cyclic year *Plavanga*, or 1187 A.D., we have the complete Chālukya royal titles given to him. He is described as *Chālukya-Chakravarti prithvī-vallabha*, etc. In Chitaldrug 33 (*E.C.* XI) dated in *Saka* 1108, cyclic year *Plavanga*, or A.D. 1187, we have mention made of all his regal attributes. In this inscription, he is stated to be ruling from Jayantipura, with Vijaya-Pāndya, as governor of Nolambavādi 32,000. Apparently, he was on a visit to Banavāsi at the time. Finally, in Sorab 179 dated in 1189 A.D., Honnali 46 dated in 1189 A.D. and in Chitaldrug 36, dated in *Saka* 1121, *Kālayukta*, or A.D. 1199, we have descriptions of him with his full royal titles. As in Chitaldrug 33 (*E.C.* XI), so in Chitaldrug 36 (*E.C.* XI), he is mentioned as ruling from *Jayantīpura nelavidinōl*, *i.e.*, from his capital at Jayantīpura (or Banavāsi). In 1199 A.D. he was either still in residence at Banavāsi or was continuing his stay from 1187 A.D., the date of Chitaldrug 33. In the latter case, it is possible that the conditions at Kalyāna prevented his stay there or the existence of his brother Jagadēkamalla III there did not require his presence at that place (see above).

However that may have been, it is clear from the above inscriptions, that the restoration of Chālukya rule under Sōmēsvara IV was an accomplished fact at or about 1180 A.D., which may be taken as the approximate date of the uprooting of the Kalachurya usurpation. The manner in which this counter-revolution was wrought is referred to in several inscriptions. Bijjala abdicated in 1167 A.D. and was, according to tradition, subsequently put to death, apparently in revenge for the wanton cruelties he inflicted on the adherents of the new Vīrasaiva faith. His son, Sōmēsvara, was not as capable as himself and some of his feudatories were alienated by his wanton excesses. This gave the opportunity to Sōmēsvara IV and his followers to subvert the usurping Kalachurya line. As Sir John Fleet has pointed out, they owed their success to a *Mantrin* and *Dandanāyaka* or minister and commander of the forces called Brahma, also called Bamma, Bammarasa, Banamadēva, etc. One record at Abbur, in the Dhārwār District, styles him *Chālukya-rājya-pratishtāpaka* "the establisher of the Chālukya sovereignty." Another at Annigere dated in 1184-1185 A.D., says plainly that the position of Sōmēsvara IV was secured for him by Brahma, and adds that the latter, "a fire of death to the Kalachuryas," seized the whole earth for the purpose of making the Chālukyas lords of all the world." A Hoysala inscription found at Gadag dated in 1192 A.D., states that Brahma took away the sovereignty from the Kalachuryas, and that he did so by seducing the allegiance of some of the Kalachurya forces which were under the command of his own father. This is rendered clear partly by the statement in a Hoysala record that Brahma had acted in contempt of his father (*nyakkarena pituh*) and partly by a Harihara inscription, which mentions his father Kavana as a Dandanāyaka of the Kalachurya king Sankama (second son of Bijjala, who succeeded Sōmēsvara in 1176 A.D.) and describes him as *Kalachurya-rājya-samuddharana*, "the upraiser of the Kalachurya sovereignty." There is besides, a Balagāmi inscription dated in 1179 A.D., which speaks of him as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of Sankama (*samasta-sēna agresaram*) Brahma himself is, in a record of 1175 A.D., mentioned as Mahāpradhāna, Sēnādhipati and Dandanāyaka of the Kalachurya king Sōvidēva (or Sōmēsvara). Sir John Fleet has suggested that it was evidently this position which Brahma probably continued to hold under Sōvidēva's brothers and successors that put it in his power to effect the revolution that he accomplished. (*Bombay Gazetteer* 464-465). To Brahma is attributed an exploit in this war against the Kalachuryas which is of some interest. It is said that he conquered sixty tusked elephants with one young tuskless elephant, when, in contempt of his father, he was depriving the Kalachuryas of the sovereignty. (Gadag inscription dated in 1192 A.D., see *Bombay Gazetteer*, 464, n. 4). Later, about 1192 A.D., Brahma seems to have been defeated by the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāla II. Ballāla II, it is stated, defeated with cavalry only and took away the sovereignty from this famous general Brahma, whose troops were supported by an array of elephants. The suggestion is made that if Brahma took away by one exploit the Kalachurya sovereignty, Vīra Ballāla II took it away from him by another. (*Ibid*).

An Annigere inscription dated in 1186-1187 A.D. and some others quoted by Sir John Fleet give the following genealogy of Brahma, the leader of the counter-revolution :—Dandanāyaka Bammi, whose wife was Jakkiyavve; his son Dandanāyaka Kāma or Kāvana, whose wife was Kalaladēvi or Kalavve; his son Dandanāyaka Brahma, whose younger brothers were Dandanāyaka Kēsava or Kēsirāja, Narasimha or Nārasimha, and Linga or Lingadēva. These records speak of the general Brahma as a *Kumāra*, doubtless, as Sir John Fleet remarks, not to mark him as a "youngman," but to distinguish him from his grandfather, after whom he appears to have been named. (*Ibid* n. 3).

In Sorab 179 (*E.C.* VIII) dated in 1189 A.D., there is mentioned a Kāma-Dēvarasa as governing, under Sōmēsvara IV, the Banavāsi 12,000 and the Hanungal 500, "with equal justice to both" (*ubhaya samyadi*). Whether this Kāma-Dēvarasa may be identified with Kāma, the father of Brahma, is not clear. A chief Brahma is mentioned in a recently discovered inscription at Malakapuram in the Bellary District. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appdx. B. 1995. No. 555). It is dated in *Saka* 1106, cyclic year, *Krōdhin*, *Kārtika*, new moon or 1184 A.D. It gives to Sōmēsvara, the titles of *Trailōkyamalla-Bhujabalavīra* and *Rāyamurāri*, the latter apparently appropriated from the defeated Kalachuryas. In this inscription a genealogical account is given of Brahma (Bammidēva), his son Padmidēva and the latter's maternal uncle Vatsarāja. Padmidēva and Vatsarāja are stated to have been jointly ruling the whole of the Eastern country including Sindavādi Province. Bammidēva was known also as Tumbala Bammidēva, being evidently a native of that village. His father was Lakshmidēva, son of Kālidāsa, who was again the son of Harischandra. Among the heroic feats of Bammidēva are mentioned the capture of Allu-mallarvipa and "the extension of the Chālukyan kingdom right up to the sea (in the East), after defeating the Chōla king and raiding his country." Mr. Krishna Sāstri has remarked that these events, which must fall into the reign of the Chōla king Kulōttunga III, are not, however, referred to in the eulogistic accounts of that king found in the Tamil country. He rightly suggests that Bammidēva's conquests of the Chōla country must, if true, indicate the defeat which he may have inflicted on some of the Chōla subordinates in the Telugu Districts. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Part II, Para 44). The Brahma (Bammidēva) of this inscription was apparently an entirely different personage from Brahma, the leader of the counter-revolution above-mentioned. Their pedigrees differ; their exploits differ and their spheres of action differ. Though they were contemporaries serving the same king, they were two different persons. The latest inscription we have for Sōmēsvara IV is Chitaldrug 36, dated in *Saka* 1121, cyclic year *Kālayukta*, or 1199 A.D. What became of him afterwards or where he died is not known. In that year, as we have seen above, mention is made of his ruling from Jayantīpura. This is the last we hear of him. Inscriptions dated in 1189 A.D., found in the Bijāpur and Dhārwār Districts, show that Bhillana, the Yādava king of Dēvagiri had by that time secured the northern and eastern portions of the Chālukya kingdom. Other inscriptions dated in 1192 A.D., found in the Dhārwār and Shimoga Districts show that before the end of that year, the Hoysalas under Vīra-Ballāla II, had made almost equal encroachments from the south. The Gadag record of 1192 A.D., as we have seen, expressly mentions the fact that the Hoysala king had acquired sovereignty in that neighbourhood by defeating the general Brahma. It would seem, as though, that when the Yādava and Hoysala kings were disputing the possession of southern provinces, Sōmēsvara IV had been driven back to the extreme south-west of his dominions and sought refuge in Jayantipura also known as Banavāsi. (Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, 466; see also *E.C.* VIII. Sorab 419 dated in 1183 A.D.). Apparently his retreat had already occurred in 1187 A.D. (the date of Chitaldrug 33) when we find him at that place. As Chitaldrug 36 dated in 1199 A.D. still describes him as ruling from that place, it is probable he was compelled to stay on there and end his days in it. He could not have survived longer than the date of this inscription. After this date, there is hardly any acknowledgment of Chālukya suzerainty in the inscriptions of its old feudatories. Thus in Holalkere 56 (*E.C.* XI) dated in *Saka* 1142, cyclic year *Vikrama*, which records a grant by the Pāndya king of Uchchangi, and mentions the Hoysala king Vīra-Nārasimha as ruling from his capital Dōrasamudra, the Chālukya rule is spoken of as a thing of the past in these words:—"The Chālukyas ruled the ocean-girdled earth; after them the Kalachurya king Bijjana protected the earth," etc. Similarly in an inscription of the Nidugal Chōla chief Irungoladēva-Chōla-Mahārāja, he is described, in an inscription dated in *Saka* 1148, cyclic year *Pārthiva* (1226 A.D.), as ruling independently by himself, no suzerain being referred to in it. It may be taken as a settled fact that the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāni disappear as a ruling dynasty from about 1200 A.D., though some persons who are spoken of as representing it appear to have ruled in some parts of the Konkan till the middle of the thirteenth century. (See *Bombay Gazetteer*, 223-224 and 466-467).

The revived Western Chālukya dynasty which thus disappears from history after a rule of nearly two centuries and a quarter, has left its permanent impress on the country which was once part of its kingdom. Literature and the arts flourished during the time it held sway over the north-west of Mysore and beyond it in the present Bombay and Madras Presidencies. The vogue it gave to architecture produced the style famous as the Chālukyan style, after its dynastic name. It is a distinctive type by itself and has wrung admiration from the severest of Western critics, whether from the purely architectural or sculptural point of view. (See Chapters V and VI *ante.*)

Western Chālukya Coinage.

The gold coins of both branches bear the Chālukya emblem, a boar, and are remarkable as showing a particular application of the Indian method of punch-marking, by which each portion of a definite design is impressed on the coin by a separate punch. Most of the coins of the Western Chālukyas are of thick gold, and often cup-shaped. Elliot (*C.S.I.* p. 67) supposes these to have been imitated from the Kadamba *Padma-tankas* which are executed in the same manner and which he assigns to the 5th or 6th century A.D.; but there is no proof, in either case, of so early a date, and, on the analogy of the Eastern Chālukya coins, they should probably be placed much later. (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 37). In these coins, a lion or a temple takes the place of the lotus in the Kadamba coins. The legends are in Hala Kannada. They were apparently struck by Jayasimha, Jagadēkamalla I (a title of Jayasimha) and Trailōkyamalla, probably Sōmēsvara I, or Taila III, also entitled Trailōkyamalla—all belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. In 1913, a very large number of these cup-shaped coins were unearthed at Kōdūr in the Nellore District and this find shows that the type was subsequently copied by the Telugu-Chōla chiefs of the Nellore District in the 13th century.

KALACHURYAS OF KALYĀNI; THEIR ORIGIN.

The Kalachuryas, who under Bijjala subverted the Chālukyas and usurped their kingdom for nearly twenty-seven years, claim connection with the Kalachuris of Central India, who called themselves Haihayas. (*E.I.* I. 37,263, II.5). The Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya subjugated the Haihayas. Inter-marriages between the Haihayas and the Early Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas and the later Chālukyas appear to have been common. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 296.). The origin of the Kalachuryas is given at some length in Davangere 42 assigned to 1162 A.D. (*E.C.* XI). Krishna, the son by the miraculous union of Siva with a Brāhman girl, was, it is stated, the founder of the family. In the guise of a barber, he killed at Kālanjara—identified with modern Kālanjar or Kālinagar, a town with a well-known hill-fort in the Banda District, Bundelkhand, United Provinces—an evil-minded king, who was a cannibal, and took possession of the Nine-Lakh country of Dahala, *i.e.*, the Chēdi country in Central India. Sir John Fleet has remarked that this story looks like some reminiscence of a fuller story, invented to explain the family name. In Kannada, we have *chura* and *surige*, as corruptions of the Sānskrit *kshura*, *ksharikā* and *chhurikā*, a razor; and a connection might easily be made between the first two syllables, *kala* and the Kannada *kali* to kill. The name Kalabhurya mentioned by Sir Walter Elliot in place of Kalachurya is set down by Sir John Fleet as due to mislection or some other mistake. (*Ibid* 470, n.1.). Occasionally the name *Kalaturya* has been found in place of *Kalachurya.* Sir John Fleet notes an inscription of Bijjala dated in 1166 A.D. and another of his son Sōvidēva of 1174 A.D., in which the name thus appears (*Ibid*). The name also appears in the more curious form *Kalatsurya* in *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 131 and 287. Sorab 131 is an inscription dated in 1157 A.D. in the fourth year of Bijjala's usurpation and Sorab 287 is an inscription of his 8th year. The family could boast of some respectable antiquity as the use of a Chēdi or Kalachuri era, dating according to Dr. Kielhorn from 248-249 A.D., is known from their early northern inscriptions. (*I.A.* XVII, 215; *E.I.* IX, 129). Their inscriptions in Mysore, some seventy-one in number, are principally confined to Balagāmi in Shikarpur Taluk, Harihar in Davangere Taluk, and some places in the Sorab Taluk. They are all dated subsequent to the time of Bijjala, the usurper.

Their Genealogy.

The genealogy of the Kalachuryas as given in Davangere 42, brings the descent down to Bijjala. Krishna, the founder, was, it would appear, followed by many kings, and then came Kannama-Dēva. He had two sons, Bijjala-Dēva and Rāja. The former is said to have distinguished himself as a great conqueror and as "a mine of untiring energy." The younger Rāja had, it is said, four sons—Ammugi, Sankhavarma, Kannara and Jōgama, called also Talikada Jōgama. Ammugi and Jōgama ruled one after the other. Next followed Jōgama's son, Permādi. He is said to have eclipsed the pure character of Manu. To him was born, we are told, the repository of valour, the king Bijjala-Dēva. He is said to have taken possession of the whole earth, even as Agastya from the pitcher swallowed up the ocean. Slightly different, but not wholly inconsistent accounts are given in certain records found in the Bombay Presidency and the Nizām's Dominions. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 468-469). Two inscriptions dated in 1173 A.D. in the reign of Sōvidēva, son of Bijjala, trace the descent from one Santama or Santasama, whose son was Sagararasa. The latter's son was Kannama, whose sons were Narana and Bijja. Bijja's son was Karna, whose son was Jōgama, the Jōgama of Davangere 42. These two inscriptions of Sōvidēva's time apparently fill in the gap in the descent referred to in Davangere 42, which refers to the many kings who "passed away" after Krishna, before it mentions Kannama-Dēva. The Kokatur grant of Sōvidēva dated in 1174 A.D. and the Behatti grant of his brother Singhana dated in 1183 A.D., simplify the whole genealogical description by saying that Jōgama was the son of Krishna of the Kalachuri family and furnish no further details. An inscription dated in 1178 A.D., in the reign of Sankama, Bijjala's second son, gives a few particulars, which are entirely in keeping with the account given in Davangere 42. This inscription states that Kannama had two sons, Bijjala and Rājala (the Rājala of Davangere 42) and that Rājala had a son Jōgama (grandfather of Bijjala, the usurper). None of these inscriptions hint the actual point of contact of Bijjala's ancestors with the ancient Kalachuris or Haihaiyas above referred to. But remembering the claims of connection put forward in Davangere 42 and in the other inscriptions referred to above and the mention of Dahala and Kālanjara, which are both connected with the original Kalachuris, it might be presumed that though not directly descended from them, they might have had some connection with a branch of it, which had strayed away from Central India. (See *Bombay Gazetteer*, 469-470). In

Shikarpur 236 (*E.C.* VIII) dated in 1174 A.D., the Īsvaramsa of the Kalachuri family is referred to as having been preserved from the raging fury of Parasurāma. There is a further statement in it which is not quite clear. The rule of the Kalachurya line, we are told, gave light to the world through Sōma; through Pemma it became spotless; through Gorvappa it was distinguished for enjoyments; through Vajra it acquired might of arm; King Yōga obtained for it stability; through Permādi it tasted happiness and approved of it; and through King Bijjana acquired power. Except Bijjana and Permādi, the other names cannot be identified. Sōma, who is said to have given light, is probably Siva himself, from whom the line traces its descent.

Their dynastic titles, etc.

The Kalachuryas carried the *Suvarna-vrishabhadhvaja* or banner of a golden bull, and were heralded in public by the sounds of the *damaruka* or double-drum shaped like an hour-glass and the *turya*. Their crest also was a figure of the bull. Among their titles were "boon lord of Kālanjara," "Sanivārasiddhi" and "Giridurgamalla." The last two seem to have been adopted by Hoysala Vīra-Ballāla after his final conquest of the Chālukya provinces in the north-west of Mysore.

Succession list of their kings.

The following is the succession list of these kings:—

Jōgama	...
Permādi	1128 A.D.
Bijjala, Bijjana, Nissankamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, Bhujabala-chakravarti.	1156-1167 A.D.
Rāya-murāri-Sōvidēva, Sōmēsvara.	1167-1177 A.D.
Sankama, Nisankamalla ...	1176-1181 A.D.
Āhavamalla, Vīranārāyana ...	1181-1183 A.D.
Singhana	1183 A.D.

Jōgama.

Nothing historical is known of and up to Jōgama.

The names of all the early kings but Bijjala, son of Kannama, are but mere names. Of this Bijjala, the first of the name, Davangere 42 speaks highly of as a successful warrior. Whether he can at all be identified with the Mahāmandalēsvara Bijjala mentioned in *M.E.R.* inscription No. 139 of 1899 found at Uchchangidurga, in the Bellary District, where another inscription dated in 1064 A.D. of the same feudatory of the Chālukya king Sōmēsvara I, is also mentioned is a matter for consideration. He is in this latter inscription said to have granted a tank in the Uchchangi fort to the temple of Galagēsvara. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appdx. B. 1918. No. 286). The one hundred years that separates Bijjala I from Bijjala II may be held to be sufficient to bridge over the four generations (of five kings) that ruled between them.

Permādi, 1128 A.D.

Jōgama's son Permādi appears, from an inscription dated in 1128 A.D., to have governed the Tardavādi District, or the country round Bijāpur, as a feudatory under Sōmēsvara III.

Bijjala, Tribhuvanamalla, Nissankamalla, 1156-1167 A.D.

Bijjala, the son of Permādi, proved himself the greatest of his line. His connection with the history of the Kalachuryas dates only from the time he supplanted the Chālukyas and ends with the extinction of the line. The period, though short, is an eventful one, and is of interest from having seen the birth of the Vīrasaiva (or Lingāyat) faith, which so largely prevails throughout the Kannada speaking territories of Mysore, Madras, Hyderabad and Bombay.

The earliest inscription in Mysore in which Bijjala is mentioned is Shikarpur 104 dated in 1156 A.D. In it, the supremacy of the Chālukya king Taila III is recognized, but Bijjala, though termed only a *mahāmandalēsvara*, is described to be "ruling all the countries, putting down the evil and upholding the good." In Shikarpur 108, assigned to 1164 A.D., but which may be some years earlier, he is similarly styled *Mahāmandalēsvara*, though mentioned with all his titles and in a manner indicating his almost regal position with the reigning king Taila III, his suzerainty is acknowledged. From 1158 A.D., described as his 2nd year in Sorab 255, he is entitled *Kalachuryabhujabala-chakravarti-Tribhuvanamalla*, emperor by virtue of his own arms entitled *Tribhuvanamalla*. He is also invested with numerous other titles such as "boon lord of Kālanjara," "Sanivarasiddhi," "Giridurgamalla," etc., all showing that his usurpation was a fully accomplished fact. (Shikarpur 18 dated in 1158 A.D.). In the next year, 1159 A.D., the dominion appears as "Bijjala-Dēvarasa's victorious kingdom" (Shikarpur 123), though Taila III is also mentioned. In this inscription, Bijjala's conquests are referred to in high sounding language and it is significantly said that the saying that heroes should possess the Earth was not spoken in vain, for Bijjala had brought into subjection the territory from the ocean on the south to his northern boundary the Chālukya capital. In Sorab 328, of the same year, nearly the same expression as in Shikarpur 123 is used stating that at the time Nūrmadi Taila was reigning, Bijjala was king, which indicates the nominal nature of Taila's sovereignty. Shikarpur 197, an undated inscription assigned to 1162 A.D., speaks in terms even more noteworthy. After giving him the full royal titles stating that the Lakshmi of the Chālukya kingdom transferred her society with pleasure to Bijjala —the author adding the query, "what, is it a new thing for women to seek after something new?"—goes on to state that the various kings in the land did his daily work as servants. In Sorab 277, dated in 1165 A.D., we are told that *Mahāmandalēsvara* Bijjala-Dēva had acquired the empire, from which the inference is possible that he was still only a *Mahāmandalēsvara* when the revolution was effected. Bijjala's governor of Banavāsi in 1159 A.D. was Kēsirāja, also called Kēsava-Dēva. (Shikarpur 123). He is said to have built a beautiful temple of Kēsava at Baligāmi, of which there is at present no trace whatever. In or about 1160 A.D., Banavāsi was under Kariya-Kēsimaya. (Shikarpur 161). He was marching against Bandalike, which was apparently in revolt, or would not acknowledge Bijjala's authority. In 1162 A.D. Bijjala's army marched to destroy Tagarte. (Shikarpur 56). According to Shikarpur 102, dated in the same year, we see that Bijjala had a great minister Kasapayya-Nāyaka, under whose authority Bammarasa was governor of Banavāsi. Bammarasa was, however, associated in his administration, and to some extent, probably controlled, by five *Karanams*, who were royal censors appointed "to see that the Lakshmi of that Bommarasa's government was free from adultery"—that is, to ensure his loyalty—and these were like the five senses to king Bijjala, unmatched in ministrel skill, bold as fierce lions, able in detecting frauds, superior to all opposition." Apparently Banavāsi, owing to its having been the retreat after defeat, of the Chālukya kings Taila III, etc., required special attention on Bijjala's part. It was evidently the last portion of the Chālukya kingdom to give in to the usurper. Bommarasa and his associates joined in making a grant to the famous Kōdiya *matha* at Baligāmi in 1162 A.D. This *matha* is described at length as a great seat of learning for all branches of study; a place where food was freely distributed to all—the poor, the decrepit, the wounded and the naked; a hospital for the treatment of the diseases of destitute sick persons; and a place of security from fear of all living things. Bijjala himself visited the place in the course of his expedition to subdue the south and halting at it, in 1162 A.D., made a grant to the great Kēdarēsvara temple and the temples at Abbalur. A year later, Bommarasa, son-in-law of Bijjala, was governor of Banavāsi. (Shikarpur 242). In 1164 and 1165 A.D., raids by the Hoysalas are mentioned. (Davangere 42, Sorab 372). Davangere 42, states that Bammarasa, general of Kasapayya, a dependent of Bijjala, put to flight the Hoysala army, "riding on his single horse," and driving it into the river, so that the water of the Tungabhadra was dyed with a new saffron colour from the streams of their blood. (*E.C.* XI). Kasapayya was ruler of Banavāsi 12,000. In 1172, Duggarasa was governing it. (Davangere 33).

From the above, it will be clear that the first signs of Bijjala's usurpation were manifest in 1155 A.D., and it was a fully accomplished fact by 1162 A.D. The earliest known inscriptions in which Bijjala is mentioned is the one at Bijāpur, which is dated in *Saka* 1074 current or 1151 A.D. (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* XI.244 quoted by Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, 459 and 472). The earliest inscription in which he is referred to is in Sorab 255 dated in 1158 A.D., his 2nd regnal year. He is called therein Kalachurya Bhujabalachakravarti Bijjana Dēva. Likewise, in Shikarpur 162, dated in 1158 A.D., he is described as *Bhujabala-chakravarti*, *i.e.*, emperor by virtue of his own valour. The term *mahāmandalēsvara* is coupled with higher regal titles in many subsequent inscriptions such as Shikarpur 18 dated in 1158 A.D., Shikarpur 123 dated in 1159 A.D., Shikarpur 102 dated in 1162 A.D. and in Shikarpur 108 assigned to about 1164 A.D., but may be earlier by a couple of years at least. The following is a list of the more important inscriptions found in this State mentioning him, which indicate the manner and time of his assumption of full regal powers:—

Inscription.	*Date and contents.*
Shikarpur 162	... Dated 1158 A.D., 3rd year of Bijjala. Mentions him as Kala-churya Bhujabala Chakravarti.

Sorab 255	... Dated 1158 A.D., 2nd year of Kalachurya-Bhujabala Chakravarti Bijjana Dēva.
Sorab 99	... Dated in the 2nd year of Bhujabala Chakravarti Bijjala.
Shikarpur 162	... Dated in 1158 A.D., 3rd year of Bijjaja Kalachurya Bhujabala-Chakravarti.
Sorab 416	... Dated in the 3rd year of Bijjana Dēva Varsha, cyclic year *Bahudānya*.
Shikarpur 190	... Dated in 1158 A.D. Bhujabala Chakravarti Bijjala-Dēvarasa. (Mayidēvarasa dandanāyaka of *hejjunka* and vaddaravula of B'vasi 12,000.).
Shikarpur 18	... Dated in 1158 A.D. Gives him *Mahāmandalēsvara* and other full royal titles ending with *Bhujabala chakravarti Tribhuvanamalla* Bijjala-Dēvarasa. (A Ganga prince, *Mahāmandalēsvara* Nanniya Ganga Permādi-Dēvarasa governing Edevatte 70 etc., including Begur agrahāra.).
Sorab 131	... Dated in 1159 A.D. *Bhujabala Chakravarti Tribhuvanamalla* Bijjana Dēva's 4th year Pramathi.
Shikarpur 123	... Dated in 1159 A.D. Nūrmadi Taila III, his Suzerain mentioned. Bijjala described as *Mahāmandalēsvara* and given full royal titles ending with *Bhujabala-Chakravarti.*
Sorab 328	... Dated in 1159 A.D. Bahudānya, Taila III, mentioned suzerain king. Bijjala Kshānipōla ruled then. Year Premadi (? 5th year of Bijjala.).
Shikarpur 78	... Dated in 1160 A.D. *Bhujabala-chakravarti* Bijjana Dēva.
Shikarpur 139	... About 1160 A.D. *Bhujabala-chakravarti* Bijjana-Dēvarasa ruling the kingdom.
Shikarpur 161	... About 1160 A.D. In the victorious reign of Nija-bhujabala-chakravarti Sanivarasiddin................. malla Bijjala-dēva.
Shikarpur 146	... Dated about 1160 A.D. Kalachurya Bhujabala-chakravarti Tribhuvanamalla Bijjana-Dēvarasa.
Shikarpur 56	... Dated in 1162 A.D. 5th year of Kalachurya Chakravarti Bijjana Bijjala marched to destroy Tāgarate.
Davangere 84	... Dated in 1161 A.D. Mentions him as a Bhujabala Chakravarti.
Shikarpur 102	... Dated in 1162 A.D. *Mahāmandalēsvara* and other royal titles ending with Bhujabala chakravarti Trib. Bijjala Dēvarasa.
Davangere 42	... Dated about 1162 A.D. Mentions him as Bhujabala-chakravarti.
Shikarpur 242	... Dated in 1163 A.D. Kalachurya Bhujabalachakravarti king Bijjala.
Shikarpur 108	... Dated about 1164 A.D. mentions as mere *Mahamandalēsvara.* May be earlier as only Mahāmandalēsvara is mentioned.
Sorab 177	... Dated in 1163 A.D. *Subhanu* year Kalachurya Bhujabala-chakravarti Bijjana ruling the world.
Sorab 449	... Dated in 1163 A.D. *Subhanu* year. Bhujabala-chakravarti Bijjana Dēva's 7th year.

Sorab 287	.. Dated in 1164 A.D. Bhujabala-chakravarti Tribhuvanamalla Bijjana Dēva's 8th year.
Sorab 372	... Dated in 1164 A.D. Nija-Bhujabala-chakravarti Bijjana's 9th year, *Pārthiva*.
Sorab 6	.. Dated in 1165 A.D. *Bhujabala-chakravarti* Bijjana-Dēva's 10th year, cyclic year *Pārthiva*.

Bijjala, on his usurpation, started an era of his own dating from the cyclic year, *Dhātu*, *Saka* 1079. About that time, he assumed the titles of *Kalachurya Nija Bhujabala Chakravarti Tribhuvanamalla Bijjala Dēva*, etc. From the above list of inscriptions, it will be seen that they are fairly representative of his reign ranging as they do from his 2nd regnal year to the 10th. The use of the title *Mahāmandalēsvara* in 1159 A.D., in the 3rd year of his reign and the acknowledgment of Taila III as his suzerain even as late as 1159 A.D. and 1162 A.D. seem more mechanical than necessary descriptions in the few later records in which they appear. Force of habit should be held responsible for their use at a time when they had been already given up. The title *Mahāmandalēsvara* does not occur in any dated record after 1162 A.D. All dated records from that year describe Bijjala as *Kalachurya-chakravarti*, *Bhujabala-chakravarti* or *Nija-Bhujabala-chakravarti*. This shows that the usurpation was complete in his 6th regnal year after his conquest of the South, where apparently Taila III was then resident and from where probably he was compelled to retire northwards to Annigere or Kalyāna itself, from where he bore nominal rule. The Kalachurya kings who displaced the Chālukyan sovereigns were much like the Carlovingians who supplanted the Merovingians, who had become *faineant*. If Charlemagne was the greatest of the Carlovingian dynasty, Bijjala was the most famous of the Kalachurya race.

Saiva Revival.

The chief event of Bijjala's reign was the revival of the worship of Siva, which ended in the formation of a new sect of Saivas called Vīrasaivas, commonly called Lingāyats. They are to be found all over in the Kannada country, though in large numbers only in the Mysore State, certain districts of Bombay (Belgaum, Bijāpur and Dhārwār), Bellary and Anantapur Districts of Madras, and the Hyderabad and Kolhāpur States. They belong chiefly to the trading classes, though a numerically small number of them, calling themselves Ārādhyas, are members of the Brāhman community. The Vīrasaivas, wherever found, form an intelligent and a progressive body of people. As traders and merchants, they are known to be both energetic and successful. (See Volume I, Chapter VIII).

The traditionary stories connecting Basava, the promulgator of the new Saiva faith, with, Bijjala, the Kalachurya king, are told in several Kannada poems recounting his life including the following in chronological order:—*Basava Stōtra Trividhi* by Siddha Rāma, about 1160 A.D.; *Pancharatna*, *Sharanu Basava Ragale* and *Channa Basava Stōtra Ragale* by Palkuriki Sōma (or Sōmana Ārādhya), about 1195 A.D.; *Basava Purāna* by Bhīma Kavi, written according to the author in 1369 A.D.; and *Basavarāja Vijaya* by Shadakshara Dēva, written about 1677 A.D. The last of these is also popularly known by the alternative name of *Vrishabhēndra Vijaya*, *Basava* being the Kannada form of *Vrishabha*. It appears that Palkuriki Sōma (or Sōmanātha), an Ārādhya Brāhmana, who was a poet both in Telugu and Kannada, composed the first life of Basava in Telugu. This, it would appear, was translated, under his inspiration in a dream, by Bhīma Kavi, who also calls himself a poet in two languages, *i.e.*, Kannada and Telugu. Sankara Kavi rendered the latter into Sānskrit, and this again was turned into a Kannada *Champu Kāvya* by Shadakshara Dēva. Shadakshara was the author of the famous *Rājasēkhara Vilāsa*, composed about 1655 A.D.

He wrote the *Basavarāja Vijaya* in 1677 A.D. According to tradition, Shadakshara was born at Danagur near Malvalli. He appears to have been an Ārādhya Brāhman who was patronised by Chikka Dēva Rāja of Mysore. The story is told that he belonged to the family of the *guru* of Chikka Dēva Rāja's mother, who belonged to Yelandur. (Narasimhachār, *Karnātaka Kavicharite*, II, 19; 23; and 442: see also new Edn. I. 423). Finally. we have *Channa Basava Purāna* by Virupāksha Pandita, who states that he composed his work in *Saka* 1507, cyclic year *Tārana*, or A.D. 1584. He seems to have lived at Vijayanagar, the capital of the kingdom of the same name. Some of these works have been printed but most of them are known only in Ms. form. Abstract translations of the *Basava Purāna* and the *Channa Basava Purāna* were published by the Rev. G. Warth some thirty years ago. (See *J. Bom. Br. R.A.S.* VIII. 65-97 and 98-221). Wilson in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection* also notices these works. (Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue*, Hala Kanara Works, Nos. 7-9, 305-313).

Story of Basava's Life—Saiva version according to *Basava Purāna.*

According to the *Basava Purāna*, Basava was the son of Madirāja and his wife Madalambika, both belonging to the Brāhman caste and residing at Bagewādi, identified with the town of that name in the present Bijāpur District. It is sometimes stated (Wilson, 305) that they belonged to Ingalēshvar (or Hingalēshvar), which is a village close by Bagewādi. To recompense the piety of this couple, Nandi, the bull of Siva, was born on earth as their son, at the command of Siva to resuscitate the declining Saiva faith. In his eighth year, when his father sought to invest him with the sacred thread, Basava objected to it as involving the worship of Sūrya. He declared himself a special devotee of Siva, declined to accept any *guru* except Siva, propounded a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Siva, in which the *Linga* and the *Nandi* (or bull) were present. His piety and knowledge of the scriptures impressed Baladēva, the "prime minister" (or Dandanāyaka, as he is described in some versions) of Bijjala. Baladēva gave his daughter Gangādēvi (or Gangāmba) in marriage to him. Basava excited local antipathy by his doctrines and beliefs, and as the result of it, transferred himself to Kappadi, where he spent some time in the meditation of Siva, who, in the form of the local God Sangamēsvara, instructed him in the faith. Meanwhile his uncle Baladēva died. On the advice of the latter's relations, Bijjala, the ruling king, now called into office, Basava, who had by now acquired considerable reputation as an able and virtuous man. Basava accepted the king's invitation and proceeded to Kalyāni with his sister Nāgalambika, where he was welcomed and installed in the office of prime minister, commander-in-chief and treasurer by Bijjala. To keep Basava further attached to himself, Bijjala gave his younger sister Nilalōchana in marriage to him. At about this time, Basava's unmarried elder sister Nāgalambika, who was an incarnation of the goddess Pārvati, gave birth, by the grace of Siva, to a son, who was an incarnation of Siva's son Shanmukha or Kartikēya, the god of war. As he was more beautiful than Basava, he was named Channa Basava, or the beautiful Basava. He aided Basava, his uncle, in the propagation of the new faith.

Basava's Popularity.

Basava's popularity increased by the performance of miracles several of which are recorded in the *Basava Purāna*. Among these are those connected with the converting of grains of corn into pearls, discovering hidden treasure, feeding multitudes, healing the sick, and restoring the dead to life. Charges, false or true, began to be preferred against him by his enemies. An anecdote illustrative of this is narrated in the *Purāna.* Basava having made himself remarkable for the profuse bounties he bestowed upon his followers, helping himself from the royal treasury for the purpose, the other ministers reported his conduct to Bijjala, who called upon him to account for the money in his charge. Basava smiled, and giving the keys of the treasury to the king requested him to examine it, which being done, the amount was found wholly undiminished. Bijjala thereupon caused it to be proclaimed that whoever calumniated Basava should have his tongue cut. Illustration of his bounty towards his followers is told in another story. A follower of his kept a mistress, who, having heard of the magnificence of the attire of Basava's wife, desired it for herself. Hearing of it, Basava directed his wife to strip herself of it and give it to his follower's mistress! Other dresses of similar magnificence began to spring from her body and these also were made over to his other followers! Not only did Basava perform miracles, but also some of his disciples. Kinnaraiya, one of these, having been solicited alms by a *Jangama,* touched, it is told, the stones about him with his staff, and converting them into gold, told the *Jangama* to help himself with it! Many other stories of this kind are related including Machaya's bringing to life Kinnaraya and Basava himself!

Popularity of his creed.

Basava's official position and generosity to his adherents made his creed both popular and attractive. He speedily got a large number of followers and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. His nephew's activities also added to the numbers of people who joined him. The *Bijjala Rāya Charita,* which enshrines the Jain version of the story referred to below, makes no secret of the fact that the new faith attracted converts from almost every caste. It also suggests that the poor were attracted to it by the desire for money.

However that be, the suspicions of Bijjala, who was of the Jain faith. were, it would appear, at last roused against his minister and he was prevailed upon by a designing rival minister, named Manchanna, who though himself a Vīrasaiva in sect, did not scruple to conspire against Basava. In the course of time, Bijjala was completely alienated from Basava, and endeavoured to seize him. Basava, however, managed to escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. Basava easily dispersed them. Thus discomfited, Bijjala advanced in person against him. But a large number of followers had now followed Basava, who, with their aid, defeated the king. Bijjala was thus compelled to submit to his minister, who was allowed to return to the capital and reinstated in his office. Complete reconciliation was, however, impossible and in a short while, events occurred which ended in the death of Bijjala and the disappearance of Basava from the scene of his activities.

Bijjala's Counter-measures.

In his attempt to put down the Vīrasaivas, Bijjala ordered, it is stated, the blinding, in sheer wantonness, of two well-known devotees—Halleyaga (or Allaya) and Mādhuvayya. Indignant at this cruelty, Basava's followers assembled in his house. Basava left for Kūdali-Sangamēsvara pronouncing a curse on Kalyāna and leaving instructions behind with one Jaggadēva, that he should slay the king. Jaggadēva hesitated for a moment but being spurred on by his mother, he, with a couple of friends, made his way into the palace, a bull clearing the path, and stabbed the king in the midst of his court. Jagaddēva and his companions then came out and proclaimed the cause why they had put the king to death. Jagaddēva next put himself to death. Then arose dissensions in the city, and the people fought among themselves, and horses with horses, and elephants with elephants, until agreeably to the curse pronounced upon it by Basava to his disciples, Kalyāna was utterly destroyed. Hearing of the news, Basava hastened towards Kudali-Sangamēsvara, (at the confluence of the Malprabha with the Krishna according to some, and according to others at the junction of the Krishna and Tungabhadra), where he was absorbed into the god, flowers falling from the sky. Channabasava, his nephew, fled to Ulavi, in North Kanara, where, it is said, he found refuge in a cave.

According to *Channa-basava kālagnāna*.

The account included in the *Channa-bāsava-kālagnāna* (Wilson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection*, 312-313) gives a somewhat different version. It places the absorption of Basava in Sangamēsvara in *Saka* 707, *Rakthākshi* year, *Phalguna* month or A.D. 785, which is too early for him by four centuries. (The date is wrongly given in Wilson as *Saka* 696 or A.D. 774—Wilson, 313). The *Kālagnāna* itself dates from 1585 A.D. and the "prophecies" given in it show that it is a late work. According to it, on Basava's flight and absorption into the deity, Bijjala, who was not yet dead, appointed Channa Basava to succeed him in the post of Prime Minister. After this, the two devotees, Halleja and Mādhuveja, were tied to a rope and dragged about the ground till they died. In revenge for this, two torch-bearers, Jaggadēva and Bommana, killed Bijjala. Meanwhile, Channa Basava had sent away his followers to Ulavi on the pretext of celebrating a feast there, and himself followed them immediately on the death of Bijjala. He was pursued by Bijjala's "son-in-law," and in the battle which ensued, the pursuers were killed and the king himself was taken captive. Channa Basava, however, restored the slain army to life, at the request of Nāgalambika, his mother, and admonished the king not to persecute the Vīrasaivas as his father had done and anointed him and sent him back to Kalyāna to rule over the country. The *Channa Basava Purāna* describes Channa Basava as an incarnation of the *Pranava* or the mysterious syllable *Aum* begotten on Nāgalambika, sister of Basava, herself an incarnation of Pārvati, by the spirit of Siva. The story goes that Bijjala having called in question the spiritual origin of Nāgalambika's pregnancy, she was delivered in presence of his whole court of a child resplendant with all the attributes of Siva, and his divine nature was consequently accepted as fully proved and acknowledged. According to the *Purāna*, it would seem as though the religious portion of the Vīrasaiva movement was under Channa Basava's direction, Basava giving the needful political support. He seems to have shaped the creed of the sect and the direction of its adherents. The *Kālagnāna* states, for instance, that the 36,000 disciples of Siva, were to eat and sport in his abode and then all disappear! The *Purāna* hints that he was even superior to Basava in matters spiritual. It states, in fact, that he incarnated as the *Pranava* to instruct Basava in the tenets of the Vīrasaiva faith, the establishment of which is thus divided between the uncle and the nephew. Channa Basava, thus, appears to have been more wholly a religious character although the secular authority of Basava was most instrumental in the augmentation of the Vīrasaiva sect. The *Purāna* adds that Channa Basava was Siva; Basava, Vrishabha (Siva's Bull); Bijjala, Siva's door-keeper in Kailāsa; Kalyāna, Kailāsa; and Siva's worshippers (Vīrasaivas), Siva's hosts.

Jaina version: according to *Bijjalarāya Charita.*

Far different is the version given in the Jaina work entitled *Bijjalarāya Charita.* This is a work by Dharani Pandita (The Dharani Dharēndra Pundita of *Wilson's Catalogue*, 321). This Jain poet seems to have lived about 1650 A.D. As regards Basava's relations with Bijjala, it is stated that Basava's influence with the king was due to the fact that Basava had married his sister Padmini (also called Padmāvati), who was celebrated for her beauty. It is mentioned that Basava's father Madirāja was the astrologer at Bijjala's court. Because of this relationship, Bijjala appointed, it would appear, Basava as his Sēnāpati or Dandanāyaka. It is also stated that when he first rebelled against Bijjala, Basava fell into a tank and was taken out of it at the orders of Bijjala, pardoned and reappointed to his office. Later, Bijjala on his return march from an expedition he had undertaken against the Sīlāhāra chief Bhōja II of Kolhāpūr, encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhīma. While reposing in his tent, Basava, it would appear, sent to him a *Jangama*, disguised as a Jain, with a poisoned mango fruit. Bijjala, himself a Jain, took the fruit from the seeming Jain priest, which he no sooner smelled than he dropped down senseless. His son Immadi Bijjala (apparently Sōvidēva, though there is, as remarked by Sir John Fleet, no epigraphic evidence for calling him Immadi Bijjala) and his attendants hastened to his assistance, but it was in vain. Bijjala revived, however, for a short period, and being aware who was responsible for sending the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death. Immadi Bijjala accordingly ordered Basava to be apprehended and all the Jangamas wherever seized to be executed. On hearing of this Basava fled; and being pursued went towards the (Malabār) coast and sought refuge in a place called Vrishabhapura. This place being closely invested, Basava in despair drowned himself in a well, while his wife poisoned herself. As he fled to *Urive* and died there, the place (it is added) came to be known by the name of Ulive. After the resentment of Immadi Bijjala was allayed, Channa Basava, the nephew of Basava, presented his uncle's treasures to him and was admitted to royal favour and appointed to a ministerial office at Court.

Bijjala as described in this Poem.

Bijjala is described in this work as an embellisher of the Jaina line of kings, as the moon to the ocean of Jaina religion and as the promoter of the prosperity of the Jainas. He is also spoken of as the ocean of truth; as proficient in the wielding of the 32 implements of warfare; as the subduer of the rutting elephant and the restive horse; and as *sarvajna* (or all-knower). There is, besides, a vivid description of the manner in which converts were secured for the new faith by Basava's adherents, though a good part of it seems to be actuated by sectarian bias. It is suggested that the inducements were—free distribution of money and jewellery and freedom from irksome ceremonialism. Dharani Pandita lived nearly four centuries after the events he relates took place and he can, accordingly, be only taken to record the received tradition among his own religionists.

Sir John Fleet's criticism.

Writing of these traditional accounts, Sir John Fleet has offered certain criticisms which should be considered here. He says that there is no apparent reason why we should attribute to either of the two—Saiva and Jaina—*Purānas* any greater historical accuracy than any other Hindu works of the same class have been found to possess. "On the contrary," he adds, "there are fair grounds for questioning the correctness of the narratives given by them." The Saiva and Jaina accounts differ markedly and to a greater extent than can be accounted for, he holds, on simply the supposition of a representation of true facts from different sectarian points of view. After rejecting the date 785 A.D., mentioned in the *Channa Basava Purāna* for the events immediately preceding the deaths of Basava and Bijjala as untenable and rejecting equally the date 1155 A.D., assigned by Sir Walter Elliot for them in the *Bijjalarāya Charita* as wholly unsupported and, if even supported by any manuscripts, as inconsistent with the ascertained fact of Bijjala's assumption of sovereignty in 1167 A.D. and not earlier, Sir John Fleet remarks that "no epigraphic record of Basava and Channa Basava has been obtained: which is peculiar, if they really held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition." Finally, he says that "in the only epigraphic record which has come to notice containing an allusion of any kind to the revival of the Saiva faith and rites, the indication is that it was a Brāhman named Ēkāntada-Rāmayya, to whom the movement owed its origin." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 481).

His criticisms answered.

Quite apart from the dates mentioned in the two *Purānas* mentioned above, which are plainly refuted by the dated inscriptions of Bijjala, there is, it is to be feared, something to be said in favour of the work achieved by the chief personalities mentioned in them. The suggestion that because there is no epigraphic mention of Basava and Channa Basava and that there is only an epigraphic mention of Ēkāntada Rāmayya and that it is to the latter that the Saiva revival movement owed its origin seems somewhat wide of the mark. Though Basava and Channa Basava are not mentioned in lithic inscriptions, Rāmayya, who is referred to in an epigraph, is mentioned in the *Saiva Puranas*. This at least makes it possible that Basava, Channa Basava and other characters connected with the Saiva revival are historical and not shadowy personages. Palkuriki Sōmanātha, a poet in the Kannada, Telugu and Sānskrit languages, who lived within about 35 years of Basava's time, wrote a life of Basava. (See *Karnataka Kavicharite*, 291). His works include the *Basava Purāna* in Telugu and many short lives of Basava in popular metres.

These works could not obviously have been written of a little known or imaginary person, without pretensions to name or fame at the time they were composed. As a matter of fact, Sir John concedes that there is nothing inconsistent in the account of Ēkāntada Rāmayya as given in the epigraphic record referred to with the possibility of the revival of the Saiva religion having been largely helped, and of the establishment of the Vīrasaiva sect having been actually effected by persons named Basava and Channa Basava; and even of Bijjala having been assassinated, after his abdication "in connection with some political opposition to the movement, which he may have instigated or favoured." In other words, Sir John suggests that it was Ēkāntada Rāmayya that originated the movement and not Basava and Channa Basava, who, he allows, may have played a subordinate part. Literary tradition is wholly and uniformly opposed to this suggestion. According to it, Ēkāntada Rāmayya was only one of the several adherents of Basava, included among the *Sivaganas*, who took part in the popularizing of the movement. The fact that no epigraphic record mentioning Basava and Channa Basava has been, so far, discovered is no argument against the rōle assigned to them in literary works, however exaggerated their accounts may be. The *Basava Purāna* distinctly refers in many places to the Jainas, and in fact addresses itself to them, in the shape of dialogues between some of the Jangama saints and the members of that faith, in which the former relate to the latter instances of the superiority of the Saiva religion and the shortcomings of the Jaina religion, which was professed by Bijjala and the greater part of the population of Kalyāna. In order to convert them, Ēkāntada Rāmayya, one of Basava's disciples, cut off his own head in their presence (see below) and then marched five days in solemn procession through and round the city, and on the fifth day replaced his head upon his shoulders. The Jain temples were thereupon, it is said, destroyed by the Jangamas. It does not appear, however, from both the *Purānas* that the king was made a convert or that he approved of the principles and conduct of his minister. He seems, on the contrary, to have incurred death by attempting to repress the extension of the Vīrasaiva faith. Different authorities, although they disagree as to the manner in which Bijjala was put to death, concur in stating the fact. The epigraphic record of Ēkāntada Rāmayya nowhere says that he possessed any influence at Bijjala's court or that he held any official position under him to enable him to propagate the Vīrasaiva faith in the manner in which Basava, by reason of his ministerial position, is said to have done. Both the *Purānas* agree in assigning to Ēkāntada Rāmayya—he is mentioned in the *Channa Basava Purāna*, though his story is told in a somewhat different form from the version given in the epigraphic record—a subordinate position in the Saiva revival, though he seems to have been, perhaps, the most prominent figure after Basava and Channa-Basava and one or two others.

The leaders of the Saiva Revival.

In discussing the part played by Basava and others in the founding of the Vīrasaiva faith, the work of Pāsupatas (or followers of Lakula) should be remembered. They were already strong in and about the Banavāsi province, the temples at Balagāmi being in their hands and Brahmachāri *mathas* being run in connection with them. Even Bijjala, who appears to have been a fairly tolerant king, made or confirmed some grants in their favour. The revival of the Saiva faith seems to have followed as the natural result of the work of these Saiva teachers of the Pāsupata school at Balagami, who were famous as royal preceptors and teachers between the 10th and 13th centuries. Basava was undoubtedly an important religious figure of Bijjala's time. His works, *Shatsthala Vachana, Sikhāratna Vachana, Kālagnāna Vachana* and *Mantra Gōpya* have come down to us. These works show indubitably that he was the son of Mandige Madirāja and Mādāmbika and that his grandfather was one Lingabhatta. He seems to have had a son named Bālasangaiya, who, from certain known references to him by Basava himself, should have died while still young. His prose sayings end with the words "Kūdali Sangamadēva" by way of dedication to Kūdali Sangamēsvara, his patron deity. Channa Basava was likewise an author. Among his works *Shatsthala Vachana, Karanahasuge, Misrārpana, Padamantragōpya, Mantragōpya, Kālagnāna* and *Rudrabhārata Srushti.* There were other followers of Basava, whose works have come down to us, *e.g.*, Prabhudēva, Madivāla Māchaiya, Siddharāma, Kondagoli Kēsirāja, who was a *Dandanāyaka* under Bijjala and governed Banavāsi province (Shikarpur 119 and 123); Soddala Bācharasa; Mahādēvi Akka; Gattivālaiya; Mōlgeya Māraiya; Mahādēvi (poetess); and many others too numerous to mention. (See Narasimhachār's *Karnātaka Kavicharite*, New Edition, 1924, 173-200). It is not a little curious that there is no mention in Kannada literature of Ēkāntada Rāmayya. There is an Ēkōrāma Tande, who is reckoned among the first five Vīrasaiva Āchāryas, some of whom are said to have lived long before Basava and some contemporaneously with him. Whether Ēkāntada Rāmayya of the epigraphic record and Ēkōrāma Tande are identical or not is not known. Of Ēkōrāma Tande it is said he belonged to Channamudrapura and to have defeated many religious disputants. Among those won over by him from Vaishnavism was one Vyāsa, who is said to have been highly honoured by Vīra Bhāskara, the ruler of Mudrapura. The particulars given of Ēkāntada Rāmayya in the epigraphic record wholly differs from this account. There is a reference to an Ēkōrāma in the *Dēvāngapurāna*. He is there described as the son of Dēvadāsa, the 7th incarnation of Dēvānga and is credited with the conversion from Jainism to Saivism of Bijjala's queen. (*Karnātaka Kavicharite*, 215-216). This Ēkōrāma confessedly was a contemporary of Bijjala. If he was the same as the Ēkāntada Rāmayya of the epigraphic record, such a memorable victory of his as the conversion of the queen would doubtless have found mention in it, more especially as the inscription, though undated, belongs to the period 1181 to 1203 A.D., long after the death of Bijjala.

Story of Ēkāntada Rāmayya.

However that may be, there is scarcely any doubt that Ēkāntada Rāmayya was a prominent figure in the Saiva revival which occurred in Bijjala's reign, though the claim made for him in the epigraphic record is, perhaps, a slightly exaggerated one, throwing into the shade the work of Basava and his nephew Channa Basava. This record, which is to be seen at the temple of Sōmanātha, at Ablur, in the Dhārwār District, is one of the time of *Mahāmandalēsvara Kāmadēva*, of the family of Kadambas of Hangal in the Dhārwār District, just beyond the Shimoga frontier. The narrative, leaving out the supernatural and miraculous parts, is not only reasonable and verisimilar enough but also interesting as showing the militant form that Saivism had assumed during the period. Sir John Fleet thus summarizes its contents:—

> Among the Brāhmans at a town named Alande in the Kuntala country, where there was a temple of the god Siva under the name of Sōmanātha, there was one named Purushōttamabhatta, of the Vatsa or Srīvatsa *gōtra*, well-versed in all the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāngas*. His wife was Padmāmbike. He and she lived together for some time, without having any offspring. And Purushōttamabhatta began to do special worship to Siva, in order to obtain a son. One day, when Siva,

with Pārvati, Brahman, Vishnu and Indra and a countless host of his *Ganas* or attendants, was in public assembly on the mountain Kailāsa, a leader of the *Ganas*, named Nārada, stood out and represented that while Ōhila, Dāsa, Chenna, Siriyāla, Halāyudha, Bāna, Udbhata, Malayēsvara who came to Kaliāsa in human form, Kēsavarāja (these persons were famous Saiva saints, and are mostly mentioned in the *Basava-Purāna*), and countless other *Ganas* resigning the happiness of earthly life, had been dwelling in Kailāsa, engaged in the worship of Siva, an opportunity had arisen for the Jains and Buddhists to become predominant and aggressive. Thereupon Siva commanded his son or attendant Vīrabhadra to make a portion of himself incarnate, in the person of a man who should restrain these hostile rites. And Vīrabhadra appeared to Purushōttamabhatta in a dream, in the guise of a hermit, and announced to him that he should have a son, who was to be called Rāma, and who should discomfit all those, in the *dakshināpatha* or Dekkan, who had gone astray into the paths of the Jains. In due course, a son was born to Purushōttamabhatta. According to the god's command, he was named Rāma. In conformity with his divine origin, he was taught to practise the Saiva rites, with a view to ultimate absorption into Siva. And, by the exclusiveness and intensity of his devotion to Siva, he acquired the name of Ēkāntada-Rāmayya or "the single-minded Rāmayya." At various Saiva sites, with speech, body and mind entirely given up to Siva, he worshipped all the Sōmanāthas at Huligere, *i.e.*, at Lakshmēshvar in the Dhārwār District. There the god appeared in person to him, and gave him the command to go to Ablūr,—to take up his abode there—to enter fearlessly into controversy with the Jains,—and to defeat them by wagering his head. Accordingly, he established himself at Ablūr, and continued to practise asceticism at a place there known as the site of the god Brahmēsvara. One day, the Jains, led by one of the village-headmen named Sankagāvunda, assembled and began to persistently sing the praises of Jina, as the sole god, in the vicinity of the image of Siva which he worshipped. He remonstrated; maintaining that no other god deserved to be praised in the neighbourhood of Siva. And, on their refusing to desist, he then began to sing the praises of Siva, as the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer, and as the god whose essence pervades the whole universe. The Jains then challenged him to decapitate himself and offer his head to Siva in the presence of all the people, promising that, if his head should be restored to him, they would admit that Siva was indeed the one god, and Ēkāntada Rāmayya, his true disciple. And being asked to wager something against his head, they further bound themselves by a writing on a palmyra leaf, to demolish their Jina and set up an image of Siva, in the event of his success. Then, singing the praises of Siva, Ēkāntada-Rāmayya cut off his own head with a scimitar, and laid it at the feet of his god. On the seventh day, it was found by all the people that Ēkāntada-Rāmayya's head was restored to him, without a scar. The Jains, however, failed to keep their word. And so he himself, in spite of their guards, their horses, their chieftains, and the troops that they sent against him, broke off the head of their Jina, and presented it as an offering to his own god, and, as is gathered from subsequent parts of the record, set up an image of Siva, under the name of Vīra-Sōmanātha at Ablūr, and built a temple for it, "as large," the record says, "as a mountain." A short inscription on a sculptured stone, outside the temple, commemorates "the bravery displayed by Ēkāntada Rāmayya at the place of the god Brahmēsvara, in cutting off his head when the Jina of the *basadi* was wagered against it;" and adds, that in spite of the forces which Sankagāvunda brought against him, Rāmayya fought and conquered and broke the Jina. The sculpture shows, to the right, a fight, and on the left a *linga*, with a standing priest and a kneeling figure,—the latter being evidently intended for Rāmayya in the act of offering the head of the Jina. The Jains went and complained to Bijjala, who became much enraged, and sent for Ēkāntada-Rāmaiya, and questioned as to why he had committed so gross an outrage on the Jains. Thereupon Ēkāntada-Rāmayya produced the writing on the palmyra leaf, which he asked Bijjala to deposit in his treasury and offered that, if the Jains would wager their seven-hundred temples, including the Anesejjeya *basadi*—this was, and perhaps still is, a celebrated Jain temple at Lakshmēshwar—it is mentioned in other records also, he would repeat the feat; and he undertook even to allow his opponents to burn his head, and still to recover it. Wishing to see the spectacle, Bijjala called all the learned men of the Jain temples together, and bade them wager their temples, repeating the conditions on the palmyra leaf. The Jains, however, would not face the test again. So Bijjala, laughing at them, dismissed them with the advice that thenceforth they should live peaceably with their neighbours, and gave Ēkāntada-Rāmayya, in public assembly, a *jayapatra* or certificate of success. Also, pleased with the unsurpassed daring with which Ēkāntada-Rāmayya had displayed his devotion to Siva, he laved Rāmayya's feet, and granted to the temple of Vīra-Sōmanātha a village named Gogave in the Sattalige seventy in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand. Ēkāntada-Rāmayya is mentioned, with the story of his cutting off his head, in the *Channabasava-Purāna*. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. VIII. p. 198). But the controversy, in the course of which he cut off his head, is there attributed to a Jain having entered a Siva temple without removing his shoes; and the occurrence is located at Kalyāna, where, it is said, Rāmayya had gone in order to see Bijjala, whose fame had spread in all directions. Subsequently, the record says, when the Western Chalukya king Sōmēsvara IV and his commander-in-chief Brahma were at Seleyahalliva-koppa, a public assembly was held, in which recital was made of the merits of ancient and recent Saiva saints. The story of Ēkăntada-Rāmayya being told, Sōmēsvara IV wrote a letter summoning him into his own presence at his palace, and laved his feet, and granted to the same temple a village in the Nagarakhanda seventy in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand. And finally, the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Kāmadēva went and saw the temple, heard all the story, summoned Ēkāntada-Rāmayya to Hangal, and there laved his feet and granted to the temple a village named Mallavalli, near Mundagod, in the Hosanād seventy in the Panumgal five-hundred.

Sir John Fleet who accepts the above story as "reasonable and verisimilar enough" states that the events mentioned in it took place while Bijjala was still a *Mahāmandalēsvara* in the reign of Taila III, before 1162 A.D., when Bijjala completed his usurpation of Chālukya sovereignty. This may have been so—though in effect the difference is only slight, for Bijjala was virtually king since 1556—but the narrative shows that it can only have taken place after the ground had been prepared for an exploit of the kind that Ēkāntada Rāmayya is said to have achieved. Basava's revival of Saivisim should have preceded it by some years, for Rāmayya's daring deed ending in the destruction of the greatest temples at Lakshmēsvar, the most famous religious centre of the Jains at the time, seems like the culminating act in the drama rather than the commencement of it. In keeping with his theory of putting Rāmayya before Basava, is Sir John Fleet's other theory that Basava and Channa Basava's work for Vīrasaivism came after Bijjala's abdication. This is entirely opposed to literary tradition, which states that Basava's revival of Saivism took place while Bijjala was still king of Kalyāna. His further suggestion that Bijjala met with his death after abdication "in connection with some political opposition to the (Vīrasaiva) movement, which he may have instigated or favoured" is equally unsubstantiated. He quotes in support of this view that the Kalachuryas met with some reverse about that time as might be inferred from Sankhama's *Dandanāyaka*, Kavana, being called *Kalachurya-rājya-Samuddharana*, "the upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kalachuryas." Sankhama succeeded Sōvidēva in or about 1177 A.D., and it is possible he was associated with Sōvidēva in the sovereignty from 1176 A.D. Kavanayya Dandanāyaka, his great minister and *sēnādhipati*, is referred to in Davangere 44 and Honnali 50 (*E.C.* VII and *E.C.* VIII), both assigned by Mr. Rice to about 1180 A.D. In both these records, he is described as possessing the titles of *Ganda-pendara* and *Gandara-gova* and as the uprooter of the Velnāda Chōleya kingdom, displacer of Hoysala, terrifier of Konkana and the upraiser of the Kalachurya kingdom. In Davangere 50, he is also spoken of as having made the Gurjara roll on the ground. There is, in these inscriptions, not even a faint suggestion of his having put down any insurrection at Kalyāna in connection with any religious dispute. Apparently he was a great general and had successfully put down feudatories or neighbouring chiefs who had shown signs of revolt or aggression against the reigning Kalachurya king. It is clear from Davangere 50 that he made a victorious expedition to Banavāsi and incidentally halted at Baligāmi and pitched his camp at it, surrounded, we are told, by all the feudatories. Perhaps, once again there was trouble in the southern region and his presence secured it for the Chālukya king. The title of *Kalachuryarājya-samudharana* may, therefore, have to be accounted for otherwise than with his quelling any "political opposition" to the Vīrasaiva movement during the time of Sankhama, which is, by the way, too far removed from Bijjala's life-time to be connected with it. It is strange that we have no inscriptions of Bijjala beyond 1165 A.D. in this State and 1167 A.D. (his 12th regnal year at the temple of Gōpalasvāmin at Chikka Muddanur) in the Nizām's Dominions. As Sōvidēva's inscriptions show that the latter was reckoned as the first year of his reign, Bijjala's abdication should have taken place in that year. As Sankhama is removed by nearly ten years from Sōvidēva and as Kavana belongs to the former reign, it seems altogether baseless to suggest that some disaster befell the Chālukya kingdom in a reign other than that of Sankhama in which the latter's Dandanāyaka so distinguished himself as to obtain so high a title as that of "the upraiser of the Chālukya kingdom." Nor is Kavanayya mentioned in any known epigraphic records of either Bijjala or his immediate successor Sōvidēva. The only reasonable conclusion from this absence of all mention of Kavanayya in the inscriptions of Bijjala and Sōvidēva, and his actual mention in the records of Sankhama's time is that he distinctively rose to power in the latter's reign and achieved some success against some feudatory or other chief inimical to the Chālukya power that earned for him the distinctive title of "the upraiser of the Chālukya kingdom." If it had been connected in any way with the religious feuds of the time, there would have been at least a hint of it in the inscriptions referring to him. Another point worthy of note is that both the *Basava* and the *Channa-basava Purānas* distinctly record the death of Bijjala at the hands of Basava or Basava's immediate follower or followers; so also does the Jain work *Bijjalarāya Charita.* There is nothing, besides, in any of these works to indicate that Bijjala "instigated" or "favoured" any political opposition to the Vīrasaiva movement "after his abdication." If these works can be believed, he met with his death while yet king and only because of his cruelty towards Basava's followers, who contrived to kill him either openly in his own palace (Saiva version) or secretly by poisoning. (Jaina version).

Bijjala's successors. Sōvidēva or Sōmēsvara—Rāya Murāri, Bhujabala-malla, 1167-1176 A.D.

Bijjala had an younger brother named Mailugi Dēva. Davangere 44 praises him as acquainted with all arts and an abode of all good qualities. He is said to have "shone with the lady earth in his arms." Apparently he ruled over a part of the kingdom. Bijjala had four sons. Of these Sōvi-Dēva (or Sōmēsvara) was the eldest. He bore the titles of *Rāya Murāri* and *Bhujabalamalla.* The next was Sankama-Dēva. Whether he is identical with Mailugi-Dēva mentioned in Davangere 44 is not known. But as both these are mentioned in this inscription as having ruled, Mailugi before Sankama, it seems as though they were two different persons. The third was Āhavamalla and the fourth was Singhana. All these four succeeded to the throne, one after the other. Inscriptions dated in 1179 and 1180 A.D. which have been found in the Dhārwār District show that by a wife named Echaladēvi, who was probably not the mother of

Sōvidēva and his brothers, Bijjala had another (fifth) son, named Vajradēva and a daughter Siriyadēvi, who was married to the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Chavunda II of the Sinda family of Yelburga. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 477). Davangere 44 also mentions a grandson of Bijjala named Katedēva, but it does not state whose son he was.

On the abdication of Bijjala in 1167 A.D., Sōvi-Dēva succeeded him on the throne. He was contemporary with Sōmēsvara IV of the Chālukya line. Occasionally he is mentioned as Sōmēsvara; and sometimes as Sōma, Sōyi and Sōvi in inscriptions. (*E.C.* VIII Shikarpur 249, 92; 171; 181; Honnali 50). He had the paramount titles of *Rājādhirāja*, *Rājamārtanda* (Shikarpur 92); *Kalachurya Chakravarti* (Shikarpur 181); *Kalachurya Bhujabala Chakravarti* (Shikarpur 269). One of his wives was Savaladēvi, who is described as not only highly skilled in music and dancing, but also as displaying her accomplishments in public. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 484). There are about eleven inscriptions of his period or mentioning him in the Shikarpur Taluk. Among these are:—Shikarpur 236 dated in the 7th year of his reign, cyclic year *Vijaya*, dated 1174 A.D.; Shikarpur 269 of the 9th year, cyclic year *Khara*, which may be set down to 1176; and Shikarpur 206, 10th year, dated in 1176 A.D. His governor for the southern province was Kēsimayya or Kēsava-dandanāyaka. He held charge of Taddavādi 1,000, Hanungal 500 and the Banavāsi 12,000. (Shikarpur 92). He seems to have visited Baligāmi in 1168 A.D. According to Shikarpur 92, he seems to have been a wise administrator and a great general. It is said of him that he killed many kings in battle, apparently an exaggeration for the successful manner in which probably he put down truculent feudatories and vassal chiefs. He is said to have followed the practice of the Manus. The policy he adopted was, we are told, the policy of the ancient kings; the good of others was the wealth he accumulated; the promotion of the greatness of his ruler was his own greatness, and the satisfaction of his dependents he reckoned as his own satisfaction. Thus, it is stated, did Byalike Kēsava Dandanāyaka live and prosper. He seems to have been duly impressed with the religious sanctity and the fame of the Kēdarēsvara temple of Baligāmi, included in his charge, and made a gift, in 1168 A.D., in favour of it. The Yati Vāmasakti was at its head. He is said to have been a Pānini in grammar; in Siddhānta, Lakulīsvara; in policy and discernment, Srībhushanāchārya; in drama and the science of music, Bharata-muni; in poetry, Subandhu himself; in Siva devotion, Skanda. He seems to have been styled *Rāja-guru.* His grant was not only for the repairs of the temple and the food of the ascetics connected with it but also for propagating (free) learning. Sōvi-Dēva's capital is said to have been at Kalyāna, though he seems to have had another seat of government at Modeganur, located by Sir John Fleet somewhere in the Nizām's Dominions. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 485). Among his other Dandanāyakas was Bammidēvarasa, who subsequently restored the Chālukya power. (*Ibid*, 468). During Sōvi-Dēva's reign, Kadamba kings had been governors of the Banavāsi province. According to Sorab 345 dated in 1171 A.D. (*E.C.* VII), Sōvi-Dēva, the Kadamba governor in that year, had put the Changalur king into chains, as he had vowed. Sorab 139 dated in 1178 A.D. shows how the despatch of military forces was necessary for collecting fixed land rent.

Sankama Dēva, Nissankamalla, 1177-1180 A.D.

Sōvi-Dēva was succeeded by his brother Sankama-Dēva in or about 1177 A.D., though he seems to have ruled with Sōvi Dēva from sometime in 1176 A.D. He is described as *Kalachurya-Chakravarti*; *Kalachurya-bhujabala-chakravarti* and *Nissankamalla.* (Shikarpur

237 and 300 dated 1180 A.D.). Kalyāna seems to have been his capital, with a second seat at Modeganur, above named. There seems to have been some trouble in his reign, for Kavana or Kavanayya is said to have proved himself the "upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kalachuryas." (Honnali 50 dated in 1180 A.D.). Apparently he put down certain of the feudatories and probably also some of the more troublesome independent neighbours, among whom must be classed the ruler of the Velnāda Chōleya, Hoysala and Konkana countries, mentioned in the inscription referred to. (*See above*). This Kavana is said to have been descended from Bankarasa of Baluhara in the Sagara country and had an younger brother named Mahādēva-dandanāyaka. Among Kavana's titles were, according to Davangere 44, *Ganda-pendara* and *Gandara-gova*. He should have been a great minister, for he is said to have had under him over seventy-two officials. Shikarpur 96 dated in 1179 A.D. refers to a pleasure visit he paid to the southern province of Banavāsi. At Baligāmi, he heard of the great Kēdarēsavara temple and its famous head Vāmasakti, who is described as the very Māgha in poetry. Sankama appears to have ruled to about the end of 1180 A.D.

Āhavamalla, 1180-1183 A.D.

Sankama was succeeded in or about 1181 A.D. by his brother Āhavamalla. He also possessed the title of *Vīra-Nārāyana* (or Rāya Nārāyana, as Shikarpur 245 puts it). His real name is not known. Like his predecessors, he appears to have been known as *Kalachurya Chakravarti* (Shikarpur 144 ; 245), *Kalachurya Bhujabala Chakravarti* and also *Paramabhattāraka*. From an inscription at Baligāmi, it is inferred that he was associated in the rule with Sankama about 1179 A.D. and that probably there was a division of the kingdom in the same year between the two brothers. Sankama seems to have obtained the northern and eastern provinces, while Āhavamalla received the country more to the south. He probably ruled from Kalyāna. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 488-489). Shikarpur 119 dated in 1181 A.D. gives a glowing account of him and of his five leading ministers, upon whom his sovereign powers of government devolved. These five were Lakshmana-Dandēsa, spoken of as the *Mahāsāmantasenāpati*; next Dandanātha Chandagidēva, who is said to have burnt the territory of the brave Vijayāditya, taken the Chōla and Hoysala kingdoms and was giving constant trouble to the other kings; then Rechana-Dandanātha; next Sōvana-chamupati and finally Kavana-Dandanāyaka, who was like Airāvata among the regent-elephants. The experienced administrator Kēsimayya-Dandanāyaka was appointed governor of Banavāsinād, called the treasury of the south, to govern it as a father. So well did he administer his charge that under his government, we are told, none were conceited, none conspicuous in splendour, none in opposition, none clamouring for influence, none creating disturbance, none in suffering, no enemies filled with anger and none receiving titles had their heads turned by the songs of poets. He is spoken of as a double of Chānakya. He was apparently so greatly trusted by the king as to be termed the chief master of robes and invested with the title of *Vergadde* of the *Antahpura*, *i.e.*, female apartments. (Shikarpur 144 dated in 1181 A.D). The latest date we have for Āhavamalla, 1183 A.D., is described as his fourth year in Shikarpur 245. (Shikarpur 159 dated in 1183, should also be set down to the same regnal year and not the 8th which seems manifestly wrong).

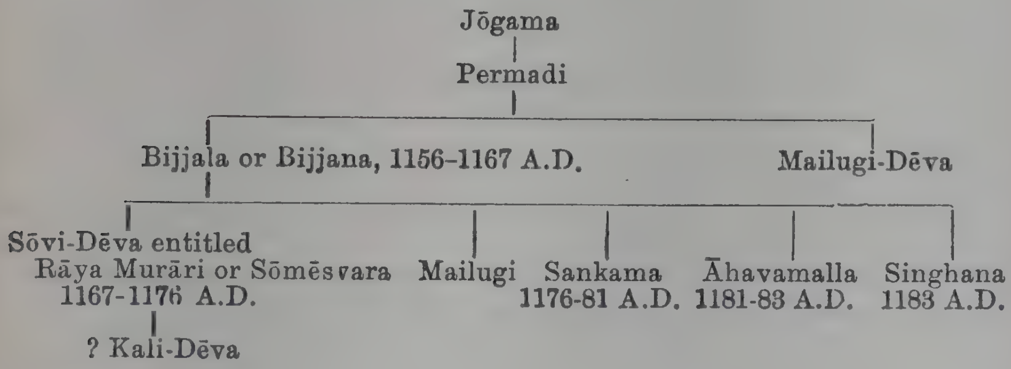
Singhana-Dēva, 1183 A.D.

Āhavamalla was succeeded, in 1183 A.D., by his younger brother Singhana-Dēva, of whom no records have, so far, been found in this State. But a copper-plate grant of his has been traced in the Dhārwār District. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 489). It is dated in October 1183. As he is described in it as *Mahārājādhirāja*, Sir John Fleet suggests he actually ascended the throne. But we know nothing about him. He proved the last of his line. In the same year, 1183, A.D., probably in the earlier part of it, the Western Chālukya sovereignty was restored, by Dandanāyaka Brahma, as mentioned before, in the person of Sōmēsvara IV.

Importance of Kalachurya Rule.

The Kalachurya dynasty thus did not last beyond a short period of about twenty-seven years. Brief though its rule, it was highly eventful. The rise and rapid growth of Vīrasaivism was one of its chief features. This resuscitated Saivism, of a strict and militant type, produced at least two effects. One was, it stimulated Kannada literary effort, though it took a controversial turn at first and later a sectarian. But Vīrasaiva writers have been among the most assiduous cultivators of polished Kannada. Their writings cover many pages of the literary history of the Kannada country and range from popular poetry to abstruse philosophic thought. Some of the authors were great scholars as much in Sānskrit as in Kannada. Another effect of the spread of Vīrasaivism was the eclipsing of the more ancient Buddhist and Jain faiths. Buddhism was still a living religion during Bijjala's time, and as such claimed numerous followers in the Deccan and the Banavāsi areas. There are many references to Buddhism in the *Ācharasāra*, which shows clearly that about *Saka* 1076 (1154 A.D.) it was still popular. Nāgiyakka founded the temple of Tāra at Baligāmi in 1065 A.D., the year of Bijjala's abdication. (Shikarpur 170, see under *Western Chālukyas*). With the growth of Vīrasaivism among the masses, Buddhism slowly lost its hold on them and combined with other causes, soon ceased to exist as an independent faith. As regards Jainism, the case was different. Bijjala was not converted to the new faith and his successors held on to it. It was professed by other kings as well in the south of India. Still, it is not open to doubt that the new cult markedly checked its growth and effectively challenged its supremacy over the masses. As it spread, Vīrasaivism claimed many of the Jain temples and with but a little change, converted Jain images even into the *Linga*.

The following is a genealogical table of this short-lived but historically important dynasty:—


Jōgama
Permadi
Bijjala or Bijjana, 1156–1167 A.D.
Mailugi-Dēva
Sōvi-Dēva entitled Rāya Murāri or Sōmēsvara 1167-1176 A.D.
? Kali-Dēva
Mailugi
Sankama 1176-81 A.D.
Āhavamalla 1181-83 A.D.
Singhana 1183 A.D.

Kalachurya Coinage.

Not much has been discovered of the coinage of the Kalachuryas. To Sōmēsvara (Rāyamurāri Sōvi) is attributed the coinage of *pagōdas* and *fanams* with the king's titles in Hala Kannada on the reverse and a figure advancing to the right on the observe. (Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, 78 and Plate III. 87; and Rapson, *Indian Coinage*, 38.).

Chōlas.

After the overthrow of the Gangas in or about 1004 A.D., the Chōlas dominated the south and east of the State. Their rule lasted until 1116 A.D., or about 112 years. During this period, almost contemporaneously with them, there ruled in the north-west of Mysore, the restored dynasty of Western Chālukyas. During the reign of Vikramāditya VI, of the latter dynasty, the

Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana overthrew the Chōlas and captured Talkād, the old Ganga capital.

Their origin and history, *Circa* 4th to 3rd century B.C.

The Chōlas were one of the oldest royal lines known in the south of India. They are mentioned by Katyāyana, the great *Sūtra* writer, who has been assigned to the 4th century B.C. by some and by others to the 3rd century B.C., and in the edicts of Asōka, the Maurya Emperor, which belong to the 3rd century B.C. As they are not referred to by Pānini (*Circa* 300 B.C., according to Macdonell and 700 B.C., according to Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*), it has been suggested they might have come into existence, some time between the 3rd and 7th centuries B.C. In Asōka's Edict XIII, the Chōla king is referred to as an independent ruler in the south, to whose dominions Buddhism had been extended. Their origin and early history are lost in obscurity though a great part of their later annals has been recovered mostly through the decipherment of their extant inscriptions in India, Burma and Ceylon. Their name is written in Tamil as *Sōla* or *Sōra*; in Kannada, it is Chōla; and in Telugu, it appears as Chōda. As Asōka states that his religious conquest extended to the Chōla kingdom and beyond it to the Pāndya kingdom as well, it may be taken that there were, about the 3rd century B.C., already professing Buddhists and Jains in and about the Chōla country.

The Early Chōlas: 3rd century B.C. to 1st Cent. A.D.

Of the earliest kings of this dynasty, of whom there might have been several generations, practically nothing definite is known. The few stray literary references we have hardly lift the veil that obscures them.

Kōpperun-Chōla. Kōchcham-kanna.

A king prominently mentioned by poets is Kōpperun-Chōlan (literally the Great Chōla King), who appears to have been at war with his own sons. Perunatkilli is another. He is mentioned not only in Tamil literature but also in the Tiruvālangādu plates of Rājēndra-Chōla's time, in the large Leyden grant and in the Udayēndiram grant of Prithivīpati II. Another Chōla king referred to in the Tiruvālangādu plates is Kōchchamkanna who is mentioned in the Tamil *Periyapurānam.* It is said of him both in the *Periyapurānam* and in the Tiruvālangādu plates that he had been a spider in his previous birth. The legend was already current in the reign of Rājarāja I. (*M.E.R.* 1891-2, Para 10 Ins. No. 41 of 1891; and *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 15). An inscription of the Pāndyan King Kulasēkhara mentions the sacred street called after the God who transformed a spider into a Chōla King. (*M.E.R.* 1891-2 No. 25 of 1891).

Karikala Chōla 1st century A.D. to 2nd century A.D.

Then, we have frequent allusions to Karikala Chōla, who is also referred to in the grants above quoted and in the Bedirur grant of the Ganga king Bhūvikrama, dated in *Saka* 556 (634 A.D.). He is described in this grant as the builder of banks to the Cauvery (*Karita-Kāvēri-tira*), a work that has been assigned to him by literary writers and lithic inscriptions of the Telugu-Chōdas of the 12th century as well. (See *M.A.R.* 1925, Paras 135-136; (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 34.) The Tiruvālangādu plates state (Verse 42) that he made the town of Kānchi new with gold, a fact that is not mentioned anywhere else. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 15). This statement, if true, would show that Kānchi was in the hands of the Chōlas in Karikala's time. He is said to have invaded Ceylon and to have employed his prisoners of war in fortifying the sea-port of Kāvēri-pūmpattinam, at the mouths of the Cauvery. This place is known to Tamil poets as Puhar. His capital was situated at Uraiyūr (also spelt as Warriore and Woraiyūr) near modern Trichinopoly. This was probably the earliest capital city of the dynasty, though the suggestion has been made that it was founded by Karikāla

Chōla. Kāvēripūmpattinam attracted to itself much of the sea-borne trade of the times. Foreign merchants, including those from Rome, regularly visited it and even resided at it for considerable periods of time. Graphic descriptions of it are to be found in the writings of Tamil poets (see Kanakasabhai's *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, (16-38). Karikāla seems to have improved and fortified and not founded it, for it is referred to as having existed long prior to his time. Roman trade with it seems to have lasted to about 215 A.D. Caracalla's massacre at Alexandria in that year put an end to it. The ancient site of Kāvēri-pūmpattinam, now called Sāyāvanam, has been searched for early Chōla inscriptions. It has yielded only three records of Vikrama-Chōla; one of these refers to Sajai in Pugar-nagar, which is the name given to Kāvēri-pūmpattinam in Tamil literature. (*M.E.R.* 1912. Appendix B. No. 269).

Nedumadi Killi. Destruction of Kāvēripūmpattinam. Hiuen Tsiang's description, 7th century A.D.

Karikala was succeeded by his son or perhaps his grandson Nedumadi Killi. During his reign, Kāvēripūmpattinam is said to have been destroyed by an invasion of the sea. The event is held to have happened in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. About this time, the Chōlas appear to have suffered at the hands of the Chēras and then of the Pallavas. At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, about 641 A.D., the position of the Chōlas was a wholly subordinate one. No king of theirs is mentioned by him. Their country is stated to have been 1000 *li* south-west of Dhanakataka (modern Amarāvati) and about 1500 *li* from it to the south was Dravida, capital of which was modern Kānchi. The country thus demarcated must be identified with a part of the Ceded Districts, more probably that portion of it which comprises the Cuddapah district, where Tamil inscriptions of Parāntaka I of the Imperial Chōla dynasty have been found (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 49), and also Telugu Chōda inscriptions.

(*M.E.R.* 1905 and 1907). Hiuen Tsiang seems to have passed through this country. He writes:—

> "The country of Chulya (Chola) is about 2,400 or 2,500 *li* in circuit; the capital is about 10 *li* round. It is deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungle. The population is very small, and troops of brigands go through the country openly. The climate is hot; the manners of the people dissolute and cruel. The disposition of the men is naturally fierce; they are attached to heretical teaching. The *sanghārāmas* are ruined and dirty as well as the priests. There are tens of Dēva temples, and many Nīrgrantha heretics." (Beal, *Si-yu-ki* II. 227-228).

Only a person who had personal knowledge of the country could have written the above description. He refers to the capital of the kingdom, which unaccountably he omits to name. Of the Buddhist monastaries near it, he says:—

> "At a little distance south-east of the city is a *stupa* by Asōkarāja.........Not far to the west of the city there is an old *sanghārāma*." (Beal, *Si-yu-ki* II. 227-228).

Buddhism was apparently in a decaying state, Jainism and Brāhminism being in the ascendant. The Chōlas described by Hiuen Tsiang must be taken to be a branch of the main line, resident in the Telugu country and not the main line itself, which had its capital at or near Trichinopoly. Even during the height of the Pallava power, the Tamil Chōlas who dominated the country round about Trichinopoly do not appear to have lost their hold on it. Hence we have to conclude that Hiuen Tsiang's reference to the Chōlas must be held to apply only to a section of them and not to their main line resident in or about the Cauvery delta. Not long after the visit of Hiuen Tsiang, the Pallavas were defeated by the Chalukya king Vikramāditya I in 674 A.D. and again by Vikramāditya II in 740 A.D. On both occasions, Kānchi, their capital, was taken but spared (see *ante*). This prevented fresh Pallava aggressions southwards. Gōvinda III, the Rāshtrakūta king, defeated the Pallavas again, in or about 797 A.D. (See *ante* under Rāshtrakūtas). About 862-863 A.D., the Pāndyas under Varaguna appear to have invaded the Chōla country but were beaten off by Aparājita, the Pallava king, aided by the Western Ganga king Prithivīpati I, at the battle of Tiruppurambiyam, near Kumbakonam. (See *ante* under *Pallavas*). This gave an opportunity to the Chōlas, who had hitherto been in a repressed state, being hemmed in between the Pallavas on the one side and the Pāndyas on the other, both trying to occupy as much of their territory as possible. Towards the close of the 9th century, however, Āditya I, the Chōla king, defeated in battle Aparājita, the Pallava sovereign, and annexed his territories. (See *ante* under *Pallavas*). As the Tiruvālangādu Plates state that Aparājita was conquered in battle with his brilliant troops, it is possible he was taken captive and made to end his days in a state prison. (*Ibid*).

Imperial Chōlas. Vijayālaya, 846-880 A.D.

Āditya I, above named, was the son of Vijayālaya, the founder of a new dynasty of Chōla kings, who might be well called the Imperial Chōlas. (About these kings and their successors, see *M.E.R.* 1892, Para 6 and *S.I.I.* III. ii. 196). They seem to have been alternately entitled "Rājakēsari-varman" and "Parakēsari-varman." How far this dynasty was descended from the old Chōla rulers of Uraiyūr mentioned by the Tamil poets, it is yet too premature to suggest. Some of the former are claimed as ancestors by some of the latter, and both belonged to the Solar race. Vijayālaya probably began his reign about 846 A.D. and continued till about 880 A.D. As his inscriptions have been found in such widely scattered areas as Suchindram near Cape Comorin and Ukkal, Conjeevaram and Tirukkoilyur, in the Chingleput and

South Arcot Districts, it has to be inferred that he ruled over a fairly good part of Southern India. He captured Tanjore apparently from some enemy and made it his capital. He is said to have built a temple of Durga Nisumbhasūdani at this place. (*M.E.R.* 1906, para 16). A reference to him and to a previous grant made by him is referred to in *M.E.R.* 1910, Appendix B. No. 675 of 1909.

Vijayālaya is referred to in some copper-plate records of a date later than his own. A few lithic inscriptions of a certain Parakēsarivarman in Conjeevaram and Ukkal in the Chingleput District have been attributed to him. A lithic inscription of his dated in his 4th year is recorded to have been recopied in the 5th year of Vikrama-Chōla when the temple of Kīlputtūr (North Arcot District) was renovated. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 17. Appendix B. No. 164). This inscription registers a previous grant of land made for offerings and worship to the central shrine in the Svayambhūnāthasvāmin temple at Kīlputtūr.

Chronology of the Imperial Chōlas.

The subject of the chronology of the Imperial Chōlas is not free from doubt. The dates furnished by the Ceylon chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, for kings who ruled that province contemporaneously with Chōla kings are not always trustworthy. For instance, a manifest error of 23 years has been pointed by Dr. Hultzsch. The following dates of accession have been worked out on the basis of inscriptions found in Southern India including the Mysore State. The interested reader should consult the authorities quoted at the end of this volume.

Vijayālaya	846—880 A.D.
Āditya I	880--907 A.D.
Parāntaka I	907—947 A.D.
(His highest regnal year may be taken to be 40, though a few stray inscriptions are found for him subsequent to that year).	
Rājāditya	947—949 A.D.
Gandarāditya	949—950 A.D.

Arinjaya	949—950 A.D.
Sundara-Chōla, Parāntaka II ... (His highest regnal year was, perhaps, 17).	947—966 A.D.
Aditya II, Karikala II ... ... (His highest regnal year known is 5).	965—970 A.D.
Uttama-Chōla, Parakēsari-Varman (*S.I.I.* III 284)	969—985 A.D.
Rāja-rāja I	985—1013 A.D.
Rājēndra-Chōla	1012-13—1045 A.D.
Rājādhirāja I	1012—1054-55 A.D.
Rājēndra-Dēva	1052—1062 A.D.
Rājamahēndra Vīrarājēndra (? 1062—1065) Adhirājēndra (? 1063—1066) ...	1063-64—1070 A.D.
Rājēndra-Chōla II or Kulōttunga-Chōla	1070—1120 A.D.
Vikrama-Chōla...	1118—1135 A.D.
Kulōttunga-Chōla II	? 1133—1145 A.D.
Rājarāja II	1146—1172 A.D.
Rājādhirāja II	? 1172—1187 A.D.
Kulōttunga-Chōla III	1178—1216 A.D.

Kopperunjinga's Rebellion and Rule, 1243—1279 A.D.

Rājārāja III	1216—1257 A.D.
Rājēndra-Chōla III	1246—1268 A.D.

Pāndyan, Kākatīya and Hoysala occupation, 1266—1310 A.D.

Semapillai (Feudatory of Vīra-Pāndya.)	?
Tribhuvanachōladēva	1332 A.D.

Several Chōla kings are known from inscriptions, but their identity cannot be established as they bear no distinguishing royal titles, beyond the names Rājakēsarivarman or Parakēsarivarman. (*e.g.*, see *M.E.R.* 1920, Para 18; *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 10, etc.). A number of inscriptions attributed to Parakēsarivarman without any distinguishing title should be set down as stated above, to Vijayālaya, the first of the Chōla line. Thus inscription No. 45 of 1895 (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B) dated in the 5th year of the early Chōla king Parakēsarivarman should be attributed to Vijayālaya. If so, No. 45 of 1895 which records gifts by Mallur-nangai, the mother-in-law of the early Chōla king Parakēsarivarman, shows that she was the mother-in-law of Vijayālaya. She is mentioned in an inscription in the temple of Tiruppuvanam. (*M.E.R.* 1895), similarly several inscriptions which mention Rājakēsarivarman and are dated in his reign should be assigned to Āditya I, son of Parāntaka I. Thus there is an inscription of the 24th year at Jananāthēsvara temple at Takkolam, near Arkonam, of a Rājakēsarivarman, who has been identified with this king. (*M.E.R.* 1897, Appendix B, No. 5 of 1897). It records a gift by Piridipati, son of Maramaraiyar, probably one of the two Western Ganga kings named Prithivipati. (*S.I.I.* II. 380). For the same reason, several records found at the Siva temple of Tiruvambur, mentioning a Rājakēsarivarman, have been attributed to Āditya I. This temple is one of those mentioned in the Tamil *Dēvāram* (7th to 8th century A.D) and was probably built during the time of Āditya I. (*M.E.R.* 1915 ; Appendix B, Nos. 101, 104, 105, 127, and 130 and 133. See also Para 3). Three inscriptions found at Sēndalai mentioning Rājakēsarivarman have also been attributed to him. Two of them bear the high regnal year 24. (*M.E.R.* 1926 ; Appendix C, Nos. 202, 209 and 210). An inscription at Brahmadēsam is dated in the much higher regnal year 27 and refers to a king named Rājakēsarivarman. It has been rightly attributed to Āditya I, as the high regnal year cannot be assigned to any other Rājakēsarivarman between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I. (*M.E.R.* 1016, Appendix B, No. 230). Besides this, the donor in this is the same as in another inscription dated in the 17th year of Parāntaka I. (*Ibid* No. 224).

Āditya I is probably also the Rājakēsarivarman who is referred to in an inscription found at Niyamam (No. 10 of 1899), in which the Pallava queen Mārambāvi is mentioned. She is also named in two inscriptions found at Tiruchenampūndi near Kumbakonam, of the Ganga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nripatungavikramavarman, one of his 22nd and another of his 18th year, as the queen of the Pallava king Nandipōttaraiyar.

(*M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 300, 301 and 303). Dr. Hultzsch writes :----

> "One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakēsarivarman put an end to the rule of the Ganga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Nripatungavarman and afterwards to his conqueror the Chōla king. We have no means of ascertaining whether Mārambāvi's husband Nandipōttaraiyan was identical with (Nandivarman) who was "Victorious at Tellāru."

Of this latter, an inscription has been found in the Tiruchenampūndi temple. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 25). Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this Nandivarman has to be kept distinct from the Vijaya-Nripatungavarman above referred to. (See *S.I.I.* II, V. 506 ; also *ante* under *Pallavas*).

Āditya I, Rājakēsarivarman, 880-907 A.D.

Āditya I succeeded Vijayālaya I on the Chōla throne about 880 A.D. He had a long and eventful reign of about twenty-seven years. His defeat of the Pallava king Aparājita has been referred to above. He is said to have taken the Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore Districts) and the Tondaimandalam country.

In his conquest of the Pallavas, Āditya appears to have been assisted by the Kērala King Sthānu Ravi, both of whom are represented in an inscription at Tillaisthanām as having conferred on one Vikki-Annan certain honours. This Vikki-Annan had married a Kadamba princess, called Kadambamādēvi. He was probably a Kodumbalūr chief and a feudatory of the Chōlas. Some Kannada inscriptions found at Kodumbalūr suggest their connection with the Mysore country. Vikki-Annan, from the nature of the honours bestowed on him, which included a throne, palanquin, mansion, etc., should have distinguished himself as an able general to have deserved them at the hands of the two kings, the Chōla Āditya and the

Kērala Sthānu Ravi. Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has identified this Sthānu Ravi, the ally of Āditya in his war against the Pallavas, with Kōkkandan-Ravi—the vanquisher of kings mentioned with the other Chēra king Vōkkandan Vīranārāyana of the Chandrāditya family. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 3). The friendly relations that existed between the Kērala king Sthānu Ravi and the Chōla king Āditya I, as stated above, explain how Parāntaka I, son of Āditya I, came to marry the daughter of the Kērala king as mentioned in the Udayēndiram Plates of Prithivīpati II. (*S.I.I.* II. 386). Sthānu Ravi of the Kottayam Plates is a later king of that name and cannot be identified with the king of the same name referred to above. (*E.I.* IV, 293; *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 11).

Āditya I must have organised his military forces on the basis on which Rājarāja I, later built up his own system. After him was named the regiment called "Ādittanpanmatovinda Kaikōlar." (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B, No. 135 of 1925).

Āditya appears to have died at Tondaimānattūr, as he is called *Tondaimānattūr-tunjinadēva.* This place has been identified with Tondamanād in the Kalahasti Taluk, North Arcot District, whose inscriptional name is Tondaimān-parattur. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 29). Arinjaya, his grandson, also died at an Attūr, but this place has probably to be identified with Sittāttūr in the Walajapet Taluk, North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 26).

Parāntaka I, Vīranārāyana Parakēsari-varman, A.D. 907–946.

Āditya I appears to have had two sons—Kannaradēva and Parāntaka I. Of the former, who is described as Ādittan Kannaradēva (*i.e.* Kannaradēva, the son of Āditya I), nothing is known. A gift of gold for a lamp is recorded by him in an inscription dated in the 3rd year of his father. (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B, No. 38 of 1895). Parāntaka I, the other son, succeeded his father on the throne. His brother Kannaradēva was probably the elder and had predeceased him sometime before the death of Āditya I. Parāntaka I appears to have been an ambitious and intrepid prince. He is described in many of his inscriptions as "Madiraikondān" ("who took Madura") and "Īlan Kondān" ("who took Ceylon"). His Tamil inscriptions have been found in the Cuddapah District, where the prevailing language is now Telugu. He carried on three consecutive wars against the Pāndyas, in the last of which he also invaded Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1906-07, Part II, Paras 32-34). He defeated the Pāndya king Rājasimha in the third year of his reign, or about 910 A.D. He defeated the Bānas as well, and conferred their sovereignty on the Western Ganga prince Prithivīpati with the name of Hastimalla. (See *ante* under *Pallavas*). This was about 921 A.D. This is the first event which brought the Chōlas into contact with Mysore.

The extent of his Rule.

An inscription dated in the 29th year of his reign has been found at Bairakur, Kolar District, recording a grant in favour of a hero. His 29th regnal year would be A.D. 935-936. (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 203). Apparently a part of the present Kolar District formed part of his kingdom. He conquered Kongu, modern Salem and Coimbatore Districts, in the former of which his inscriptions have been found. Towards the close of his reign, he even invaded Ceylon from which exploit he took the modest title of "a veritable Rāma in battle." In describing it, he says, "he slew in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army sent by the Lord of Lanka," and another inscription definitely states that he entered the island with an invading army. The reality and the extent of his conquests may be inferred from the fact that inscriptions referring to him have been found from Suchindram, near Cape Comorin, in the south, to Kālāhasti in the North Arcot District. Many inscriptions ranging over the whole period of his long reign have been found. (*e.g.*, *M.E.R.* 1901, Nos. 284 to 299 ranging in regnal years from 29 to 36; *M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. No. 246; *M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix B. No. 42, of the 40th year, etc.).

His religion domestic, life, etc.

He appears to have been a pious Saiva, though, as we shall see, he was not intolerant of Vaishnavism. A meritorious work of his often mentioned in inscriptions was his renewing the gold plating of the famous Chidambaram temple. The gold used for this purpose is described as the "pure gold brought from all the regions subdued by the power of his own arm." According to the Tiruvālangādu Plates, the portion of the Chidambaram temple which he covered with gold was the small hall of Siva, known as *darbhasabha,* Tamil *Chitambalam.* (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 16). The Kālāmukha ascetics appear to have received considerable patronage at his hands. A well organized village administration is found mentioned in his inscriptions. An inscription of his 14th year shows that during his reign, if not from an earlier date, there was a Committee of the Village Assembly, called the *Sabhai-Vāriyam,* along with the tank supervision and other special Committees. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix C. No. 74). He probably built on the foundations of an existing system of rural self-government. The Udayēndiram Plates state that he "practised many meritorious acts and gifts, such as the *hēmagarbha* gift, the *tulābhāra* gift, gifts of land to Brāhmans and the building of temples."

His Capitals and his Queens.

His capitals were Conjeeveram and Tanjore. One of his queens was a princess of Kērala, being the daughter of the Kērala prince Paluvittaraiyar. (*E.I.* XV. 50). Another was Villavan-Mādēviyār, who is known from an inscription dated in his 39th year. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 16, No. 37 of 1910). An unknown queen of his was Ādittan

Karralippirātti, who is mentioned in an inscription dated in his 40th year. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 9, Appendix B. No. 353 of 1918). An inscription at Tiruvaiyar in the Tanjore District refers to a princess named Arinjigai, the daughter of a certain Ilādarayar, *i.e.*, Lātarayar, or king of the Lāta country. If she was a queen of Parāntaka I, she was probably the mother of Arinjaya, one of his sons. (See *M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. Nos. 131 to 139, 143 and 144 of 1918). Another inscription of his dated in his 34th year mentions his queen Seyyabhuvanasundaramaniyār. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 25, Appendix C. No. 46 of 1923). Another queen of his was Kōkkilānadigal. (*E.I.* VII. 137). It is possible that Kokkilānadigal is only an honorific title meaning " H. R. H." and as such referable to one, either Seyyabhuvana or Villavan-Mādēviyār. His son Rājāditya had under him a Kērala general, who built a temple in the present South Arcot District.

Period of his rule.

He probably ruled for about forty years from 907 A.D. to 947-948 A.D. Though there are a few epigraphs bearing even a higher regnal year than 40, it is possible that they were so dated in his reign, despite his demise at an earlier date, in conformity with the practice of the times which continued the dating of records in the name of a dead king until his successor was firmly established in the kingdom. (See *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 12). It is possible also that he lived a few years later and his son Rājāditya was co-regent with him during that period—until he was unhappily cut off at the battle of Takkolam. This view is rendered probable by the Sōlapuram record, whose date is expressed in three different ways :—(1) " the year two"; (2) "the *Saka* year 871 (A.D. 949)"; and (3) " the year in which Kannaradēva-vallabha having pierced Rājāditya entered Tondaimandalam." (*E.I.* VII). Krishna III began his rule in or about A.D. 940 and continued till about A.D. 968 and killed Rājāditya at

Takkolam in *Saka* 872, corresponding to A.D. 949-950. (*E.I.* VI. 51 and *ante* under *Western Chalukyas*). The year "two" of the Sōlapuram record should, according to Dr. Hultzsch, refer to Rājāditya, which would make him king for "two" years, from A.D. 947-948 to A.D. 949-950. According to the Kanyakumāri inscription of Vīrarājēndra, Krishna III was defeated, perhaps earlier in his reign, by Parāntaka I (*E.I.* XVIII 24) and in retaliation Krishna III killed Rājāditya in battle. Why a powerful king like Parāntaka I did not avenge his son's death is not clear. It has been suggested that he was engaged in his third war against the Pāndyas of Madura (946-947 A.D.) and could do nothing at the time to save his son. It is probable he died about 947-948 A.D. and that he was succeeded by his son Rājāditya in that year. His death left Krishna III free to rule over the conquered area in the south which inscriptions show the Chōlas had given up for lost for the time being. This is how a number of inscriptions found in the South Arcot District, with *Saka* dates, ranging from A.D. 953 to 963, and referring to a local chief but without mentioning any over-lord, have to be explained. This peculiarity shows that there was no Chōla king ruling over the territory comprised in the modern districts of North Arcot, Chittoor, South Arcot and Chingleput.

War against the Pāndyas.

Mention has been made of Parāntaka's war against the Pāndyas of Madura. It must be added that he fought against them three times and twice against the Ceylonese. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Pages 58-49). His first war against the Pāndyas appears to have been, as stated above, in his 3rd year (or A.D. 910), when he assumed the title of *Maduraikondān*. The second war should have taken place about his 12th year (or A.D. 919). Mr. Venkayya has suggested that there should have been another war between these two wars, *i.e.*, between

910 and 919 A.D. According to inscriptions, the last war against the Pāndyas should have taken place towards the close of his reign, *i.e.*, about 947-948 A.D. The earliest mention of the conquest of Īlam (Ceylon) in his records is in an inscription of his 37th year (or A.D. 943-944). According to the *Mahāvamsa*, it should have occurred in the reign of Udaya III, who ruled from A.D. 964 to 972. Making allowance for the error in the chronology of Ceylon pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch, *i.e.*, in other words, deducting twenty-three years from the initial year of Udaya III, we find that the event cannot fall in his reign, though it does into that of Parāntaka I. According to the Leyden grant, when Parāntaka I died, Rājāditya became king, but was killed at Takkolam about A.D. 950. The Tiruvālangādu Plates (verses 54-55) clearly state that Gandarāditya and Arindama *became kings* after Parāntaka I. But as the Leyden grant mentions nothing about them, it has been suggested that they died a natural death, after short reigns, in or about 950 A.D. From A.D. 950 to 963, the ruling Chōla king was Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II and he consequently could have ruled over the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, as no inscriptions have so far been discovered further north. It is, besides, significant that with the accession of Āditya Karikāla and his successor Uttama-Chōla, whose initial date was A.D. 969-970, Chōla inscriptions begin to appear in the South Arcot and Chingleput Districts. This shows that with the decline of the Rāshtrakūtas under Khottiga (A.D. 966-971), the vigour of their rule in these districts waned and the Chōlas correspondingly increased their domination over them.

Second war against the Pāndyas.

Of Parāntaka's second war against the Pāndyas, we get a few glimpses in a couple of inscriptions, both dated in his 12th year, but coming from different places—

Kīlappaluvūr in the Trichinopoly District and Tiruppārkadal in the North Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No. 231; and *M.E.R.* 1905, No. 693 of 1904). In the Tiruppārkadal inscription, it is stated that the Pāndya and the king of Ceylon came together in the battle with Perumanadigal (*i.e.*, Parāntaka I) at Vēlūr. In the Kīlappaluvūr record, we are told that the Pāndyan king had with him the army of Ceylon and died in the battle at Vellūr. From the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati (verses 10 and 11), we find that Rājasimha was the Pāndyan king who was defeated with an immense army sent by the king of Lanka and lost his life; and from the concluding portion of verse 11, it might be even inferred that Vellūr or Vēlūr referred to above as the place of battle, should be located in the Madura country.

His Feudatories.

Among the feudatories of Parāntaka I were Nolamba Tribhuvanadhīra and the Ganga king Prithivīpati II, identical with Nulamba (or Nolamba) and Vīra-Chōla of an inscription at Palankoil (North Arcot District) assigned to Parāntaka I. (*E.I.* IV, 82 and 223; and *M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. Nos. 361 and 362 of 1925). An important personage of his reign was Tirukattalipichchar. He built the Tiruvāduturai temple, to which Parāntaka I contributed 500 *kalanju* of gold. (*Ibid* No. 143 of 1925). On the south wall of the central shrine of this temple is cut out in relief a figure, about a foot in height, of this chief with his name engraved beside it. Another chief connected with his reign was Paluvettaraiyar, apparently he of Paluvār, in the modern Udayārpālaiyam Taluk, Trichinopoly District, who gave his daughter in marriage to Parāntaka I. In the Anbil Plates of Sundara-Chōla, this chief is called Kēralarāja. It is curious that the god in the Siva temple at Paluvūr is referred to by Tirugnānasambhandar (7th century A.D.) as having been worshipped by Malayāla Brāhmans. The exact connection of West Coast Brāhmans with this temple is not understood. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 9). A Paluvettaraiyar Kandan Amudanār is mentioned as having helped Parāntaka I in the 12th year of his reign against the combined forces of the Pāndya and Ceylon kings in the battle of Vēlūr. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No. 231). He may be the father-in-law of Parāntaka I mentioned in the Anbil Plates. Other members of the Paluvettaraiyar family are known in several inscriptions. (*e.g.*, *M.E.R.* 1926, No. 609 of 1920; No. 237 of 1926; Appendix Nos. 219 and 229).

As regards Vīra-Chōla, *alias* Nolamba, an inscription of his has been found in the ruined Siva temple at Sōlapuram near Vellore. (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 346 of 1901). It seems to be dated in A.D. 953 and appears to show that subsequent to the reign of Parāntaka I, he became a vassal of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. This corroborates Dr. Hultzsch's identification of Hastimalla with the Vīra-Chōla mentioned in the Vellore rock inscription of Krishna III. (*E.I.* IV, 223; see also *M.E.R.* 1902, Para 5).

An inscription found at Kīlappaluvūr and dated in the 19th year of Parāntaka I records a gift by one Dandinadigalār of Umbalappādi. We have no particulars given of him and we are quite unable to identify him with his namesake, the author of *Dandialankāram.* (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No. 241). He may have been a feudatory of Parāntaka I. A leading general of Parāntaka I was Sembiyan Sōliyavaraiyan of Sirukalattūr, who fought and defeated Sitpuli. This Sitpuli should have been the reigning Eastern Chalukya king, who at this time was Chalukya-Bhīma II, or one of his powerful subordinates. The inscription recording the event states that Sembiyan "destroyed Nellore." (*M.A.R.* 1913, Appendix B. Nos. 160 and 231; also Part II, Para 18). This place has been identified with modern Nellore, which should have been a frontier town of the Eastern Chalukyas. At this very spot a battle had been fought in the 18th century A.D. by Udayachandra, the general of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla. (See *ante* and *S.I.I.* II, 364). The conquest of Nellore by Sembiyan shows that Parāntaka I completed the conquest of Tondaimandalam, which was first begun by his father, and even extended his conquests northward as far as Nellore.

His Relations with the Chēras.

Parāntaka's political relations with the Chēras were always cordial. This is confirmed by an inscription at Tiruvorriyūr, which records a gift at the place made by Iravi Nila (*i.e.*, Ravi Nila), daughter of Vijayarāghava Dēva, king of the Chēras (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 169), who cannot be the king of that name mentioned in the Kottayam Plates, assigned by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya to a period later than the 14th century A.D. (*E.I.* IV, 293). A number of inscriptions mentioning Parāntaka I have been found at Sōmūr, near Karūr, which shows that the Kongu country, or at least the part of which borders on the Trichinopoly District, should have passed into the hands of the Chōlas in his reign or in the reign of his predecessors. That Parāntaka does not lay claim to such conquest, though the territory was under his sway, and that it is actually attributed to Āditya I by the *Kongudēsarājākkal* indicates that Āditya I should have conquered it. An inscription in the Kolar District dated in the 29th year of Parāntaka I mentions the village of Parāntakapura and describes it as situated on the road to Kongunād. This confirms his rule over Kongunād, which at the time should have extended over a part of the Mysore country. (*M.E.R.* 1912, No. 457 of 1911). An inscription found at Kuhur in the Kumbakonam Taluk, dated in the 9th year of Parakēsarivarman, may be one of Parāntaka I as it mentions the temple of Ādityēsvaram-udaiya-Bhattāraka, probably after Āditya I. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 292). To him also may be attributed a fragmentary record at Tiruvandārkōyil, which is dated in the 40th year of his reign. (*Ibid* No. 376). Eight of his inscriptions in Vatteluttu have been found at Kuttalam in the Tinnevelly District, besides two in Tamil dated in his 24th and 36th years. So the title of "Madurai-Kondān" seems fully justified. An inscription of his 33rd year has been found at Ánāmalai, near Madura town. (*M.E.R.* 1905, Para 10; No. 63 of 1905; and *M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. Nos. 446 and 448). The Kuttalam records establish beyond doubt that he conquerred the whole of the Pāndya country as detailed in the Udayēndiram grant and the Tiruvālangādu Plates. (*S.I.I.* II, 379). But his conquest of this kingdom did not prove a lasting one. Indeed, as will be seen below, the conquest of this kingdom was rendered effectual only in the time of Rājēndra-Chōla, who took the final step of appointing a viceroy of royal blood to the province first formed by his father.

His titles and Surnames.

Among the many titles of Parāntaka I, there are some which are of some historical interest. Among these are *Dānatunga*, apparently a tribute to the lavish charities he made; *Sōlapērumūnadigal*, *Kunjaramalla* and *Sōlasikhāmani*, (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. Nos. 167, 168 and 187; also Part II, Para 18), which indicate the esteem in which he was held as a successful Chōla king; and *Vīranārāyana*, a surname showing his religious leanings. He founded the town of Vīranārāyana-Chaturvēdimangalam, now known as Kāttumannārkōyil, eight miles from Gangaikondachōlapuram, in the Trichinopoly District, and sixteen miles from Chidambaram in the South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 24). The tank near this place is called Vīranam-yēri, *i.e.*, the tank of Vīranārāyana. (*South Arcot District Gazetteer*, 275-276).

He was apparently, later in life, if not an adherent of Vaishnavism, at least not uninterested in its tenets. His surname *Vīra-Nārāyana* shows him in the light of a militant Vaishnava. The temple of Viranārāyanasvāmi at Kāttumannārkōyil, which is still in existence, seems to be named after him. Kāttumannārkōyil is famous in Srī-Vaishnava tradition as the birth-place of the famous Ālvārs, Nādamuni and his grandson Yamunaitturaivar or Ālavandār. Parāntaka I is stated in the Cape Comorin inscription of Rājēndra-Chōla to have founded many Brāhman villages after his surname of Vīra-Nārāyana (Verse 60). One of these apparently was the village of Vīranārāyanan-Chaturvēdimangalam, a village in the Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1925, No. 135 of 1925). Nādamuni's date has not been definitely fixed. He enjoys the reputation of having, by divine grace, reproduced the lost hymns of Nammālvār. He may be placed about the middle of the 10th century A.D. *i.e.*, about the very time that Parāntaka I ruled over the Chōla country. Parāntaka I was also known by the surname of *Panditavatsala*, after which is a place called *Panditavatsalachēri* in the Tanjore District. It is a hamlet of Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimangalam (now called Kōyil-Tevārāyanpēttai) which should have been so named after Rājakēsari Āditya I, the father of Parāntaka I. The suburb of Rājagiri near Kōyil Tēvārāyanpēttai, where are vestiges of ancient temples, may be the site of Rājakēsari-Chaturvēdi-mangalam. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Part II, Para 8. Appendix B. Nos. 276 and 234 of 1923). The title *Panditavatsala* may perhaps be taken as suggestive of his interest in letters or men of learning.

The Udayēndiram Plates say that he made many gifts befitting his title of *Dānatunga*. One of these is of some interest. He is recorded to have granted the revenue of a field at the base of the Shōlinghur hill for the maintenance of a tank near it. The inscription states that the tank bore the name of *Chōlavāridhi, i.e.*, "the Chōla ocean," apparently after himself. The execution of this grant was left to his feudatory, the Ganga-Bāna king Prithivīpati II, surnamed Hastimalla, who is known from the Udayēndiram copper-plate grant. (*SI.I.* II, No. 76; and above). Four Sānskrit verses of the Shōlinghur rock inscription are identical with four verses of the copper-plate inscription. In the former, Prithivīpati receives the title of Vīra-Chōla (see *above*). He is probably identical with the Vīra-Chōla of another incomplete record from Udayēndiram (*E.I.* III, No. 14) and the Vīra-Chōla who is mentioned, as stated above, in the rock inscription of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III, near Vellore. (See *above*; *E.I.* IV, No. 10 and *M.E.R.* 1896, Para 8).

His army and Royal regiments.

Parāntaka I must have possessed an efficient and well-organized army. Several royal regiments of Kaikōlas were named after his surnames, such as, *Parāntaka-Terinja-Kaikōlar*; *Simhalāntaka-Terinja-Kaikōlar*, &c. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix B. Nos. 574 and 557).

An Estimate of his Rule.

Parāntaka I should have been a king as great in peace as in war. The materials for forming a proper estimate of his rule—indeed its main events are as yet only incompletely or partially known—have not been brought together. That he was an active prince goes without saying; that he organized his army; that he added to his patrimony by further conquests; that he was wise in his tolerance of religious faiths, which were just crystallizing into the modern sects of Saivism and Vaishnavism; that he patronized these faiths equally; and that he allowed the rural assemblies to govern themselves as of yore are facts established by his many inscriptions found in the large tract of country he ruled over. A point of some interest about him is that he was the first Chōla king—before the time of Rājarāja I—to begin a lithic inscription with an eulogistic introduction. This is an inscrip-of his 9th year and does not contain any of his exploits. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix B. No. 261 of 1923).

Reform of Village Assemblies.

Parāntaka I was not only a warlike and religious prince. He also appears to have taken an active interest in improving the internal administration of his kingdom. Abuses had crept into the working of the village assemblies, which he sought to set right on two occasions, once in his 12th and again in his 14th year. These inscriptions specify at length the course to be pursued in the selection of members to the different committees into which the village assembly appears to have been divided at the time: the qualifications of the persons to be selected; the disqualifications to which they were to be subject; the manner in which the members chosen to the different committees should carry out their work and submit their annual accounts, etc. These injunctions were adopted by the Village Assembly concerned and they indicate the insight that Parāntaka had in the smallest detail of rural administration. (*M.E.R.* 1899 Paras 58 and 73).

His Death.

Parāntaka died about 947-948 A.D. (*E.I.* XII. 123-124, also see *above*) leaving five sons and a daughter. An inscription of his 31st year mentions his daughter named Vīramadēviyār. She was the wife of one Gōvindapallavaraiyar, apparently a Pallava prince, of whom nothing is known. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 13; Appendix B. No. 246). Towards the end of his reign, the Rāshtrakūtas under Krishna III invaded the Chōla country, killed the Chōla prince Rājāditya and seized Tondai-nādu, which they seem to have ruled for about a quarter of a century (see *below*). During this period, the Chōlas had to confine themselves to their hereditary dominions in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts. The Rāshtrakūta conquest, however, had no lasting effects. The country was apparently reconquered a few years later by Āditya II. (*S.I.I.* III. 21).

Rājāditya, Rājakēsarivarman, 949-950 A.D.

Rājāditya, the eldest son of Parāntaka I, seems to have ruled as a governor under him. His real name appears to have been Kōdandarāma, under which name he made a grant at Tiruvorriyūr. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. 164). He probably predeceased his father. His rule was very short—hardly two full years. (*E.I.* VII. 193). He was killed at the battle of Takkolam, near Arkonam, by Būtuga II, the ally of the Rāshtrakūta King, Krishna III, in 949 A.D. (See *ante* under *Western Gangas*). Būtuga II and Krishna III seem to have followed up this victory by carrying the war into the Chōla country by besieging Kānchi and Tanjore and burning Nalkote. Krishna III, according to the Karhad inscription (*E.I.* IV. 281), halted at Mēlpati (identified with Mēlpadi near Tiruvalam in the North Arcot District) for, it is said, "establishing his followers in the southern provinces" and "for constructing temples to Kālapriya, Gandamārtānda, Krishnēsvara and others." An inscription found at Kāveripākkam registers an endowment in favour of the Kīrtimārtānda Kālapriya temple, built perhaps by Krishna III as mentioned in the Karhad Plates. A grant to it was apparently made by Arinjaya, son of Rājāditya, who bore the title *Rājakēsari.* (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 21). This was apparently followed by the revolt of the newly added territories and the irregular successions which ensued show the internecine warfare of the times.

The Ātukur inscription of Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III states that Takkolam was the place where Būtuga, his feudatory, killed Rājāditya. There is an inscription of

27th year of Krishna III in the Jalanāthēsvara temple at Takkolam corroborating this statement. (No. 2 of 1897: *M.E.R.* 1897 Appendix B.).

An inscription at Sōlapuram further confirms the Ātukur inscription as to Krishna III "piercing" Rājāditya and "entering" Tondaimandala. From this inscription it might be inferred that he died in the second year of his reign. This, again, confirms Dr. Keilhorn's calculation of the date of an inscription at Kūram, according to which the 40th year of Parāntaka I, the father of Rājāditya, corresponded to A.D. 946. So Parāntaka should have reigned from A.D. 907 to at least A.D. 946 and Rājāditya's reign commenced about 948 A.D. and he was killed by Krishna III about 949 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1903. Para 6). According to the Ātukur and the Sōlapuram records, he is reported to have been killed in or before *Saka* 872 (949-950 A.D.), whereas Parāntaka's latest year, derived from inscriptions, is A.D. 951-952. Consequently Rājāditya's death must have happened almost about the end of Parāntaka's reign, if not a little earlier. That Rājāditya was killed in battle while he was actually seated on his elephant is proved not only by the Ātukur stone but also by the large Leyden grant, which states that he "went to the world of heroes (*i.e.*, died) being pierced in the heart while seated on the back of (his elephant)." He is the prince referred to in certain inscriptions at Kumbakonam and Tirunāgēsvaram as Ānaimerrunjinar, *i.e.*, the king (or prince) who died on the (back of his) elephant." His mother—queen of Parāntaka I—was Kilānadigal, who is probably identical with Kokkilānadigal.

Rājāditya was also known as Muvadi-Chōla. His queen was Īrāyiravāndēvi-Ammanār. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Appendix B. Nos. 226, 212 and *M.E.R.* No. 534 of 1905). His death at Takkolam shows that before his death he was in charge of the modern North Arcot District.

Whether he ruled as independent sovereign or only as a subordinate chief is still a doubtful question. His reputation, however, as a general was apparently great. An inscription from the Gudiyāttam Taluk, dated in the 28th year of Parāntaka I (*i.e.* A.D. 935), refers to a cattle raid and states that the attack in it was led by a prince styled Rājakēsarivarman Pattakēsari. Apparently the reference is to Rājāditya, the crown prince. (See *M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix C. Nos. 185 and 186). As in 935 A.D., Rājāditya was still alive, this identification seems tenable. It is also inferable that in 935 A.D. or thereabout, the debatable ground was somewhere near Gudiyāttam. In a *virgal* inscription dated in *Saka* 832 (A.D. 910), which falls in the 3rd year of the reign of Parāntaka I though he is not mentioned in it, there is a reference to a Māvali-Bānarāyar, who was evidently the local Bāna chief. It follows that Parāntaka I had not conquered the modern North Arcot District (forming the Perumbānappādi, or the Bāna country), before his 3rd or 4th year. Even in 910 A.D., his conquest of the country did not extend beyond Gudiyāttam. An inscription of his 37th year is on the walls of the Yathōkthakāri temple at Conjeevaram, though in characters of a later age (perhaps later by two centuries) being probably a re-engraved copy of the original, which disappeared at the time the temple was renovated. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix C. No. 21). This shows that about A.D. 944 or about five years before the death of Rājāditya at Takkolam, Parāntaka I had advanced in his conquests northward as far as Kānchi, which certainly was in his possession at the date of this inscription. The Bhaktajanēsvara temple at Tirunāmanallūr, which contains many records of Parāntaka I, was founded by Rājāditya. (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 335 of 1902). Many lamps were dedicated to it by Rājāditya's servants and other persons. The temple of Rājādityēsvaram Udaiyār at Kilpākkam, near Arkonam, probably also owes its origin to him. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 22).

Gandarāditya, Rājakēsarivarman, 949-950 A.D.

Gandarādittan (or Gandarādityan), the second son of Parāntaka I, succeeded him on the throne. Although some epigraphs with regnal years running up to 17 have, on some plausible grounds, been attributed to this king, there are also some grounds for doubting whether he had such a long reign. The Cape Comorin inscription of Vīra-Rājendra omits his name in the line of Chōla succession. This omission confirms to some extent Mr. K. Subramanya Iyer's view that if he ruled at all, it was only for a short time and that he died soon and was succeeded by his brother Arinjaya. (*Historial Sketches of Ancient Dekhan,* 231-232).

His part in the Pāndyan war. His religious piety and zeal in temple affairs. His literary work *Tiruvisaippa.* His death.

But there is, as suggested by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, nothing to preclude the possibility that Gandarāditya might have begun his rule during the latter part of his father's reign as co-regent. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 27). An inscription of the 12th year of a Rājakēsarivarman "who took Madura" has been attributed to him. (*S.I.I.* III 250; *M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. 396 of 1922). As he was known as Madiraikonda Rājakēsarivarman. (see *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 19), it has to be inferred that he took an active part in one of the campaigns of his father against the Pāndyas, if he did not actually lead it. The title "Madiraikondān" would itself indicate that he was the general in charge and was successful in the expedition. An inscription of the 22nd year of Parāntaka I at Kīlappalavūr mentions a gift by a servant of Gandarādittar at Tanjore. This was probably Prince Gandarāditya. He must have been at the time of this inscription already a grown-up prince. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No. 241). One of his surnames was Neriyudaichchōlaperāru. (*M.E.R.* 1925, No. 165 of 1925). Considering his great piety, the title was not undeserved. At least two of his queens are known from inscriptions; Vīra-nāraniyār (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 108 of 1906) and Sembiyan-Mahādēviyār. The first of these, apparently after the surname of her father-in-law Vīranārāyana, is mentioned in certain inscriptions of Parāntaka I dated in 931 A.D., as the builder of temples. She does not appear to have left any issue. Sembiyan-Mahādēviyār is known from numerous inscriptions as a pious devotee and donor of gifts to temples. She is described as the daughter of Mālavaraiyar and is known by the alternative name of Parāntakan-mādēvadigal. (*M.E.R.* 1921; Appendix B. No. 540). She is referred to further below. Gandarāditya was himself a pious and religiously inclined king, who engaged himself in scrutinising temple accounts, suppressing fraud and misappropriation, fining those guilty of such acts, improving temple funds by wise investment and arranging for the due performance of the ceremonies and festivals at the temples. (See *M.E.R.* 1922, Para 14; Appendix B. No. 218). According to the Leyden grant, which describes him as a divine being, he founded the town of Gandarāditya-chaturvēdi-mangalam, after himself. This place has been identified with the modern village of Kandarādittam in the Trichinopoly District. (K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Ancient Dekhan*, 233). He appears to have been a Tamil poet, one of his hymns being preserved in the well-known collection *Tiruvisaippa*. In this hymn, he calls himself the son of a Chōla king who took Madura and Ceylon, which of course is a reference to his father, Parāntaka I. When Gandarāditya died is not definitely known, though he could not have lived beyond 950 A.D. This date seems to be suggested by an inscription dated in the 2nd year of a Parakēsarivaraman, who must have been Uttama-Chōla, who bore that surname. (See *M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix B. No. 540). In this record Sembiyan-Mādēviyār is described as the queen of Gandarādittadēvar "who was pleased to go to the west—" *Mĕrkkelundarulina-dēvar*, an euphimism for saying that he had been pleased (like the sun) to sink (in the West) *i.e.*, die.

His Queen Sembiyan-Mahādēviyar.

Sembiyan-Mahādēviyār was, as we have seen, the second of his two queens. She is referred to in inscriptions as the daughter of Mālavaraiyar or Mālavarkōn. Apparently she survived Gandarāditya long after his death. She had a son by him who afterwards became king under the name of Uttama-Chōla. She appears to have survived him also. It is known from the inscriptions referring to her that she lived through the reigns of Arinjaya, Sundara-Chōla, Āditya II, Uttama-Chōla and Rājarāja I. She probably died about 1001 A.D. in the 16th year of the reign of Rājarāja I. In two records dated in the 8th and 12th years of Rājarāja I, she is referred to as Udaiyapirāttiyār. Her record for pious deeds is a long and notable one. Her prolific building activities indicate her deep piety, which probably she imbibed from her husband.

Her record of pious deeds,

Here is a brief summary of her charitable foundations:—

> " Widowed early in life and with an infant-son who could not immediately succeed to the Chōla throne after the death of his father Gandarāditya, Parāntakan-Mādēvadigalar *alias* Sembiyan-Mahādēvi appears to have developed a devout turn of mind and to have spent large sums of money in renovating ruined temples and constructing new ones in stone, providing the images of gods and goddesses with valuable gold ornaments set with pearls, rubies and diamonds and making gifts of gold and silver utensils to several temples for use during the services. Such donative records are distributed in the reigns of her son Uttama-Chōla. The earliest gifts made by this queen seem to have been the gifts of a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the Tiruvanantīsvaram-Udaiyār at Kāttumannārkōyil

and of a silver vessel to the temple of Manavālēsvara at Tiruvilakkudi ; but the earliest of the buildings erected by her appears to have been the temple of Tirunallam-Udaiyār (Umamahēsvara) at Tirunallam, (*i.e.*,) Kōnērirājapuram in the Māyavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District which was rebuilt in stone before the 7th year of the reign of her son Uttama-Chōla (*i.e.*, A.D. 976) and named after her deceased lord Gandarāditya. The figure of her husband Gandarāditya was sculptured on the wall of the same temple as worshipping the god Tirunallam-Udaiyār. The Agastyēsvara temple at Anangur was built in stone by this queen about this period. The god Sivayōganāthasvāmi in the ancient Siva temple at Tiruvīsalūr in the Kumbhakonam Taluk was the recipient of certain costly ornaments from this queen in the reign of her son Uttama-Chōla. In the 12th year of the same reign corresponding to A.D. 982, she built the *Srīkōyil* of Mudukunram-Udaiyār at Vriddhāchalam in the South Arcot District, and erected several other minor structures, such as the *sōpāna-mandapa*, *gōpura*, the covered verandah, and the shrines of the *parivāra-dēvatas.* The Māsilāmanīsvara temple at Tirumūllaivāyil in the Chingleput District received a gift of some lands from her for the expenses of worship, in the 14th year of her son's reign ; and two years later, in about A.D. 985, the last year of her son's reign, the temple of Kurangaduturai-Ālvār (Āpatsahayēsvara) at Āduturai in the Pāpanāsam taluk (Tanjore) was built by her. In the succeeding reign too, the devout work of this old queen did not terminate, for we find that in the 2nd year of Rājarāja I (A.D. 987), the temples of Siddhēsvaram-udaiya-Mahādēva at Tirunagēsvaram in the Kumbhakonam Taluk and of the Tirukkarrali-Mahādēva(Udvahanātha) temple at Tirumananjēri in the Māyavaram taluk were erected by her, while some gifts were made to the god at Tiruvārūr for the merit of her son, Uttama-Chōla, and the Siva temple at Tirunāraiyūr also came in for a share of her donations. A.D. 990 saw her making some gifts to the Tirukkalittattai temple in the 5th year of Rājarāja. In the next year of the same reign again, repairs were conducted in, and some jewels and utensils were presented to, the Svētāranyam temple at Tiruvēnkādu in the Shiyāli taluk, and a year later the shrine of Aranēri-Ālvār was added in the Tiruvārūr temple. The Ādityēsvara temple which had been built in the 6th year of

Uttama-Chōla was a recipient of some fresh donations at her hands in the 9th year of Rājarāja I, and a year later similar presents of jewels and money were made to the temple of Tirukkārkudi-Ālvār at Nandivarmamangalam *alias* Uyyakkondān–Tirumalai in the Trichinopoly District. An epigraph of the 11th year of the same king engraved on the wall of the Kandalīsvara temple at Tennēri (in the Chingleput District) testifies to her having made a present of some vessels to that temple. In the 15th year of Rājarāja, some jewels and gold vessels were presented to the Vriddhachālam temple and in the next year she built the Chandramaulīsvara temple at Tiruvakkarai. This appears to have been the last temple built by this saintly queen, and she appears to have passed away in the 16th year of Rājarāja, corresponding to A.D. 1001. An inscription at Tirumalavādi mentions that a liquid measure was called after her name as Sembiyan-Mahādēvi. Such is the list of her benefactions as collected from the inscriptions copied hitherto, and there may have been other charities of which we have no knowledge at present. Her benefactions gave a great impetus to the growth of architecture in the Chōla times, which bore noble fruit in the reigns of Rājarāja and his son Rājēndra-Chōla."

Her Canonization, 1020 A.D.

To this list may be added, her gift of gold and silver vessels to the god at Tiruchchelur, now known as Kōyil-Tēvarāyanpettai in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix B. Nos. 262 and 263 of 1923). Similarly her gifts to the temple at Tiruvankādu consisted of copper vessels, ornaments, images of gold and silver set with precious stones, such as pearls of different kinds. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 13. Appendix B. No. 444 of 1918). All her gifts to temples and gods were made after the demise of her husband. Her statue is to be found set up in the Siva temple at Kōnērirājapuram, in the Tanjore District. On the south wall of the Siva temple at Tirunāgēsvaram, near Kumbhakonam, is a miniature representation of a lady in a sitting and worshipping posture. Next to it is an inscription in Sānskrit which refers to Gandarāditya, his son Madhurāntaka and the latter's mother. As suggested in the Sānskrit record, probably Gandarāditya was the builder of the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Appendix B. No. 219). The standing lady is undoubtedly queen Sembiyan-Mādēviyār. About twenty years after her death, her image was installed at Sembiyar-Mahādēvi-Chaturvēdimangalam, in the 8th year of Rājēndra-Chōla I (A.D. 1020) along with the image of Ishabhavavāhana dēva and provision was made for offerings to it. This canonization of the queen soon after death indicates the great popularity she should have enjoyed during her lifetime. (*M.E.R.* 1926. Appendix B. No. 481).

Arinjaya, Madhurai-kondan Rāja-kēsari, 949-950 A.D.

Gandarāditya left an infant son Uttama-Chōla, surnamed Madhurāntaka Parakēsari-Varman, who probably was considered too young to succeed his father. Accordingly Gandarāditya's younger brother Arinjaya next ascended the throne. He appears to have been known also as Arjuna or Arindama. His mother was the daughter of a Kērala prince Paluvēttaraiyar. (*E.I.* XV. 50). His queen, Ādittan Kōdai Pirāttiyār, was probably a Chēra princess. She made some gifts to the temple of Anantēsvara at Kāttumannārkōyil. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 26). Another queen of his was Pūdi Ādittan Pidāri, a Kodumbalūr princess. (*S.I.I.* III. iii. 257). Sundara-Chōla was probably the son of the latter and not of the former, for the ending term of "mother" is not used in referring to her in an inscription of his dated in his 12th year. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 26).

The Temples founded by him.

Arinjaya has been identified with Madiraikondān Rājakēsarivaraman of certain inscriptions. He seems to have founded certain temples. One of those is the deserted temple of Chōlēsvara at Mēlpadi, six miles north of Tiruvallam, which in ancient days was known as Arinjingēsvara or Arinjīsvara, after him. (*M.E.R.* 1890, Para 3). He appears to have visited Tiruvemiyur where is a shrine of Arinjīsvara, within the temple there. This should have come into existence as the result of this visit. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 170, Para 18). A daughter of his is referred to in a record of his 6th year. Her name was Arinjigaipirattiyār *alias* Bānapperundēviyār. As her gifts are referred to in three other records of the 14th year of Rājarāja I, found at Tirunāgēsvaram, near Kumbhakonam, she must have lived till then. Parāntaka I, her grandfather, uprooted the Bānas and bestowed their kingdom on a Ganga prince. As she is described as the queen of a Bāna king, we have to infer that the Bānas accepted the suzerainty of the Chōlas and entered into matrimonial relations with them. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 16, Appendix B. 215, 218 and *M.E.R.* 1897, Nos. 81 and 82).

His death.

Arinjaya died at a place called Āttūr; hence the name "the king who fell asleep, (*i.e.*, died) at Āttūr" is given to him in an inscription of Rājarāja I. This Āttūr is perhaps identical with Sittāttūr in Walajpet taluk, North Arcot District, as a temple in his honour was built by Rājarāja I, his grandson, at Mēlpadi, not far from it, as *pallipadai* or a last resting place. (*S.I.I.* III. i. 22). He is specifically called *Āttūrtunjinadēva*, *i.e.*, the king who died at Attūr, in an inscription of his son Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II, dated in his 12th regnal year. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix B. No. 587). We do not know anything useful of Arikulakēsari, another son of Parāntaka I. (*E.I.* VII, 141-142; *M.E.R.* 1908). He may have been the younger brother of Arinjaya.

His brothers, Arikulakēsari and Uttamasīla.

Parāntaka I had still another son Uttamasīla, of whom also nothing is known. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 51, No. 196 of 1907). These two princes, who are mentioned in the inscriptions of Parāntaka I, do not appear to have ruled as independent sovereigns. This is perhaps the reason why their names have been omitted in the genealogy disclosed by the Tiruvālangādu plates. Arikula-Kēsari was a military officer under Parāntaka I and married Pudi Adichcha Pidāriyār, daughter of Tennavan Ilangovēlar. This lady is known to have constructed the temple of Chandrasēkhara at Tiruchchendurai, in the Trichinopoly District, in the third year of a certain Parakēsarivarman. (*M.E.R.* No. 316 of 1916). This Parakēsarivarman has been identified with Gandarāditya, who, it has been suggested, must have been reigning in *Saka* 879, or A.D. 956-957. (*M.E.R.* 1903-04, Appendix A. Nos. 425 and 426, Para 20). Of the two inscriptions on which this inference is based, one is dated in *Saka* 879, (A.D. 956-957) and another is not dated. The former (No. 426 of 1903) though it gives the *Saka* date, does not mention the king's name. But a subordinate chief named Gandarāditta-Pallavaraiyan is mentioned in it. He may have survived Gandarāditya and retained his name after him. In the other inscription (No. 425 of 1903) the third year of Parakēsarivarman is mentioned but no date is given. This may be a reference to Arinjaya or Uttama-Chōla, who had the title of *Parakēsarivarman.* (See *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 21).

Arinjaya might have been called *Madiraikondān* because he was the son of Madiraikonda Parāntaka I; or he may have actually taken part in one of the conquests of the Pāndyas by his father Parāntaka I, to deserve that title. Inscriptions of his 6th year have been found at Kāvēripākkam. (*M.E.R.* 1905-06, Para 21; see also *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 39).

Sundara-Chōla, Parāntaka II, 949-966 A.D.

Arinjaya's son Parāntaka II, surnamed Sundara-Chōla, succeeded him. He reigned probably for 17 years, from 949 to 966 A.D. He beat off the intruding Pāndyan king, Vīra-Pāndya, who, we are told, in consequence took "shelter in the desert" (*Pāndiyanaichchuram-irakkina*).

His invasion of Ceylon probably took place in the 9th year of his reign, *i.e.*, about 959 A.D., in the reign of the Ceylon king Mahindra, who ruled, according to the revised chronology of Ceylon, between 952-966 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 15). An inscription at Kīlappalavūr dated in the 12th year of a Rājakēsarivarman has been attributed to him. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C, No. 229). He is described as Manu born again in order to re-establish on earth his laws which had become lax. As he is known by the name of Ponmāligai Tunjinadēva, he should have died at the Golden Hall, *i.e.*, the Chidambaram temple. According to the Tiruvālangādu plates, his queen Vānavanmahādēvi became a *sati* on his death. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested that Sundara-Chōla and his wife apparently spent their last days at Chidambaram as Saiva devotees. Their daughter Kundavai set up images in honour of each of them in the Tanjore temple and made an endowment for their worship. (*S.I.I.* II. *V.* Introd. 1 and *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 16). He is probably the Chōla king whose head was cut off by Vīra-Pāndya, for the latter calls himself *Sōlantalaikonda.* If this is so, the event should be set down to a date not later than 967 A.D. The execution probably took place at Chidambaram, as Sundara-Chōla was known after his death as he who died at Chidambaram (*Ponmāligaitunjinadēva*) and inscriptions of both Āditya II and his feudatory Pārthivēndravarman, dated in their very early regnal years, have been found in the vicinity of Kumbhakonam claiming for themselves the title of "who cut off the head of Vīra-Pāndya." As Pārthivēndravarman claims this title in records of his 2nd regnal year and after, he should have been a feudatory of both Āditya II and Uttama-Chōla, his successor. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 13).

His daughter Kundavai.

Sundara-Chōla's mother (Āchiyar=Āychchiyār=Āchchiyār=Āyār) was probably an Eastern Chalukya princess. She is described as the "mother of Parāntaka, son of Arinjaya," and as "Udaiyapirattiyār, Kundavaiyār, daughter of Bhīma," apparently Chalukya-Bhīma II (A.D. 934 to 945). If so, she is a Kundavai earlier than Kundavai, the sister of Rājarāja I, and Kundavai the daughter of Rājarāja I, who was married to Vimalāditya, the Eastern Chalukya king. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix B, 572 and 589, Para 26). She provided, by a gift of land for 1000 potsfull of water, for bathing the god of Anantēsvara at Kāttumannārkōyil. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 26). Kundavai is distinctly mentioned as Sundara-Chōla's daughter. A record at Dadapuram states that she built three temples at that place, one to Siva, dedicated to Ravikulamānikka-Īsvara, another to Vishnu, Kundavai Vinnagar Ālvār, and a third to Jina called Kundavai-Jinālaya and made costly gifts to them. This shows the religious toleration of the times. The Siva and Vishnu temples built by her still exist but there is no trace of the Jina shrine. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 11). An inscription of the 13th year of Rājarāja refers to the 4th year of a Rājakēsari, of whom the curious information is furnished that he climbed up a wall and was pleased to be seated on it (*Madilērielundarulina*). It has been suggested that this may be a reference to Sundara-Chōla, Rājarāja's father, though the exact significance of the title is not by any means clear.

Aditya II, Karikāla, 965-970 A.D.

Parāntaka II was in turn succeeded by his eldest son Āditya II, who bore the title of Karikāla. He probably ascended the throne in 965 A.D. His highest regnal year is the 5th. Many inscriptions of his reign are known. (See *M.E R.* 1895, Appendix No. 240 of 1894; 1921, Para 30; 1925, Nos. 192 and 200 of 1925). He had distinguished himself, while still young, in the war against Vīra-Pāndya. He is known, after his second regnal year, in inscriptions as "Parakēsarivarman, who took the head of Vīra-Pāndya" (*Vīra Pāndyantalaigonda*) and set it up as a pillar of victory in his city. As he describes himself with this title, he may be taken to have avenged the death of his predecessor at Vīra-Pāndya's hands.

His war against Pāndyas. His unhappy end.

In his war against the Pāndyan king, he had evidently the help of a feudatory named Pārthvēndravarman, whose inscriptions have been found at Takkōlam, Uttaramallur and other places in the Chingleput District. (*M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix A. No. 288 of 1895; *M.E.R.* 1897, Appendix B. Nos. 7, 13 and 14 of 1897; *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 17). He also describes himself as having conquered Vīra-Pāndya. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that as Sundara-Chōla, the father of Āditya II, has described himself as he "who drove the Pāndya into the forest" and is known to have been aided in this warfare by his general Siriyavēlan, it seems right to assign the success over the Pāndyan king to Sundara-Chōla and not to Āditya, who while yet a boy perhaps joined his father in his fight against the Pāndyas. As the Chōla king "who took the head of Vīra-Pāndya" is spoken of as a Parakēsarivarman, the feat should be accorded to Sundara-Chōla who bore this title and not to Āditya II, who should have had the title of Rājakēsarivarman. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 40; but see also *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 17, where Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri doubts whether Āditya II and Pārthivēndravarman were after all contemporaries as neither of them supply names which give a clue to the contemporaneous nature of their records or show the subordinate position of one to the other). Though Āditya II claims to have sported with the head of Vīra-Pāndya, he himself was the victim of some treachery. He was done to death by some local chiefs, as is evidenced by the confiscation of certain landed properties ordered by Rājarāja I, his younger brother, of certain of the proscribed families. These lands appear to have been bought by a certain Vyālagajamalla-Pallavarayan, who utilized them for feeding a number of Brāhmans in the Kāttumannār kōyil. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 31, Appendix B, No. 577). A record dated in his 3rd regnal year is worthy of note. It refers to a gift of land which had been made to the Brāhmans who expounded the *Prābhākaram.* This is the name given to a famous commentary on the *Pūrva-Mimāmsa-Sūtras.* It founded a new school of philosophy called *Prābhākaramata* after its expounder, the great Prabhākara, who in point of time was contemporaneous with Bhattakumārila, being one of his direct pupils and must, consequently, have flourished about the beginning of the 8th century A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Appendix B. No. 233).

The royal regiment Karikāla-Chōlaterinja-Kaikkōlar was apparently named after Āditya II, perhaps having been raised in his time. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 29, Appendix B. No. 617).

Dispute about the succession.

Āditya II appears to have regained Tondainādu, as inscriptions dated in his reign have been found in Ukkal and other villages of that province. Apparently on his death or on the death of his father—whichever was the later event—the succession seems to have been disputed. The subjects besought Arunmori Varman, *i.e.*, Rājarājadēva, to become king, but he did not want the throne as long as his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla was fond of his country. Eventually, Arunmori Varman was appointed heir-apparent while Madhurāntaka "bore the burden of the earth." It looks as if the former was a minor when his father or elder brother died. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 16).

Uttama-Chōla Madhurāntaka, Parakēsarivarman, 969-985 A.D.

Āditya II was, in the circumstances mentioned above, succeeded by his uncle Madhurāntaka Parakēsari, surnamed Uttama-Chōla, the only son of Gandarāditya and his queen Sembiyan-Mādēviyār, the great builder and donor of temples. An inscription of his dated in Kaliyuga 4083 (A.D. 981-982), corresponding to his 13th regnal year, has been found at Tiruvidaimarudūr in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 53). According to an inscription at Tiruvidaimarudūr he probably ascended the throne in 969-970 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 53, *S.I.I.* III. 284). His initial date corresponded to the 28th year of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. This date is confirmed by three epigraphs registered in *M.E.R.* 1912, Appendix B. Nos. 245, 229 and 240 dated in his 4th, 8th and 13th years. A number of inscriptions mentioning Parakēsarivarman, and ranging from the 8th to the 16th regnal years, found at Kīlappaluvūr, have been attributed to him. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 19). However this may be, his latest regnal year is 16. A number of his inscriptions ranging from the 10th to the 16th regnal year have been found at Kāttumannārkōyil. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 28).

Influence of his mother.

His mother seems to have played a prominent part in his reign. She built a temple at Ādutarai, renovated others at the same place and built a shrine in the temple at Tiruvarur (near Tanjore). Her munificence to temples is attested to by inscriptions at Tirumananjiri. The stone temple of Mahādēva here was built by Pichchan-Ārūran, one of her officers. She made a gift of 14 *vēlis* of land to it in the reign of Rājarāja I. Under her order, Ārūran made a gift of 16 *kalanjus* of gold towards its expenditure and fixed in grain the fees payable to its servants. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Appendix B. No. 21, No. 9, etc., Para 21).

His queens.

Uttama-Chōla married a daughter of Miladudaiyār, a chief of Tirukōilūr, in the South Arcot District. Some gifts by her are mentioned in the inscription at Tiruvīsalūr in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 51).

Uttama-Chōla had other wives as well. One was Kilānadigal, daughter of Vilupparaiyar ; and another was Vīranāraniyār. (*M.E R.* 1909, Para 41, No. 298 of 1908 and No, 3 of 1906). Some others are also known. A few records dated in the 12th, 15th and 16th years of his reign, copied from the shrine of Srīkailāsam-Udaiya-Mahā-dēvar, built by his mother at Sembiyan-mahādēvi-chaturvēdimangalam, give the sundry gifts of money they made for conducting annually certain services in the temple on the birthday of their mother-in-law. Among these are :—

1. Urattaiyan Sorabbaiyar *alias* Tribhuvana-Mahādēvi
2. Pattan Dānatongiyār
3. Tennavan-Mahādēviyār of Malapadi
4. Vānavan-Mahādēviyār, daughter of Irungōlar
5. Nambirātti . . . . daughter of Vilupparaiyar
6. . . . . the daughter of Paluvēttaraiyar
7. Ārūran Ambalattadigal

Of these, Sorabbaiyār was the *Mūtta-nambirāttiyār* or the senior queen, and No. 5 the daughter of Vilupparaiyār, whose name is obliterated in this record, may have been the Kīlānadigal mentioned in another record of Uttama-Chōla. (No. 298 of 1908). The term *Kīlānadigal* has been interpreted as a title. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 41). Nos. 482, 489 and 492 of Appendix B. mention four other ladies, Arumoli Arinjigaippirātti . . . . lakuntadēviyār, ... ppirattiyār of Pangalu-nādu and Kannapparasiyār *alias* Sonna-Mahādēviyār, who made similar provisions for worship on the birthday of Sembiyan-Mahādēvi. It is not known if these ladies were also related to Uttama-Chōla. Although there is nothing strange in a Hindu king marrying a number of queens, Uttama-Chōla's action may have been prompted by a desire to preserve friendly and diplomatic relationship with the neighbouring chiefs. We do not know whether any particular event in the life of Sembiyan-Mahādēvi that may have occurred about this time, invited the spontaneous out-burst of filial piety on the part of the several queens of Uttama-Chōla between the 12th and 16th years of his reign or whether these were simply gifts made in honor of the temple built by their mother-in-law. The senior queen is known to have made a supplemental gift for conducting worship in the same temple in the 7th year of Rājarāja I. (No. 480 of Appendix B.). Of these, the chief queen (*agra-mahadēviyār)* was Urattaiyan Sorabbaiyār, whose name appears also as Orattanan Sorabbaiyār. (*M.E.R.* 1925, No. 165 of 1925). She was, besides, known as Sēttan Sorambaiyār *alias* Tribhuvanamādēviyār. She presented a silver pot to the Tiruvēnkādu temple. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 13; Appendix B. No. 444 of 1918). The name of Ārūran Ambalattadigal appears also as Ārūran Ponnambalattadigatar, Ambalattadigal and Ponnambalattadigal, meaning "devotee of the deity of Chidambaram." (*M.E.R.* 1925, No. 47 of 1925).

His two invasions of Ceylon.

Uttama-Chōla was a usurper and he appears to have maintained his position in the midst of opposition. (*M.E.R.*, 1905-1906). According to the *Mahāvamsa*, there were two invasions of Ceylon about this period. The chronology of the *Mahāvamsa* is not reliable. The earlier one might have occurred in the reign of Āditya-Karikāla, who might have advanced against Ceylon after his encounter with Vīra-Pāndya. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 54). He was apparently a contemporary of the Ganga king Mārasimha III and Khottiga and Kakka II, the last of the Rāshtrakūtas. It was during his time that Taila II subverted the Rāshtrakūta kingdom and restored the Chalukya power. An inscription of the 12th year of his reign records certain interesting facts. It states that his mother Sembiyan-Mahādēviyār, wife of Gandarāditya, built the temple of Vriddhāchala, its *gōpura* and its *mandapa* and made costly presents to it including copper images, gold and silver jewellery, plates, flowers, etc. Sembiyan-Mahādēviyār was the daughter of Malaperumānadigal. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 24. Appendix C. Nos. 47; see above). This adds to her other numerous munificent gifts. This royal lady also presented a costly crown set with rubies and 36 diamonds and fastened with 1998 pearls all round. It weighed, it would appear, nearly ten *Kalanju.* The total weight of silver in its inner cover was over 206 *Kalanju.* (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 48). She seems to have lived, as already stated, down to the 16th year of Rājarāja the Great. She was a great builder of temples, to which she appears to have made many costly gifts of silver and gold. The Āpta Sahāyēsvara temple at Āduturai was built by her in the 16th year of her son's reign and the Umamahēsvara temple at Kōnērirājapuram was built perhaps in the same reign. A shrine in the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārur was constructed in the 7th year of Rājarāja I and in the 16th year of the same reign, she built a shrine in the Chandramaulīsvara temple at Tiruvakkarai. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 41; also *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 18). An interesting memorial of her husband was left by her in the Tirunallam-Udaiyār temple at Kōnērirājapuram. This temple was built by her in "the name of her lord the glorious Gandarādittadēva." She had in it the figure of Gandarādittadēva (the figure on the wall below which the inscription is engraved) worshipping the god Tirunallam-Udaiyār, carved on the stone. The carving of her husband's figure can only have been executed after the death of Gandarādityam. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 41).

His officer Paluvētaraiyar.

An officer of some note of Uttama-Chōla was a Paluvēttaraiyar. He was probably a prince of the Kērala line, for Uttama-Chōla's uncle Arinjaya married a daughter of the Kērala prince called Paluvettaraiyār. (*E.I.* XV. iv; *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 10).

His religious toleration.

That Vaishnavism was more than tolerated by Uttama-Chōla, like his grandfather Parāntaka I, is testified to by a few of his inscriptions. Thus the temple of Madhurāntaka-Vinnagar Ālvār at Narasingapuram was apparently named after him and probably came into existence during his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 26). An inscription of his reign, in Tamil verse, dated in the 3rd year of his reign, records the fact that the temple of Sōlakula Sundara Vinnagar, a Vishnu shrine, was built at Mīnjūr, by one Kēsavan Karugakkon for god Ālivalakkēsava. (*M.E.R.* 1916 Appendix C. No. 134). This temple apparently was named after Uttama-Chōla's cousin Sundara-Chōla.

Rājarāja the Great *alias* Rājarāja I, 985-1013 A.D.

Rājarāja, who succeeded Uttama-Chōla Madhurāntaka, was known by the name of Arunmorivarman, Arumoridēva and Rājakēsarivarman Mummadi-Chōla. He is known in inscriptions as Rājakēsarivarman up to the 9th year of his reign. How he was superseded by his uncle Madhurāntaka has been detailed above. He was the second son of Parāntaka II, and younger brother of Āditya II. His elder sister was Kundavaiyār, who had married a certain Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, about whom nothing more is known. She seems to have spent her later life in Tanjore with her younger brother and that she even survived him, there can be scarcely any doubt. Rājarāja seems to have entertained a high regard for her and it is possible that she exercised considerable influence on him. She was known for her piety and for her interest in providing medical aid for the sick. She founded a free dispensary, the earliest of the kind known in Chōla inscriptions at Tanjore. It was called *Sundara-Sōla-*

His sister Kundavai.

Vinnagar Ātulasālai, apparently (by herself) after her father king Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II. She bought 9 *ma* of land for 70 *kāsu* and presented it for its upkeep in 1015 A.D. Four years later, having found the grant insufficient, she purchased 1¼ ground and donated it to the hospital. She left the management of the gift to one Savarnan Arayan Madhurāntakan and his descendants, evidently to secure its proper supervision. The order was issued from the palace at Palaiyāru, the home of Rājēndra-Chōla I, in whose 3rd year the first grant was made, the land having been purchased by her from the big assembly of Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimangalam. In the 7th year of the same king, she bought a house site and made up the deficit of the Vaidyabhōga provided by her. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix B. No. 248 of 1923, Para 14). It has been suggested that Kundavai must have passed away long ere this, but this grant of hers made in Rājēndra-Chōla's 7th year, makes it clear that she was still living in that year. In a record of her nephew Rājēndrachōla I, dated in his 4th year, mention is made of an endowment by this royal lady for a free dispensary at Palayavanavanmādēvi-chaturvēdimangalam to a member of the family of Savarnam Araiyan (Savarnam Araiyan, Chandrasēkharan *alias* Uttama-Chōla-Achalar and his descendants). Though a devout Saiva, she was a tolerant lady and her charities extended to Vishnu and Jain temples as well. There is a Jain temple on the rock close by Tirumalai, ten miles north of Polur, which was in olden days known as Kundavai-jinālaya, apparently after her, for her other benefactions to Jain temples are known. (*M.E.R.* 1887, Para 7).

Period and extent of his Rule.

Rājarāja's date is definitely fixed by inscriptions found in the Mysore State. Thus one at Balamuri, Seringapatam Taluk, is dated in his 28th year and *Saka* 934, Parīdhāvi. (*E.C.*I. 78, No. 140). He ascended the throne on some day between the 25th June and the 25th July 985 A.D. He ruled for at least 29 years, *i.e.*, to about 1013-1014 A.D. He was undoubtedly the greatest among the Chōla kings. His reign marks the beginning of a period of expansion and prosperity which remained practically unbroken, for over a century, except with one short interval. Rājarāja claims that his rule extended as far as Quilon and Coorg in the West, and from Ceylon and Cape Comorin to the borders of Orissa. His descendants extended the Chōla authority to Burma and the Malay Archipelago. (*Madras Review*, 1902, Page 246 and *M.E.R.* 1892, Para 11.)

His military conquests: their chronology.

His military achievements are recorded in thousands of inscriptions found all over the Madras Presidency and the eastern districts of this State. From a study of these, it has been suggested by Mr. V. Venkayya that no expedition was undertaken by him until the eighth year of his reign (or A.D. 994). He apparently silently prepared himself for the struggle which was required to restore the Chōla power. The exact chronology of his conquests is not yet settled. But a great many of his conquests should have been completed before 1002 A.D., or his seventeenth regnal year. An inscription of that year (at Tenkarai, Madura District) calls him "Rājāsraya" and adds the qualifying phrase "the conqueror of the world." As Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has suggested, we have to infer from this statement that with the conquest of Ceylon, which must have been completed in his 17th year, Rājarāja had actually conquered all enemies whose dominions he thought of acquiring. (*S.I.I.* II. V. 5, f.n. 2.).

Campaign against Pāndyas and Chēras.

In the first campaign concluded before the 8th year, he appears to have fought against a combination of the Chēra and Pāndya kings. The Pāndyas seem to have held the post of Kāndalur Sālai, which appears to have been situated in the dominions of the Chēra king. The Pāndyan king was probably Amarabhujanga of the Tiruvālangādu plates and the port of Virinam mentioned in them is perhaps the same as Kāndalūr Sālai, or very near it. The Chēra king was probably Bhāskara Ravivarman, who ruled from 978 to 1036 A.D. (*Travancore Archæological Series* ii. 33). The Pāndya king is said to have been seized by Rājarāja, while his general captured the port, and destroyed the fleet. Rājarāja, however, seems to have fought against the Pāndyas again and again, the Pāndyas being the hereditary enemies of the Chōlas. Among the places taken was one named Udagai which he stormed. This place has been referred to in many inscriptions and literary works Though it has not yet been satisfactorily identified, it should have been a stronghold situated in the Chēra or the Pāndya country. Mr. Venkayya thinks it was situated in the latter kingdom, while Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer has suggested that it was in the former. Mr. Subramania Iyer suggests that as Udiya means Chēra, it is not unlikely that Udagai was a place in the Kērala country, for it is said that Rājarāja obtained a victory after defeating the Udiyas. It is possible it lay on the Chēra-Pāndya border. (See *S.I.I.* II. v. and *T.A.S.* III. i. 117 note 1). After the conquest of the Chēra and Pāndya kingdoms, Rājarāja took the title of " Mummadi Chōla " or "the Chōla who wears the three crowns," *i.e.*, the Chēra, Chōla and Pāndya. This occurs first in an inscription of his 14th regnal year. The term " Mummadi" should be distinguished from " Mummadi " which occurs in his inscriptions of the 3rd, 4th and 10th years, which means the thrice-powerful Chōla, much like Mummadi-Bhīma and Nūrmadi-Taila. (*S.I.I.* II. V. Introd. 3). The conquest of the Chēra and Pāndya kingdoms must have been completed just before the 8th year, as he is represented in inscriptions of that year as having been wedded by the Goddess of Earth as well as of Prosperity. At the latest, the conquest of the Chēras should have been accomplished by about the middle of the 10th year of his reign. A number of records enable us to fix this date as the probable one for this expedition. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. 193, 234 and 248, all dated in his 10th regnal year). Though the conquest of the Pāndyas and Chēras is referred to in his inscriptions, no inscriptions of his appear to exist in the Chēra country, *i.e.*, Malabār and Travancore. A much damaged inscription found at Sēnūr in the North Arcot District supplies further details of his Southern and West Coast expeditions. It says he destroyed the town of Madura, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, and Kodungōlūr (Cranganore) and that the kings of the sea (*Kadalaraisar*) waited on him. Rājarāja is given the further epithets Tennaparākraman and Kīrtiparākrama-Sōlan. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Appendix B. No. 394; also Para 22).

Occupation of Tinnevelly.

According to certain inscriptions found in the temple at Kuttālam, Tinnevelly District, it is clear that Rājarāja introduced the Tamil script into the Pāndya country, where, until then, the Vatteluttu was employed for writing Tamil. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. Nos. 454 and 455 of 1917). These inscriptions state that in renovating the temple, the older inscriptions in Vattam (or Vatteluttu) were replaced by new ones engraved in Tamil. All the inscriptions hitherto described in that part of the country and assignable to a period earlier than the time of Rājarāja I, *i.e.*, beginning of the 10th century A.D., have been actually found to be in Vatteluttu characters and this is in consonance with the import of these two inscriptions. Vatteluttu inscriptions of Rājarāja I have been found as far south as Suchindiram. (*M.E.R.* 1896, Appenix B. 10th, 14th and 15th years). Before the fourteenth year of his reign (*i.e.*, 998-999 A.D.), Conquest of Vēngi, Gangapādi, and Nulambapādi.

he should have conquered Vēngai-nādu, *i.e.*, the Eastern Chālukya territory, Gangapādi and Nulambapādi which formed part of the present Mysore State (see below), and Tadigaipādi, which Sir John Fleet thinks included the present Krishnarājpete, Nagamangala, Mandya, Seringapatam and Malvalli Taluks. (*I.A.* XXX. 109). As Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that in the Hoskote and Devanhalli Taluks of the Bangalore District a number of inscriptions have been found which mention Dadigavari or Tadigavari, which in later times bore the name of Vikramachōla-mandala, it is possible Tadigaipādi included in Rājarāja's time these taluks as well. According to Eastern Chālukya copper-plate grants, the kingdom of Vēngi was without a ruler about this time. The interregnum had lasted for twenty-seven years. Apparently Rājarāja ended the interregnum and restored peaceful government by placing Saktivarman on the throne. (*S.I.I.* loc. cit. 3. *E.I.* VI. 349). About the same period, Rājarāja appears to have conquered Kudumalainādu, modern Coorg, where an inscription of his (at Malambai) has been traced. His general in this war was Panchavanmāraya.

Conquest of Kalinga.

His other conquests included Kollam (Quilon) on the Malabār Coast and Kalinga, on the Eastern seaboard. As regards the latter, it has been suggested by Mr. Venkayya that there were at least two expeditions against it. The first of these was led by Rājarāja in person and the second by his son Rājēndra. It is not unlikely that the final conquest was effected by Rājēndra-Chōla. The first expedition was apparently undertaken to consolidate the position of Saktivarman, whom Rājarāja had placed on the Vēngi throne. After that conquest, fresh trouble apparently arose in the Kalinga country. A chief named Vimalāditya and surnamed Mummadi Bhīma and Birudānka Bhīma appears to have revolted and killed a certain Rājarāja, apparently a person in whom king Rājarāja was interested. To put down Vimalāditya, Rājēndra-Chōla led an expedition. This Vimalāditya is distinguished in some inscriptions as the chief of Kuluta, though this identification has been doubted. He was defeated by Rājēndra's general, who besides captured Mahēndragiri and set up a pillar of victory on it. Two inscriptions on Mahēndragiri still attest to this fact. It is clear from these inscriptions that Rājēndra had been deputed to put down Birudānka Bhīma's revolt, a task in which he succeeded. Vimalāditya is known from certain inscriptions to have been at Tiruvaiyār, near Tanjore, about 1013-1014 A.D., making gifts to the Panchanadēsvara temple. Shortly before or after this date, he must have married princess Kundavai, daughter of Rājarāja and sister of Rājēndra-Chōla. (*S.I I.* II. v. 4).

Conquest of Ceylon.

The conquest of Ceylon seems to have been simultaneously carried out from between 1001-1004 A.D., and probably ended only about 1011-1012 A.D. (*S.I.I.* loc. cit.). That is in about the 20th year of his reign. The subjugation of the island was apparently complete about the latter year. A Tamil inscription of that year found at Padaviya in Ceylon shows that several villages in the island were granted by Rājarāja to the temple at Tanjore, and they had to remit their assessment to the temple in coin or kind. That the conquest was a real and not a mere nominal one is proved by the fact that not only Ceylon received the name of Mummudi-Sōlamandalam after one of his own titles, but also temples and towns in it were named after his other names and titles. (*M.E.R.*, Part VI. 21). The conquest of Ceylon and its subjection to the Chōlas is placed beyond all doubt by the discovery of Chōla inscriptions in Ceylon. Two mutilated inscriptions in the Colombo Museum. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. Nos. 616 and 618), which may be referred to

Rājēndra-Chōla's time, mention the village of Māndōttam, otherwise called Rājarājapuram, situated in Īlam or Mummudisōlamandalam, so called, as above stated, after one of the titles of Rājarāja. At Māndōttam there was a Siva temple, called Rājarāja-ēsvaratta-Mahādēva. Māndōttam has been identified with modern Māntōta, in Ceylon, where there are some ancient remains, opposite to the southern end of the island of Mannar including those of a celebrated Tamil temple dedicated to Tirukēsvara, *i.e.*, Vishnu. (Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, 251). Some of the generals who fell in battles in his Ceylon war are mentioned in two Tiruchengōde copper-plates dated in his 5th and 10th regnal years. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix A. Nos. 10 and 11).

A record of the 2nd year of his reign registers a grant of land made by the residents of Vinnandai *alias* Vikrama Pāndiyanallūr, a village in Kottur-nādu, which was a subdivision of Īla-mandalam, to the temple at Kuttālam in the Tinnevelly District. This record proves clearly that both the Pāndya country and Ceylon were subject to Rājarāja's sway. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. Nos. 454 of 1917).

Campaign against Western Chālukyas.

About two or three years later, *i.e.*, about 1005 A.D., or 1006 A.D., Rājarāja led an expedition against the Western Chālukyas. The real cause of the war is not known. It has been surmised that the conquest of Gangavādi and Nolambavādi, which were among the feudatory kingdoms of the Rāshtrakūtas and Western Chālukyas in succession, should have embittered Chālukya feelings against Rājarāja. Satyāsraya (or Iravi Bedanga), son of Taila II, was the ruling king of the Chālukyas at the time. The victory over Satyāsraya is mentioned in the Tiruvālangādu and the large Leyden grants and in one of the Tanjore inscriptions. In the Tamil records of Rājarāja, the reference to the conquest of the 7½ lakh country of Rattapādi should be taken to mean this conquest. There is an independent confirmation of this expedition. According to the Hottur inscription of Satyāsraya, dated in 1007-1008 A.D., the Chōla king, called in it Nūrmadi-Chōla and named Rājēndra, having collected a force numbering 900,000 men had pillaged the whole country, had slaughtered the women, the children and the Brāhmans, and taking the girls to wife, had destroyed their caste. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii. 433). Apparently the war was fought on lines unapproved by Manu and other law-givers of ancient days (see *ante* under *Chālukyas*). Satyāsraya claims to have put the Chōla king to flight and to have acquired great stores of wealth and vehicles. An inscription at Uttattūr, near Trichinopoly (*M.E.R.* No.575 of 1912), dated in the 3rd year of Rājēndra-Chōla I mentions the fight with Satyāsraya. It is evident that Rājēndra-Chōla while still a prince, actually followed the expedition against Satyāsraya and fought in the battle referred to in the Hottur inscription. Rājarāja appears to have attached much importance to his victory over Satyāsraya as he is said to have presented gold flowers to the Rājārājēswara temple on his return from the expedition. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 6).

Date of this War, 1006-1007 A. D.

The date of this war has not been fixed quite definitely. As mentioned above, it has been surmised to have taken place towards the end of the 21st year of his reign or the beginning of the 22nd year. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 6). It is not mentioned in inscriptions of his 21st regnal year. An inscription of his 22nd year at Tiruvaiyar, Tanjore District, refers to the conquest of Rattapādi, *i.e.*, Western Chālukya country. (*M.E.R.* 1895, Para 11, No. 217 of 1914). Another inscription dated in the same year, is, however, silent on this point, while those dated in his 23rd year and subsequent years mention the achievement. The inference is possible that the conquest took place somewhere about 1006-1007 A.D., which is entirely in accordance with the date of the Hottur inscription.

The order of his Conquests.

The order of his conquests is indicated generally in Rājarāja's extant inscriptions. Generally it may be remarked that up to his 9th year, he is known in inscriptions as Rājakēsarivarman without any allusion to his conquests. His inscriptions dated from the 10th to the 12th year have the epithet *Kāndalūr sālai kala marutta* and the later ones begin with the famous introduction *tirumagalpōla*, etc., and furnish a complete list of his conquests. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 10). Three of his inscriptions dated in his 14th year, however, give us a historical introduction, which thus enumerates the order of his victories; Sālai, Tattapadi (? Tadigapādi), Talaikkādu (Talkād), Nulambapādi, Pirudigangavalanādu and Vēngai-nādu. It states that he cut off the ships at Sālai by sending his army and that he conquered the above named countries with his forces. The inference has been suggested that he did not himself lead his forces at Sālai. (*M.E.R.* 1923 Appendix B. No. 376 of 1922 and Appendix C, 67 and 121 of 1923; Para 27). As inscriptions belonging to a period long before his 22nd year or 23rd year, these do not refer to the conquest of Rattapādi.

Expedition against the Laccadives, 1013-1014 A.D.

The last war in which Rājarāja engaged was, according to Mr. Venkayya, one which was undertaken by him in the 29th year of his reign. (*i.e.*, 1013-1014 A.D.). He sent, in that year, it is stated, an expedition against the Twelve Thousand Islands. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 7). Which group in the Indian Ocean is denoted by this name has not yet been determined. The reference may be to the Laccadives and Maldives, as the conquest of Malabār had been accomplished already and these islands remained over from then unconquered. But as the conquest of these

12,000 islands is mentioned as an accomplished fact in an inscription of his 23rd regnal year (*E.C* IX, Channapatna, 128), the expedition referred to by Mr. Venkayya as having been undertaken in his 29th year must have been for putting down some revolt or other in the islands. The original conquest of these lands should have been effected in 1007-1008 A.D. and the revolt put down by the expedition of 1013-1014 A.D.

Conquest of Pakenādu.

During his reign Pakenādu, forming the northern part of the modern Nellore District, was overrun by one of his feudatories named Paraman Malapādiyār, chief of Kārukudi in Tanjavūr Kurram. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Appendix C. No. 79; also Para 31).

Conquest of Gangavādi or Nulambapādi, 1003-1004 A.D.

The conquest of that part of Mysore known as Gangapādi and Nulambapādi (*i.e.*, Gangavādi 36,000 and Nulambavādi 32,000) seems to have been completed about 1004 A.D. It was apparently undertaken after the conquest of the Chēras and Pāndyas and the Vēngi and Kalinga kingdoms. It was evidently part of the compaign against the Western Chālukyas. The expeditions against these provinces preceded, in fact, the one against Satyāsraya. The earliest reference to Rājarāja in Mysore is contained in a recently found inscription at Jodi Kempāpura, Chamarājnagar Taluk, in which he is referred to as Vīra Nārāyana. It is dated in *Saka* 913, cyclic year *Khara*, or A.D. 991. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Part II, Para 91). We find him established near Hoskote in *Saka* 920, cyclic year *Hēvilambi*, or 997 A.D. (*E.C.* IX. Hoskote 111). As the conquest of Gangapādi and Nulambapādi are referred to in inscriptions dated in the 8th, 10th and 19th year of his reign (*S.I.I.* II v. 3 f.n.e, *E.C.* X, Mulbagal 123, *E.C.* III, 140 Seringapatam, which must be assigned to the same date as Mulbagal 123, etc.), it has to be presumed that the conquest of these countries was an accomplished fact before the 8th regnal year, *i.e.*, about 992 A.D. By A.D. 1004, we find his son Rājēndra Chōla, who was in command of the Chōla army, capturing Talkād, the Ganga capital, and bringing the Ganga power to an end. The conquest of the south and east of Mysore in an arc extending from Arkalgud in the west, through Seringapatam, north of Nelamangala to Nidugal, appears to have been speedily effected. Mr. Rice has suggested that by virtue of this conquest Rājēndra-Chōla assumed the title of "Gangaikonda-Chōla" or "the conqueror of Ganga kingdom." This, however, is now proved to be not well founded. The Changālvās, whose kingdom was in the Hunsur Taluk and Coorg, were at the same time brought under Chōla subjection. The victory over them was due to a warrior named Manija, under the Chōla general Panchava-Mahārāya, already mentioned. For having overcome the Changālvas in the battle of Panasoge, he was rewarded by Rājarāja with an estate at Mālavvi, now Mālambi, and the Arkalgud and Yēlusāvira country, together with the title of *Khsatriya-sikhāmani Kongālva* (Coorg 46). Recently a Kannada *vīrkal* has been found at Hampapūr, Yedatore Taluk, which refers itself to the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla. It is dated in *Saka* 956 *Srīmukha* year, A.D. 1033. Nanni Changālva calls himself after Rajēndra-Chōla in this inscription. This unmistakably shows that he recognizes Rajēndra's suzerainty over him. (*M.A.R.* 1912-13, Part II, Para 69). In the extreme north-east connected with Nidugal, was Henjeru, now Hemāvati, on the northern border of Sira Taluk, a subordinate Chōla kingdom, whose rulers claimed descent from the ancient kings of Uraiyur. The territories under Panchava-Mahārāya and the Nidugal chiefs were apparently the outposts of the new conquest There is no doubt whatever that the Chōlas contemplated the entire subjugation of Mysore. But in this attempt they were foiled in the west by the Hoysalas, who were now rising to power. Thus, Rājarāja's general Appramēya is said, in 1006 A.D., to have encountered the Hoysala king's minister Nāganna, (*E.C.* III, T.Narsipur 44) and to have won a battle over other Hoysala leaders at Kalavūr, identified with Kaleyūr, near Malingi, opposite Talkād, on the other side of the river.

This Aprамēya is said to have belonged to the Teya-kula, to which he is said to have been an ornament. He is described in glowing colours as—

> "unassisted lion," "fond of war," "favourite hero of his master," "destruction to the race of hill chiefs," "a jewel on the battle-field," "a pillar of victory," "a bee at the lotus feet of Rājarāja-Dēva," "lord of Kōttamandala," etc.

He seems to have himself fallen in the battle and to have won by his valour in the plains of Kalavūr a name to endure as long as the sun and the moon. Then, Panchava-Mahārāya, another of Rājarāja's leaders, referred to above, conducted victorious expeditions along the west coast. (*E.C.* III. Seringapatam 140). In this inscription, he is spoken of as a bee at the lotus feet of Rājarāja. He is said to have obtained the rank of Mahādandanāyaka for Bēngi-mandala (*i.e.*, Vēngi) and Ganga-mandala, which seems to show that he was commander-in-chief of the forces sent against these countries. A graphic description of the manner in which he displayed the might of his arms is given in the above quoted inscription, dated in *Saka* 934, Cyclic year *Parīdhāvi*, corresponding to the 28th year of Rājarāja (1012 A.D.) "He seized Tuluva and Konkana, pursued after Maleya, pushed aside and passed over Chēra, Tuluva and Rattiga as if in sport and desired the small Balvala (Ballegola) country (near Seringapatam), that mā-rāya; what enemy could stand before him when he knit his brows? To those who were his friends like a moon; to his enemies like a raging *Yama*, or a fierce

Māri, was this mast elephant of Mummadi-Chōla." Who this Panchavamahārāya was is made known in Seringapatam 125, dated in 1012 A.D. (not 1065 A.D. as stated in *E.C.* III). He was apparently Rājēndra-Chōla himself, who is there called "Panchava-mahārāya Rājēndra-Chōla." This inscription is on the north base of the Rāmadēva temple at Kirangūr and records the fact that Panchava-mahārāya Rājēndra-Chōla, filled with wealth, camped here, and constructed a stone pond of pure water. As "Panchava" is a title of the Pāndyas, "Panchava-mahārāya" may be taken to mean the king (or conqueror) of the Pāndyas, a title assumed by Rājēndra-Chōla because, perhaps, he took part with his father in the conquest of the Pāndyas. In Mysore, however, the Kongālvas were opposed by the Hoysala king Nripa-Kāma in 1022 and 1026 A.D. (*E.C.* v. Manjarabad 43; Arkalgud 46) and made no headway in extending the Chōla conquests in that part of the country. (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 86).

Details of Rājarāja's Conquests.

The conquests of Rājarāja, as detailed in various inscriptions in this State, are described in (*E.C.* IX) Channapatna 128 of his 23rd year. During his long life, we are told, of growing strength, he was pleased to destroy the ships at Kāndalūr Sālai; conquer with his heroic and victorious army Vēngai-nādu, Gangapādi, Nulambapādi, Tadigaivāli, Kudamalai-nādu, Kollam, Kalingam, Īlāmandalam, the strong and stubborn Singalas, the Irattapādi Seven-and-a-half lakh (country) and the twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea; and deprive the Sēliyar (*i.e.*, the Pāndyas) of their splendour at the very time when their greatness, which was adored everywhere, became conspicuous.

His performance of *Tulābhara* ceremony.

In the 29th year of his reign (or A.D. 1013), Rājarāja performed the *Tulābhāra* ceremony, *i.e.*, weighing one self against gold, pearls or other such costly material, in order to celebrate his victories. He seems to have performed the *Tulābhāra* ceremony thrice; once at Uttiramērur in Chingleput District, in the temple called Tulābhāra Srī-Kōyil, the present Sundara-Varada-Perumāl temple, wherein there is an inscription of his. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix C. No. 197 of 1923). In an inscription of his 28th year found at Tiruvīsulūr, Tanjore District, reference is made to the performance of the *Tulābhāra* ceremony in the Siva temple of that place. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 37). His chief queen Lōkamahādēvi also performed the *hiranyagarbha*, passing her body through a golden cow. (*M.E.R.* 1907, 75).

His inscriptions in Kolar District.

Inscriptions of his 7th, 12th, 16th, 19th, 22nd, 27th, 28th and 30th regnal years have been found in the Kolar District. In *E.C.* X, Kolar 75, of his 7th year, he is described as the lord of seven beautiful cities, wherever they were. This epithet is not met with elsewhere in his inscriptions. One of his generals in Mysore was Nolambādhirāja, who in 1000 A.D. gave Perbanna (Hebbani) to the plunderer of Kādiyanna (? Kāduvetti). A farmer at this place is recorded to have repaired the big tank which was breached. (*E.C.* X Mulbagal 208 and 209). Nolambādhirāja made a grant in his favour on the occasion. Mulbagal 123 dated in 1003 A.D. (*E.C.* X) enumerates all his conquests including the destruction of the ships at Kāndalūr Sālai, Vēngainād, Gangapādi, Nulambapādi, Tadigivali, Kollam, Kalingam, Kudumalainādu, and after having crossed the deep sea, the impregnable Niranjaram; and the Pāndyas. His grants to the Pidāriyār temple at Kolar are mentioned in an inscription dated in his 12th and 22nd years (*E.C.* X, Kolar 106_c and 106_b) dated in 996 and 1006 A.D. The worshipper of the goddess was a Saiva Brāhmana of the Kausika *gōtra.* A lithic grant in the 27th year of his reign

(*Saka* 932, Cyclic year *Sādhārana*), shows that Nolambādhirāja Chōrayya was a feudatory of his ruling over Kaivāra and the neighbouring country (Chintāmani 118). An inscription dated in 997 A.D. (*Saka* 920, Cyclic year *Hēvilambi*) has been found at Kamasamudram in Hoskote Taluk. (*E.C.* IX Hoskote 111). Channapatna 47 and 128, the former of which is much effaced and contains the Tamil introduction of the latter, give particulars of all the conquests of Rājarāja. Channapatna 128 is of the 23rd regnal year or A.D. 1007. It records a grant to a Vishnu temple founded in the name of Rājarāja at Manalur (see above). In the same year, three other grants in favour of the same god were made. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 132, 130 and 131). One was by the members of the village assembly of Vandur *alias* Sōlamādēvi-Chaturvēdimangalam (an *agrahāra* named after one of the queens of the king). Another was by the village assembly of Punganūr (now Honganūr in Channapatna Taluk), *alias* Trailōkyamahādēvi-Chaturvēdimangalam (so called after another queen of the king). A third was by the citizens of Nigarli-Sōlapuram. In 1013 A.D., the assembly of Punganūr above named granted certain lands for the offerings of rice to be made to the god Kundavi-Vinnagar-Ālvār. (*E.C.* IX Channapatna 42_a). A grant made in the 28th year of Rājarāja's reign, corresponding to *Saka* 934 (A.D. 1012), by the Mahādandanāyaka Panchava-Mahārāya, the commander-in-chief of Rājarāja's forces in Vēngi and Gangavādi, has been registered as Seringapatam 140 (see above). Rājarāja's conquests are described in T.-Narasipur 35. (*E.C.* III). It may be set down to 1003-1004 A.D., as it is nearly in the same terms as Mulbagal 123, which is dated in his 19th regnal year. This record testifies to a grant by the *gāmundas* of Mayilangi (of Idai-nād) and other places in the name of Periya Kundavai Ālvār (*i.e.*, Rājarāja's elder sister), in favour of Vinnagara Ālvār at

Manalur. An inscription dated in the 30th regnal year refers to a grant by Rājarāja as Rājarāja-vidanga-Dēva. (*E.C.* III, T. Narsipur 48). Apparently it was after his name "Vidanga," (same as Vitanka) that the chief god in the Tanjore temple was named Dakshinamēru-Vidangan. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 20).

Period of peaceful rule—Construction of Temples.

There are certain intervals in the reign of Rājarāja during which there appear to have been no military expeditions. The first of these is that between the 18th and the 21st years corresponding to A.D. 1002 and 1005 A.D. respectively. Mr. Venkayya has suggested that it was during this period that Rājarāja received the title of *Srī-Rājarāja*, which occurs first in inscriptions of the 19th year (A.D. 1003). From the *Kongudēsa-rājākkal*, it is learnt that he made certain gifts to the Chidambaram temple in *Saka* 926, or A.D. 1004. It is probable that the title of *Srī-Rājarāja* was conferred on him by the temple authorities at Chidambaram. Perhaps this was also the period when he conceived the idea of building the great temple at Tanjore and made arrangements for the construction to commence. (*S.I.I.* II. V. 5). It was during this period that he seems to have built and endowed a temple devoted to Vishnu at Tadimalingi, near Talkād. There are stone records of his reign at this place. They are on the basement of the Janārdana temple, which they call Iravikulamānikka Vinnagar, or Ravikulamānikya Vishnugriha. One of these records is T.-Narasipūr 35 (*E.C.* III), which seems to be dated in the 20th year of Rājarāja, or A.D. 1004. The other records may belong to the same date. They record the purchase of lands for the temple from funds provided by Periya-Kundavi Ālvār, elder sister of Rājarāja, so named to distinguish her from her namesake, the daughter of Rājarāja. *Ravikulamānikya* was one of the titles (see below) of Rājarāja. The sale deed was, it would appear, placed under the protection of the Srīvaishnavas of the temple. This mention of Srīvaishnavas in early 12th century, in connection with a Vishnu temple, shows that they were existent long before the advent of Srī Rāmānuja. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 77). Kundavi and Rājarāja were not only devout Saivas but also ardent worshippers of Vishnu, a rare example of tolerant religious zeal which is fully reflected in the style of the Tanjore temple built by Rājarāja. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 77).

The next period during which Rājarāja turned his attention from warfare to peaceful pursuits was from the 23rd to the 29th year. The Chōla dominions probably enjoyed peace and the king apparently devoted his energies to the task of internal administration. The building of the Rājarājēsvara temple in Tanjore and the many endowments and gifts to it must have occupied a prominent place in his mind during these years.

It was during this period that Rājarāja caused to be built the temple of Narasimha at Marepalli, near Malvalli. It is called in the record relating to it as Rājasraya Vinnagar Ālvār (*i.e.*, Rājāsraya Vishnugriha Ālvār) after Rājasraya, a title of Rājārāja. Provision for the carrying out of its festivals is made in a lithic record found at it dated in *Saka* 935 (A.D. 1012-1013). Another inscription dated in *Saka* 936 (A.D. 1013-1014) records another grant to it. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 79).

Another temple in the Mysore State with which Rājarāja's name is closely connected is that of Pidariyār, now called the Kōlaramma, which, he and his son Rājēndra-Chōla specially patronized and repeatedly endowed. Rājēndra Chōla indeed had its brick parts rebuilt in stone. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 109).

Still another temple founded by Rājarāja and referred to in a series of inscriptions recording grants to it, is that of the god Jayangonda-Chōla Vinnagar Ālvār at Manalūr (renamed Nikarili-Chōlapuram) near Channapatna, in the Bangalore District. The temple was apparently completed in the 23rd regnal year, or 1007 A.D. The village assembly of the place made a grant for the daily offerings of the god installed—in the name of Rājarāja, one of whose titles was *Jayangonda-Chōla*—as also certain other neighbouring village assemblies and the citizens of Nikarili-Chōlapuram. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 128, 130, 131 and 132 dated in 1007 A.D.). Grants were also made to it in 1014 A.D., in the third regnal year of Rājēndra-Chōla, Rājarāja's son, and about 1030 A.D., also in the same king's reign. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 129 and 133). The temple was evidently dedicated to Vishnu, as its name shows. The record of 1014 A.D., of Rājēndra-Chōla's time above quoted confirms this inference, for it plainly states that the Srīvaishnavas and the 500 of Tiraiyayiram are to protect the charity. The record of 1007 A.D. of Rājarāja's time (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 132), ends with the final verse which says that he who protects the charity "will attain "Vaigundam, the abode of Vishnu" and the record of 1014 A.D., (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 127) ends with obeisance to Hari, *i.e.*, Vishnu.

A famous Vaishnava temple of Rājarāja's time was the ancient one of Varāha-Perumāl at Tiruvadandai, one of the 108 Vaishnava *divyadēsas* of the *Nālāyiraprabhandam*. It appears to have been in a flourishing state even in Rājarāja's time as might be inferred from the evidence of records in it, of unidentified early Chōla kings, of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III and others. Six inscriptions of Rājarāja dated between the 8th and 29th years of his reign have been found in it. In his 17th regnal year, 12 fishermen were dedicated to the temple and they were required to pay a tax of three-quarters of a *kalanju* per head earned by them and to render physical assistance also in celebrating the festival called *Rājarāja-*

dēvartirunāl, which was to last for seven days from the *Satabhishaj-nakshatra* (evidently the star under which the king was born) occuring in the month of *Āvani* every year. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 22).

Revenue Survey and Settlement carried out, 1002 A.D.

Rājarāja appears to have carried out a revenue survey and settlement in the 17th year of his reign or A.D. 1002. (*M.E.R.* 1913, ii. 21 ; *M.E.R.* 1918. ii. Appendix B. No. 199 of 1917). In his 19th regnal year, there was a fresh survey of the land ("measuring of the earth") to rectify apparently the small errors in measurement which might have crept into the registers maintained by village authorities. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix C. 59 ; also see Part II. Para 21). The Tanjore inscriptions (*S.I.I.* I) bear ample testimony to the accuracy of the operations conducted by the king. Land as small in extent as 1-52, 428,800,000 of a *vēli* was measured and assessed to revenue. An inscription at Tiruvīsalūr in the Tanjore District, dated in his 24th year, (*M.E.R.* No. 44 of 1907) also refers to a revenue survey apparently carried out some time before that date (or A.D. 1108). The officer of Rājarāja who took an active part in the survey operations was perhaps the general (*sēnapati*) Kuravan Ulagalandān *alias* Rājarāja-mahārājan. His title *Ulagalandān*, one who measured the earth, might, Mr. Venkayya suggests, have been given to him in recognition of his services in connection with the survey operations. It was evidently as a result of this survey and settlement that Rājarāja issued his famous order dated the 143rd day of his 24th year (1008 A.D.) in which he confiscated to the villages concerned the lands of those who did not pay the taxes due along with their brethern. This order, it is not a little curious to note, was made applicable only to "villages of Brāhmanas," "villages of Vaikhānasas" (Srīvaishnavas of Pre-Rāmānuja times) and "villages of Sramanas," *i.e.*, Jains in the home province and in the provinces of the Pāndya and Tondainādu. The order was written by the Royal Secretary and approved by the Chief Secretary and engraved by order on the day mentioned above. (*M.E.R.* 1897, Para 3 ; see also *S.I.I.* III, No. 9).

The result of the survey and resurveys effected by Rājarāja seems to be indicated in certain of the inscriptions. It seems inferable from these, that at least in some cases, the surplus of paddy resulting from the survey was made over to temples for the offerings of the gods. In one case (*M.E.R.* 1924, Part II, Para 13, Appendix C. No. 385 of 1924), one of Rājarāja's queens (Panchavanmādēvi) gave the surplus of 900 *Kalams* of paddy to a temple. Possibly the village was managed by her as her own.

Rājarāja's greatness and character.

Rājarāja was undoubtedly the greatest of the Imperial Chōla line. Whether from the energy displayed by him in regaining the glory of his ancient heritage or from the extent of his vast conquests, he must be styled "Great." He was undoubtedly as eminent an administrator as a soldier. He seems to have chosen his men well and to have trusted them. He was possessed of organising skill and knew how to win over the good will of the residents of the new territories added to his kingdom by his wise and far-seeing ways. He reconciled them by allowing them the fullest local freedom and by the system of rural government he adopted through the aid of village assemblies which were nearly sovereign in their territories. Though probably gentle by disposition, he was, as became a soldier, not too prone to excuse wanton disobedience or slackness. His treatment of the defaulting tax-payers has been referred to above. Religious and pious, he seems to have built many temples, of which the greatest and most famous is the Rājarājēsvara (now called Brihadīsvara) at Tanjore. Though apparently a strict

Saiva, he was tolerant towards Jainism and Buddhism and as regards Vaishnavism, he was apparently a worshipper as much of Vishnu as of Siva. His devotion to his elder sister Kundavai is one of the pleasing features of his character, which for its forcefulness and true charity is without a parallel in Chōla history. His singularly blameless career, as king, conqueror and man stamp him as a ruler worthy of the highest praise. His love of system, as displayed by his administrative acts—whether in the measurement of land or the building of a temple or engraving of his conquests on its stone walls—mark him out as a business-like and gifted personage who tried to avoid mistakes as far as it lay in his power and to leave his impress on the history of his country. Among the great works that he undertook and achieved are some which have been found not merely useful to this day to mankind but also admired by successive generations of men and women, as grand works of art.

His intellectual worth.

Of Rājarāja's intellectual worth much may be written. Mr. Venkayya in his dispassionate review of this king's career remarks thus of the innovation he introduced into the composition of the inscriptions which he ordered to be engraved on the walls of the temple he caused to be constructed at his capital :—

> "That part of Rājārāja's intellectual nature to which students of South Indian history owe most is the desire on his part to record his military achievements in every one of his inscriptions and thus hand down to posterity some of the important events of his life. As far as we know at present, Rājarājadēva was the first king of Southern Indiat o introduce this innovation into his inscriptions. Before his time, powerful kings of the Pallava, Pāndya and Chōla dynasties had reigned in the south, and some of them had made extensive conquests. But none of them seems to have thought of leaving a record on stone of his military achievements. For instance, we have

many stone inscriptions in Southern India of the Chōla king Parāntaka I, whose extensive conquests are well known. Of these the stone inscriptions refer only to the conquests of Madura. Even this item of information would probably be missing had it not been for the fact that the king bore the name of his grand-father Parakēsarivarman, and it was consequently necessary to add the epithet "conqueror of Madura" in order to avoid confusion. The idea of Rājarājadēva to add a short account of his military achievements at the beginning of every one of his inscriptions was entirely his own. His action in this respect is all the more laudable because his successors evidently followed his example and have left us more or less complete records of their conquests. But for the historical introductions which are often found at the beginning of the Tamil inscriptions of Chōla kings, the lithic records of the Tamil country would be of very little value, and consequently even the little advance that has been made in elucidating the history of Southern India would have been well nigh impossible. Early Tamil records are dated not in the *Saka* or any other well-known era but in the regnal year of the king to whose time the grants belong, and palæography is not always a very safe guide in South Indian history. With the help of the names of contemporary kings of other dynasties mentioned in the historical introductions of the Tamil inscriptions, it has been possible to fix the approximate dates of most of the Chōla kings. Consequently, the service which Rājarājadēva has rendered to epigraphists in introducing a brief account of his military achievements at the beginning of his stone inscriptions cannot be over-estimated. The historical side of the king's intellectual nature is further manifested in the order which he issued to have all the grants made to the Rājarājēsvara temple engraved on stone. That this order of the king was not due entirely to self-glorification is borne out by other records. For instance, an inscription of his reign found at Tirumalavādi in the Trichinopoly district (*M.E.R.* 1895, No. 92 of 1895) records an order of the king to the effect that the central shrine of the Vaidyanātha temple at the place should be rebuilt and that, before pulling down the walls, the inscriptions engraved on them should be copied in a book. The records were subsequently re-engraved on the walls from the book after the rebuilding was finished."

The fact is borne out by the form of the characters employed in the re-engraving of the early inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 17. No. 92 of 1895).

His army its organization.

We get some idea of the spirit with which Rājarāja treated his soldiers from a study of his army organization. He was evidently anxious that his army should get its due share in the glory derived from his extensive conquests. It was evidently the same army which was called "the great warlike army" during the reign of his successor Rājēndra-Chōla I. The names of as many as 34 regiments are known and these seem to have been evidently named after the titles of the king or of his son, which indicates the attachment he and his son bore to the army. These may be termed, in modern terminology, the King's Own or Royal Regiments. These titles may be taken to have been bestowed on them after they had distinguished themselves in some engagement or other. One of these was the regiment named after his surname: *Kōdandarāma-terinjavar*. Two other bodies called *Tāyātōnga-terinja* and *Muttaval-petta-Kaikōlar* are peculiar and the origin of their names is somewhat obscure. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 28.) The regiments were divided into elephant troops, cavalry and infantry. Thirteen of the 32 regiments known appear to have been designated *Valangai-Vēlaikkāra-ppadaigal, i.e., Vēlaikkāra* troops of the Right Hand. This shows that there should have been other regiments set down to the "Left Hand." Whether this distinction has anything to do with the origin of the South-Indian castes other than Brāhman into "Right Hand" and "Left Hand" has still to be determined. The term *Vēlaikkāra* has been rendered into *Volunteer* by Mr. Venkayya, who adds the suggestion that they "were perhaps volunteers who enlisted when the occasion (*vēlai*) for their services arose." These *vēlaīkkāra* regiments later appear to have migrated into

Ceylon and took service there under the Singhalese kings. From the description given of them in the Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahāwansa*, we learn that they belonged to the working classes and consisted of *Valangai* (Right Hand) and *Idangai* (Left Hand), Sirudanam, Pillaigal-danam, Vadugar (*i.e.*, northerners or those from the Telugu country), Malayālar (those from the Malayālam country), Parivārakkondam (*i.e.*, those of the fishermen caste) and others, and that their leaders were the Valanjiyār (*i.e.*, Banajigars) and the Nagarattār (*i.e.*, Nagartha of the Kannada country). Apparently the Vēlaikkāra troops who took service under Vijayabāhu I, the Singhalese king referred to above, refused to proceed against the Chōlas in their mother country and that king is stated in an inscription, dated in the 30th year of his reign, to have successfully quelled their rebellion. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Part II, Para 30). Though these Vēlaikkāra troops appear to have served as mercenaries under the Singhalese kings at the close of the 11th century, at the beginning of that century, while under Rājarāja, the Chōla king, and his son, they seem to have been part of the regular army recruited on a voluntary basis. Rājarāja kept up a close connection between the troops and the temples erected by him. Thus, several men taken from the regiments, were appointed musicians in the great temple at Tanjore and remunerated as such. To some of these regiments the management of certain of the shrines was committed, and they were expected to provide for their requirements. Others were granted loans from the temple treasuries on interest which they appear to have agreed to return in cash. Though kind and even generous to the troops, Rājarāja appears to have inspired fear into them as a disciplinarian. Thus, certain inscriptions of his, which refer to military operations going on towards the close of his reign, state how some of his officers of high rank (*Perundanam*) and others who were apparently arbitrators and judges (*naduvirakkum*) vowed themselves to put up lamps in the Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore, if no disgrace betook them at the hands of the king on their return from the war. (*S.I.I.* II. V. 11. *n.* 2).

Encouragement of weavers.

A number of Kaikkōlars (weavers) of different classes, named after his titles are mentioned in different inscriptions (*e.g.*, Pārthivāsegaratterinja-Kaikkōlar, etc., *M.E.R.* 1919, Para 10. Appendix B. No. 491 of 1918). These appear to have been recruited for service as much in the army as in the peaceful domestic art of weaving It would thus seem that Rājarāja encouraged weavers and weaving in his kingdom by paying special attention to the members of this caste.

His Administrative divisions.

The empire of Rājarāja was divided into a number of provinces called *mandalas*. Each *mandala* was divided into a number of *valanādus*, each *valanādu* being named after a title of the king. Each *valanādu* was further subdivided into a number of *nādus*, each *nādu* being named after the chief village in it. The empire then consisted of a number of *Mandalas*, *valanādus*, *nādus* and villages. It appears that the territorial limits of the divisions could not have changed with the change of rulers but often fresh names were conferred on them. The *mandalas* known from Rājarāja's inscriptions are :—

(1) Chōla-mandalam, which appears to have consisted of at least nine *valanādus*.

(2) Tondai-nādu *alias* Tondaimandalam or Jayangonda-Chōla-mandalam, which comprized the ancient Pallava territory. It consisted of 21 *valanādus*, the names being often shortened into *nādus*, or *kottams*.

(3) Pāndi-nādu *alias* Rājarāja-mandalam. This comprized the conquered Pāndya territory and consisted of seven *valanādus*.

(4) Malai-nādu, which comprized the conquered Chēra territory and consisted of only one known *nādu*.

(5) Mudikonda-chōla-mandala, which comprized the southern portion of Gangavādi (called also Gangapādi), represented by the present Mysore District. It consisted of one *valanādu* named Gangaikonda Chōla-valanādu. Its principal *nādu* was called Padi-nādu, identified with Hadi-nādu or Hadinūru, with its capital at Ālur in the present Chamarajnagar Taluk.

(6) Vikrama-Chōla-mandala, that part of Gangavādi which is now represented by the northern portion of Bangalore District. Its chief *valanādu* was called Jayangonda-Chōla-valānadu.

(7) Nikarili-Chola-mandalam, represented by the present Kolar District.

(8) Nulambapādi, comprising the ancient Nolamba territory. Its chief *nādu* was called Parivai-nādu after Paruvai, modern Parigi, 7 miles north of Hindupur, in the Anantapur District. It consisted of the chief places of Kudalur and Kusavūr.

(9) Īram, or Mummudi-Chola-valanādu or mandalam, which formed the conquered territory in Ceylon (*M.E.R.* 1913, p. 96), which consisted of two *valanādus.*

There are also known from inscriptions several other *valanādus* whose location has not yet been determined. Some of these might have belonged to Chōla-mandalam proper. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 29 *n.* 2.).

His Secretaries and Officers.

Rājarāja seems to have had the assistance of a heirarchy of officials, both in the provinces and at his head-quarters. Among his officers, two generals are referred to in the Tanjore inscriptions, *viz.*, Kuravan Ulagalandān *alias* Rājarāja-Mahārājan and Krishna Rāman *alias* Mummadi-Sōra-Brahmamārāyan. The latter was the Chief Secretary (*Ōlai-nāyagan* or *Tiru-mandira-vōlaināyagan*) from the 21st to the 24th year of the king's reign.

Whether this Brahmamārāya can be identified with the Panchavan Brahmādhirāja, one of the noblemen (*perundaram*) of the king, on whom the *jivitam* (or *jāghir*) of Tagadur-nādu in the present Mysore State was bestowed by Rājarāja is not clear. (*M.E.R.* 1910 Appendix B. No. 254 of 1909.). The inscription which supplies this information is one of the 25th regnal year of Rājarāja and the donor of the grant mentioned in it is described as the son of the Nālgamunda of Erumaiya, and a native of Ariyur in Puramalainādu (Erumaiya-nālgamunda). Erumainādu which forms the first portion of this title is the name generally applied to the Mysore country (*Mahīsha-mandala*) in Tamil literature. Puramalainādu to which Ariyur belonged, was a district bordering on Mysore, though not actually included in it. (*Ibid* Para 19).

Another such Secretary (*Tirumandiravōlai*) was Kārāyil Eduttapādam, the headman of Rājakēsarinallūr. Amudan Tirttakāran, the headman of Villattūr, who drafted the Ānaimangalam grant recorded in the large Leyden plates, was also another Secretary; Īrāyiravan Pallavayan *alias* Mummadi-Sōra-Pōsan must also have belonged to the secretariat staff as he signed both the Ānaimangalam grant and the Ukkal inscription relating to revenue settlement. All the above mentioned officers figure in the Tanjore inscriptions as donors. Krishnan-Rāman built at least two of the enclosing verandahs of the temple. Another officer who belonged to the secretariat was Vēlān Uttama-Sōran *alias* Madurāntaka Mūvēndavēlan, who figures among the signatories to the original order of the king in the Ānaimangalam character. Other officers are also mentioned in the large Leyden plates, *viz.*, five persons who are described as *Karumamārāyum*, *i.e.*, "those who look after (the king's) affairs." They were probably the king's executive officers. Four others who must have been Brāhmanas are described as *naduvirukkum* "those who are in the middle." These were perhaps arbitrators or judges. Two other officers are also mentioned, *viz.*, *puravuvari* and *varippottagam.* The former was apparently the officer dealing with taxes due from revenue-free villages and the latter with the rent-roll of the Chōla dominions. Another important officer of the king was the magistrate (*adhikārin*) Udayadivākaran Tillaiyāli *alias* Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēlan of Kānchivāyil who figures both in the large Leyden plates and in the Tanjore inscriptions. Still another important person was the temple manager Ādittan Sūryan *alias* Tennavan Mūvēndavēlār, who was the headman of Poygai-nādu. He set up images of some of the sixty-three Saiva devotees in the temple and made gifts to them. The king seems to have conferred the title *Perundaram* on the most important officers and men of note in his dominions. The title *Perundaram* is prefixed to Sirudanattu-panimakkal, *i.e.*, "the servants of the Sirudanam," which seems to denote a class of officers. Perhaps, the term was used to denote subordinate officials. One of the officers is described as Sirudanattu-Perundaram. He probably belonged to the class of subordinate officials but received the title *Perundaram.* (Sirudanattu-kkangāni-ttattān of the lord Srī-Rājarājadēva occurs in line 17 of the third section of No. 66. (See *S.I.I.* II. v. *Sirudanattu* may also mean "of the youth" and the whole phrase may denote the goldsmith who was in the king's service when he was young.).

His Public Works. Construction of the great Tanjore Temple.

Among the public works carried out by Rājarāja are several temples, some of which have been referred to above. The Uyyakondān Channel, which is an ancient irrigation work in the Trichinopoly District, was probably constructed during his reign and called after him, Uyyakondār being one of his well-known titles. It was apparently renovated in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III (A.D. 1205-1206), as a fragmentary inscription on its head sluice refers itself to the 29th year of that king. But the greatest monument of his reign was the beautiful temple of Rājarājēsvara he caused to be built at Tanjore. This grand undertaking must have created an admiration for him in the minds of his subjects. In later times, the several incidents connected with its foundation and its equipment appear by themselves to have become the theme of a popular story. For, in the 4th year of Rājarājēndra (*i.e.*, A.D. 1055), we are told that provision was made for the performance of the drama *Rājarājēsvara Nātaka*, on one of the festive days in the temple. A modern critic has said that it is, like the Kailāsa temple at Ellōra, an architectural unity, built after a preconceived plan. The principal shrine is built on a colossal scale; it is 82 feet square and crowned by a *stūpa*-tower of thirteen stories 190 feet high. (Havell, *A Hand-book of Indian Art*, 85.). It was undoubtedly built to commemorate the victories by which he became paramount ruler of Southern India, Deccan and Ceylon. Mr. Venkayya writes thus of Rājarāja's personal interest in this temple :—

> "The study of Rājarāja's inscriptions leaves on us the impression that he must have been an active man and that he was probably successful in realizing some of the highest aims of his life. Like most men who devote a considerable portion of their earlier years in the active pursuit of cherished earthly aims, this Chōla king spent the later portion of his life in works of devotion. The Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore, which evidently served as a model for a large number of other temples in Southern India, is a stupendous monument of the religious instinct of this sovereign. The enormous endowments in lands and gold made to the temple show that the king had one sole object in his later life, *viz.*, to leave no want of the temple unsupplied. Almost all the booty he acquired in wars he gave away to the temple. Utensils required for temple services; ornaments for the various images set up in the temple; villages for supplying the temple

with the requisite amount of paddy; money for purchasing the various articles for temple use not omitting even camphor, cardamom seeds, *champaka*-buds and *khaskhas*-roots required for scenting the bathing water of the gods (No. 24); sheep, cows and buffaloes for supplying the ghee required for lamps; skilled musicians for singing the *Dēvāram* hymns; dancing girls; Brāhmana servants for doing the menial work in the temple; accountants for writing the temple accounts; and temple treasurers, goldsmiths, carpenters, washermen, barbers, astrologers and watchmen were provided on a most liberal scale. The systematic way in which the various endowments to the temple were made on the principles laid down for their proper administration bespeak a genius for organisation which could not have been quite a characteristic feature of kings in general at the time."

The Tanjore temple and its construction.

The exact date of the building of the Tanjore temple is a question that deserves some attention. Stone temples were apparently not quite common in the time of Rājarāja. This is shown by the use of the word *tirukkarrali, i.e.*, "the stone temple" in the order of the king to have all the gifts engraved on stone. The difficulties also of procuring stones for such a big building must have been very great, particularly as there was no hill in or very near Tanjore which could have supplied the requisite quantity. Such a monument as the Tanjore temple would take several years to build even with all the inventions of modern engineering. But at the time of which we are speaking mechanical appliances must have been in a primitive state and hence the time taken to finish the building must have been much longer. Therefore we shall only try to fix when the building was probably begun and when it came to a close. We have some reason to suppose that the period between the 18th and the 21st year of the king's reign was not occupied with any wars. This was probably the time when the titles *Srī-Rājarāja* and *Sivapādasēkhara* were conferred on him as suggested already. The name *Sri-Rājarāja* occurs first in an inscription of the 19th year of his reign. If, as is not unlikely, the name Srī-Rājarājēsvara was given to the temple in order to perpetuate the *biruda* Srī-Rājarāja, the king could not have conceived the idea of constructing the temple before the 19th year. The temple must have existed in some form or other in the 21st-22nd year (A.D. 1005-1006); because it was during this year that the king's expedition against Satyāsraya was undertaken, and on his return from this conquest, Rājarāja is said to have presented some gold flowers to the temple. The whole structure, however, could not have been ready by that time. A very large number of gifts are stated to have been made between the 23rd and 29th years. The 23rd year was probably chosen because the building of the temple had in that year reached an advanced stage. Thus it appears that the construction of the temple began in the 19th year and that a considerable portion of it was completed by the 23rd year. On the 25th day of the 25th year, the king presented a copper-pot to be placed on the pinnacle of the central shrine. We may conclude from this that the topmost portion of the central shrine must have been ready by that time; for, so far as the central shrine was concerned, the fixing of the copper-pot on the pinnacle would have been the last thing to be done.

A considerable part of the enclosure of the temple was, by order of the king, built by a Brāhmana named Krishnan Rāman who was a military officer. This fact is engraved twice on the south enclosure and once on the west enclosure. From this repetition we may conclude that these two enclosures were built at different times by the king's general. There is no such inscription on any part of the north or east enclosure, and it is not impossible that they were built by the king himself. The *gōpura* of the east enclosure and the Chandēsvara shrine must have been built before the conquest of the 12,000 islands by the king in the 29th year of his reign. It is particularly noteworthy that unlike other Chōla temples of the south, the Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore was built completely with its necessary adjuncts in the time of Rājarāja himself, the founder of that temple, "on a well-defined and stately plan which was persevered in till its completion." (*Tanjore District Gazetteer*, Volume I, page 270). The small temple of Subrahmanya within the courtyard of the temple is not referred to in the inscriptions though the adjoining Chandēsvara shrine is. Consequently, it seems to have been a later addition. (See Fergusson's *Indian Architecture*, Volume I. p. 365). The Brihannāyaki temple, also in the courtyard, was constructed in the second year of a certain Konerinmaikondān, probably a Pāndya king of the 13th century A.D. (No. 61). The Dakshināmūrti shrine abutting the south wall of the central shrine has been already suggested to have been a later addition. The Marāthi inscription on the inner wall of the south enclosure which is dated in *Saka* 1723, *Durmati* (A.D. 1801-02) states that the Mahratta king Sarphōji-Mahārāja executed elaborate repairs to the shrines of Ganēsa, Subrahmanya, the Goddess (Brihannāyaki), Sabhāpati, Dakshināmūrti and Chandēsvara, built one or two new *mandapas*, and renovated the *prākāra* walls, the temple kitchen and the flooring of the courtyard.

The circumstances which led to the building of the Srī-Rājarājēsvara temple may now be examined. In the *Dēvāram* hymns, the *Tiruvīsappa* and the *Periyapurānam*, the first place among Saiva shrines is assigned to the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram which is designated *kōyil*, *i.e.*, "the temple." The name Ādavallān "one who is able to dance" which was given to one of the chief images in the Rājarājēsvara temple is derived from that of the deity in the temple at Chidambaram and shows the importance attached to that temple during the time of which we are now speaking. Three of the chief images are mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions, *viz.*, Ādavallān or Dakshinamēru-Vitankan, Tanjai-Vitankan and Mahāmēru-Vitankan. From two of the Tanjore inscriptions (Nos. 65 and 66) it is evident that the names of the god as well as of the temple at Chidambaram and their various synonyms were very commonly borne by men and women during the time of Rājarāja.

Reference has already been made to the titles *Srī-Rājarāja* and *Sivapādasēkhara.* The second which means 'one (who has) the feet of Siva as (his) crest' is a distinctly religious designation. Rājarāja being one of the names of Kubēra, the Hindu god of wealth and a friend of Siva, the title *Srī-Rājarāja,* "the glorious Kubēra" must have been conferred on him on account of his munificence. As it appears that both of these titles were conferred at one and the same time, it may be supposed that the king owed them to the authorities of the Chidambaram temple. Rājarāja's great grand-father Parāntaka I, had distinguished himself by his devotion to that temple. He had either built or at least repaired the golden hall at the place. It was, therefore, quite natural that Rājarāja should try to imitate his famous ancestor in his devotion to the most important Siva temple in Southern India. Practical as he appears to have been in everything he did, the king was not forgetful of his capital Tanjore when he wanted to demonstrate his devotion to the Saiva religion, and accordingly built a temple there. In order to perpetuate the title Srī-Rājarāja which he must have prized highly, the temple was called Srī-Rājarājēsvara. A clear proof of his having highly valued these titles is found in No. 91 where the king is stated to have presented a large number of silver utensils to the temple, bearing the names *Srī-Rājarāja* and *Sivapādasēkhara.* The practice of engraving the name or title of the donor on vessels presented to a charitable institution, is still current.

A study of the order in which the various inscriptions of the temple were engraved is not altogether unprofitable. It appears that the walls of the central shrine were reserved for recording royal gifts, including those of the king's elder sister about whom more will be said in the sequel. The inscription on the north wall (No. 1) which begins with the Sānskrit verse *(ētat visva-nripa-srēni, etc.)*, was the first to be engraved and contains the order of Rājarājadēva to have all the grants made by himself and others recorded on the walls of the central shrine. This order of the king is dated on the 20th day of the 26th year. The gifts which had actually been made prior to this date were seven by the king himself and eleven by his elder sister as registered in No. 2. No earlier benefactions of any of the queens or other donors are known prior to this date. Accordingly, when the king issued orders that the gifts made "by us, those made by our elder sister, those made by our wives and those made by other donors" should be engraved on stone, he himself intended to make in addition a large number of presents and expected that his queens and his officers would follow his example. Thus the order of the king referred more to future benefactions than to those which had actually been made prior to the date of the royal order. The earliest gift of which the date is definitely given is that of the copper-pot which was to be placed on the pinnacle of the central shrine. Though it was made on the 275th day of the 25th year, it is by mistake registered between a gift of the 34th day of the 26th and another of the 104th day of the same year. Some at least of the numerous gifts which, in this inscription, are stated to have been made in the period from the 23rd to the 29th year of the king's reign may evidently have been anterior even to the date given at the beginning of the record. No. 2 likewise begins with the 310th day of the 25th year and registers gifts made by the elder sister of the king in that year and between the years 25 and 29. It is apparent from this that no grants made could have been recorded on the temple walls prior to the 29th year of the king. This is also confirmed by the fact that all the inscriptions of Rājarāja in the Tanjore temple are either dated in the 29th year of the king or register gifts made until his 29th year.

One of the earliest inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla found in the temple is on the Chandēsvara shrine, quite close to the north wall. During the times of Rājēndradēva, Kulōttunga I and Vikrama-Chōla, the north wall of the enclosure was chosen for recording grants. From these facts it may be concluded that the north wall was the most conspicuous portion of the temple. The gate on the north wall of the enclosure which is now practically closed must in ancient times have been considered as important as the *gōpura* on the east side. It is not unlikely that the royal palace was situated to the north of the temple, and that the members of the royal family entered the temple by the north gate. No. 624 of 1902 from Tiruvalanjuli dated in the 21st year of Rājarāja mentions his palace at Tiruvallam. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Para 7). It is not impossible that by this is meant the village Vallam, 7 miles south-west of Tanjore, which is described as "a fortress of considerable strength and one of the great bulwarks of Tanjore." At any rate, the foregoing facts show that the gate in the north wall of the enclosure was in ancient times as important as the *gōpura* on the east wall which is now most commonly used. The interested reader will find a full description of the various images installed by Rājarāja, his different queens and others in the great temple in *S.I.I.* II. v. (29-41). The Sōmanāthēsvara temple at Mēlpādi, near

Tiruvallam, was also built by him. According to inscriptions on its walls—dated in his 29th year—the temple was built by him and so belongs to the same period as the great temple at Tanjore. (*M.E.R.* 1890, Para 3). He also built the temple of Chōlēndrasimhēsvara at Mēlpādi, *alias* Vīra-Rājāsrayapuram. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 31, Appendix C. No. 103). It was formerly known as Vīranārāyanapuram, after Parāntaka I, its name being changed as above by Rājarāja. From an inscription dated in the 8th year of Rājēndra-Chōla, we learn that the Siva temple at Sivapuram near Kadambattūr (Chingleput District) is called Rājarājēsvara, probably after Rājarāja, just like the temple at Tanjore. (*M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix B. No. 139 of 1895). For the funds necessary for building these temples and for carrying out the other public works he seems to have undertaken, Rājarāja should have used the large wealth he inherited and also acquired by his numerous conquests. His wars against the Chēras, the Pāndyas, the Singhalese, the Western Chālukyas and others should have brought him—and also his successors Rājēndra-Chōla I and Rājādhirāja—a large booty of which Rājarāja I boasts so often in his inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 53).

Social life.

The life of the people of the time seems to have centred round the local temple. It ministered to their spiritual and temporal needs. It was not merely a place of religious worship but also an institution to which the people could apply for aid during times of need. Thus, in the 10th year of Rājarāja I, certain villagers, having committed certain faults against the king and been fined for them, found themselves unable to pay the fine imposed. Being harrassed by the king's officers, they sold part of their lands to the temple in order to find the money for paying the fine. (*M.E.R.* 1918, No. 277 of 1917). Royal patronage added to its funds either by direct money grants or by gifts of villages or lands for its benefit, which, being managed by the temple committee or the village assembly itself, brought in a steady annual income. Often taxes due to the State were made over to the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. No. 270). Sometimes the taxes due on lands gifted to the temple were remitted. (*Ibid* No. 349). Lands gifted to the temple were not infrequently managed on their behalf by its priests called Vaikhānasas. These also had sometimes the custody of funds meant for certain of the services in the temple. The central shrine of the temple and the temple treasury were in certain cases in the hands of different committees. The treasury committee appears to have possessed administrative powers, since it bought and sold lands as it deemed necessary in the interests of the temple. It kept strict accounts of receipts and disbursements and of assets and liabilities. The surplus in its hands was used for special purposes with the consent or at the instance of the local village assembly. The lands under its charge were leased out perpetually to private individuals, after obtaining from them reasonable premia and fixing certain annual payments. The temple, besides, proved useful as a place where the charities made to it by royal and other personages were recorded on stone for all time. Thus their perpetuation was insured. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Paras 66-69). Private charity often took forms which served public ends. Thus private individuals purchased land for the purpose of laying out roads through which images of gods could be carried in procession. Such roads as subserved public needs as well, were made tax free. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 38). In a record of Rājarāja II, it is stated that a large number of persons made a grant of land of this kind for laying out a road called *Rājagambhīratiruvīdi* for the local god to pass through to the river-side for the sacred bath festival. The inscription adds that 750 cocoanut trees were to be planted and cherished on both the sides of the new road and the income to be derived from the trees thus planted was to be used towards the cost of maintaining lights and sundry other charges in the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 45 of 1914; also Para 26). Though this record belongs to the time of Rājarāja *i.e.*, about 35 years later than Rājarāja I, there is no reason to believe that it was not by then a recognized mode of charity undertaken by private persons in the interests as much of religion as of public utility. Apparently even religious charity aimed at serving human needs while not forgetting its higher spiritual aspects. Kundavai's endowment of a free dispensary at Palaiya-vānavanmahādēvi-chaturvēdimangalam, in the 4th year of Rājēndra-Chōla, (see *post*) was eminently one of this kind. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix 112 of 1925). The assembly which thus guided the work of the village seems to have been an active body. Apart from its committees, there appear to have been active members of it who are called *ganattār* or those of the *gana*. As they are described as *alum ganattār* in certain inscriptions, they may be taken to be the more active members of the assembly. They might have directed its work being men specially chosen because of the initiative they possessed. Whether they were jointly liable for their acts, especially acts involving monetary transactions, is not quite clear. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 71). In the Brāhman villages—*agrahāras*—the assembly was probably a body of superior men possessed of higher intellectual capacity. Their meeting place—at one place—was known as *Brahmasthāna*. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix C. Nos. 240 and 241).

Amusements-Theatre and Dancing.

Closely attached to the temple as an adjunct was the theatre, with which was closely connected the art of dancing. An inscription dated in the 9th year of Rājarāja I records a gift to a professional actor (*Sakkaiyar*) by the assembly of Sāttanūr, for staging the seven acts (*ankas*) of the *Āryakkūttu* (themes from Sānskrit *Purānas*) on the festival day in the month of *Purattāsi.* Provision is also made in the inscription for the supply, in connection with the staging of this *kūttu*, of rice flour, betel leaves and areca nuts, ghee for mixing collyrium and turmeric. A later inscription of the time of Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttunga-Chōla-dēva (*M.E.R.* 1925, No. 152 of 1925) makes provision for the maintenance of a theatre called "*Nānāvida-nātasālai.*" From the name it looks as if the theatre was intended for different kinds of amusements. Instances of encouragement, both private and royal, to this kind of pastime are not wanting. Inscription No. 65 of 1914 (*M.E.R.* 1914) registers a gift of land for the performance of the dance called *Sakkai-kūttu* before the gods, and inscription No. 253 of 1914 (*M.E.R.* 1914) provides for the dance *Sandikkūttu.* Rājarāja I brought and settled at Tanjore as many as 400 dancing girls from several temples of South India. (*S.I.I.* II, Page 259). Anticipating a little it might be added that his son Rājēndra-Chōla made endowments for enacting a drama called *Rājarājēsvara-nātaka* by an expert in *Sandikkūttu* named Tiruvalan Tirumudukunran *alias* Vijayarājēndra-Āchāryan. (*S.I.I.* II, 306-307). Rājādhirāja I made a similar endowment in favour of a certain actor and his troupe for their services in the temple of Mahālingēsvara at Tiruvidaimarudūr. (*M.E.R.* 1907, No. 264 of 1907). An inscription of Kulōttunga III (*M.E.R.* 1907, No. 306 of 1907) records the appointment of an additional dancing master in the temple who had to dance with gestures. Rājarāja III attended the performance of *agamārgam* by Uravakkinan Talaikkoli at Tiruvorriyūr. (*M.E.R.* 1912, No. 211 of 1912).

Though we have anticipated a little here, the gifts made for the encouragement of theatre and dancing ranging from the reign of Rājarāja I to Kulōttunga III—

a period of over two centuries—shows that the monotony of an agricultural life in the villages was relieved by diversions which, though they began as spiritual needs, remained to serve as social amusements.

Temple management and audit.

Several inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign show that while he founded many temples, repaired or restored others, and donated requisites of every kind to most of them, he did not allow their management to lax hands. Misappropriation of funds or want of care on the part of those charged with the duty of supervision was met by inquiries and audits of temple accounts. Thus, for instance, inquiries into misappropriations of the temple funds were, under his orders, undertaken by State officials and if the facts were proved on inquiry, fines were imposed and the fines utilized for temple purposes—for example, for making gold plate and presenting it to the temple. (See *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 21 and *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 25). Again, from an inscription of his dated in his 26th year, we note that there was an audit of temple accounts conducted by an officer of his. (*M.E.R*, 1922, ii. Para 15). We note also from an inscription of his dated in his 27th year, that during his royal tour of inspection, one of his officers—Sirukudiyār Kali Ādittan—audited the receipts and expenditure of the temple of Tiruverumbūr. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Appendix B. 109, Para 21). In the 17th year of his reign, another officer inquired into the management of a temple and fixed its scale of expenditure. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 16). In the course of the audit of his 26th regnal year abovementioned, he altered the measure with which paddy due to it was being measured, so that from the increased quantity of paddy realised, by the change in the grain measure, he added another service to be conducted in the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 15, Appendix C. No. 21). Hereditary rights in the temple were compulsorily sold for misappropriation of funds and the proceeds credited to the temple treasury.

Rājarāja's religious toleration.

In spite of his sincere and deep-seated devotion to the Saiva faith, he was tolerant enough towards other religions. He permitted a feudatory of his, Chintāmani Varman of Kataka (Burma) to build a Buddhist shrine at Negapatam and granted the village of Ānaimangalam to it. This grant is registered on the large Leyden plates. This temple was begun by Chintāmani Varman before the 21st regnal year of Rājarāja and completed only in the reign of his son and successor Rājēndra-Chōla by Chintāmani's son Māravijayōttunga Varman. In his order of the 24th year regarding revenue arrears, the villages of Sramanas (*i.e.*, Jainas) are also included. This shows that the latter enjoyed equal privileges with Brāhmanas and Vaikhānasas. That Vaishnavism was popular may also be inferred. An inscription of the 11th year of Rājarāja (995-6 A.D.) records the gift of lamp to the shrine of Anumadēva (*i.e.*, the god Hanuman in the ruined Vishnu temple at Tirumalpuram. *M.E.R.*, 1906 Para 37, No. 335 of 1906). This, as remarked by Mr. V. Venkayya, is important as it shows that the worship of Hanuman in South India dates from the 10th century at the latest (*Ibid*). Private gifts to Jainas were still common and Jainism appears to have flourished side by side with the other two religions. In the seventh year of Rājarāja's reign, we find one, Vīrasōlan, a subordinate of his, making a gift not only to Brāhmans but also to a Jain temple. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Appendix B. 116 ; *E.I.* IV. 136). The Buddhist temple above referred to continued to be the object of pilgrimages to the end of the 15th century A.D. It was locally known as Puduveligōpuram (or Chinese *Pagōda*) and went out of repair about 1867 A.D., when it was pulled down by the Jesuit Fathers and utilized for the erection of a Christian building, the

St. Joseph's College at Negapatam. (*I.A.* VII. 224). This was one of the two Buddhist temples at the place called Rājarājaperumballi and Rājēndraperumballi and the small Leyden grant records grants to them in the 20th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla or 1090 A.D. (See *A.S.I.* IV. 324-327: *M.E.R.* 1899, Para 48).

Position of Arts and Industries in his time.

The art of making ornaments of gold and precious stones must have reached a very advanced stage in the Chōla country about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. A large number of ornaments which are mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions either go by other names at present or have no representatives in modern South-Indian jewel shops. One of the ornaments is called *Sōnagachchidukkinkūdu* (No. 93), the first component of which indicates the influence of the Jonakas (Greeks or Arabs) in Southern India in the 11th century. The nine gems are mentioned in one of the inscriptions (No. 93). Their names are: diamond (*vayiram*), sapphire (*nīlam*), pearl (*muttu*), topaz (*pushyarāga*), cinnamon-stone (*kōmēdagam*), coral (*pavaram*), emerald (*pachchai* or *maratagam*), lapis lazuli (*vaidūrya*) and ruby (*mānikkam*). The following varieties of diamonds are mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions:—*mattadārai*, *mattadārai-chchavakkam* and *mattadāraichchappadi.* Another classification of diamonds appears to have been *sappadi* (flat diamonds) and *urulai* (round diamonds). In paragraph 8 on p. 78 (*S.I.I.*, I) reference is made to pure diamonds (*vayirantūyana*) and the two other varieties *pandasāram* and *savakkam.* The flaws in diamonds are mentioned to be *porivu* (spots), *murivu* (cracks), *kāka-bindu* (black dots), *rakta-bindu* (red dots) and *vendana* (marks as of burning). *Palikkuvayiram* "crystal diamond" is mentioned on pp. 78,87,162 and 163 (*S.I.I.*, II. V), and *palingu* "crystal" on pp. 87, 143, 162, 205, 206, 207, 225, 226 and 237. *Rājāvartam* is mentioned after *pavaram* in three cases (pp. 69,143 and 179). Of *rājavarta* (lapis lazuli), Monier Williams says, "it is a kind of diamond or other gem of an inferior quality, said to come from the country of Virāta and regarded as a lucky possession though not esteemed as an ornament." As regards rubies (*mānikkam*), the varieties are: *halahalam*, *halahalam* of superior quality (*halahalam gunaviyana*), smooth rubies (*kōmalam*), bluish rubies (*nīlagandhi*), unpolished rubies (*talam*), and *sattam*, all of which are mentioned on p. 79, paragraph 8. (*S.I.I.* I.). They were also divided into big rubies (*pariyana*) and small rubies (*neriyana*). The flaws of rubies are recorded as: cavities (*kurivu*), cuts (*prahara*), holes (*vejjam*), white specks (*lasuni*), *trasa* and such as still adhered to the ore (*karparru*). As regards *potti*, which was either a kind of gem or part of a jewel, it has to be noted that it always occurs either with *palingu* or *palikkuvayiram* (pp. 143, 163, 196, 205, 206, 207, 225, 226 and 237). Other gems *taruppu* (p. 205), *uppalanīlam* evidently a variety of sapphire (p. 204) and *nāligangapadikkal* (p. 196) are also mentioned. The name of the last is interesting as it appears to have been originally at least obtained from Gangapādi. Dr. Hultzsch thinks it may be the same as beryl. As regards pearls, the following varieties were recognised;—round pearls (*vattam*), roundish pearls (*anuvattam*), polished pearls (*oppumuttu*), small pearls (*kurumuttu*), *nimbolam*, *payittam*, old pearls (*paramuttu*), *ambumudu*, *oruppuravan*, *irrattai*, *sappatti*, *sakkattu*, *karadu*, *panichchay*, *tōl-teyndana* and *tōlidandana*. Their properties were *varai*, *karai*, *kuru*, *suppiram*, *ippiparru*, *arāvina*, *sivandanīr*, *kulirnda-nīr* and *tirangal*, which are also mentioned. The nine gems are referred to in the Tamil poem *Silappadigaram* where the virtues and flaws of each of them are also given. Of diamonds, the author mentions four flaws, *viz.*, *kākāpādam*, *kalangam*, *vindu* and *ēgai*, while the commentator refers to twelve flaws of diamonds, *viz.*, *saraimalam*, *kīrru*, *sambadi*, *pilattal*, *tulai*, *kari*, *vindu*, *kākāpādam miruttu*, *kōdiyillana*, *kōdimurindana* and *tāraimarungina*. The five characteristics of diamonds are: eight faces (*palagai*), six angles (*kōdi*), *dārai*, *sutti* and *tarāsa* and the four colours, the Brāhmana "white," the Kshatriya "red," the Vaisya "green" and the Sūdra "black." Consequently the virtues and flaws of diamonds were known in the Tamil country long before the time of Rājarāja. Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.) describes the characteristics of a diamond. Four rings on each of which the nine gems had been set were presented to the Rājarājēsvara temple. The amount of gold, jewels and silver granted by the king seems almost incredible. Several of the Tanjore inscriptions contain lists of gold ornaments set with pearls and other precious stones. The different parts of the ornaments are described in technical language and the number of jewels set on each, their total weight excluding threads and lac and the approximate cost of each ornament are registered in great detail.

Economic condition of the people in his time.

The Tanjore inscripitions also throw some light on the economic condition of the people of the Chōla country about the beginning of the 11th century. The land assessment (*kānikkadan*) was roughly one hundred *kalam* of paddy for each *vēli* of land. It would be interesting to compare this with the present rate of assessment. Paddy was sold at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kāsu* and three ewes could be purchased for one *kāsu*. The rate of interest was apparently 12½ per cent. It was actually 1/8th *kāsu* per year for each *kāsu* of three *kuruni* of paddy for each *kāsu* per year. For Sivayōgins who had to attend the temple on certain festive occasions and who may be taken to represent the average middle-class men of the time, the allotment made for each meal is one *kuruni* and two *nari* of paddy. Assuming that a middle-class man took two meals a day, the daily consumption for each man would be 2¼ *kuruni* of paddy per day. The parasol-carrier may be taken as the type of the lowest class of manual labourers and each of them got 40 *kalam* of paddy per year and this would yield 1⅓ *kuruni* of paddy for each day. We need not suppose that he was a full time workman of the temple. He would probably be earning extra wages during the time when his services were not required in the temple. It is worthy of note that chillies are not mentioned where they may naturally be expected and cocoanuts seem to have been unknown at least in the vicinity of Tanjore, if not in the Chōla country.

Village Administration.

The following portions of villages were communal and as such free from assessment:—the village site, the village tank and its banks; the portion occupied by the artisans and the pariahs; the burning ground; the irrigation channels; temples; the shrines of Aiyan, Kādugal, Durgaiyār and Kālā-Pidāriyār; the temple of Sēttai (Jyēshtha), the shrines of the Pidāris Tiruvaludaiyal, Kuduraivattam-udaiyāl, Punnaitturainangai and Poduvagai-Ūrudaiyāl; ponds in the middle of fields; flower-gardens; streams; the portion occupied by toddy-drawers; the portion occupied by washermen; the water-pond used by pariahs; the portion occupied by the polluting castes; high roads; rivers; the sacred courts; (*i.e.*, temples); the cremation ground of the pariahs, the stone fence (for cattle); the stables (*kottāgram*); the village threshing floor; grazing ground for calves: wells and cisterns.

The Village *sabha* and its committees.

A large number of villages in the Chōla country had *sabhas* or regularly constituted village corporations which watched jealously over the internal affairs of the village. The Uttaramallūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I published by Mr. Venkayya in the Director-General's *Annual* for 1904-05 lay down rules for the selection of members to the village committees which were apparently controlled by the village assemblies. During the reign of Rājarāja I certain changes appear to have been introduced in these rules. In the 11th year of his reign (or A.D. 996) it was laid down that only those who were capable of reciting the *Mantrabrāhmana* (Hymns of Brāhmanas) could be elected as members of the Village Supervision Committee (*ūrvāriyam*) and take part in the deliberations of the village assembly. Those who were guilty of misappropriation of property and of other heinous crimes were debarred from election. It was further ruled that any one chosen in contravention of these rules would be accorded the same punishment as was usually meted out to transgressors of royal orders. (*M.E.R.* 1922, II. Para 16, Appendix C. Nos. 240 and 241). An inscription of Rājarāja dated in his 16th year (1001 A.D.) indicates that the members of a village assembly were called together by the blowing of a trumpet, and that the herald was entitled to get a fee (2 *soru*) from the village. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 15, Appendix C. No. 156). The members appear to have met together and transacted business even during night (*Ibid*, Appendix C. Nos. 180 and 186) though in the generality of cases it is found that business was conducted during day time. We may presume that the same rules were in force in other village *sabhas*. There were also villages where the villagers managed the business of the village without having been constituted into a regular corporation. (See *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 23). Wherever the village assemblies existed, their transactions must have been quite lively as there were periodical changes of members on these bodies. They seem to have been entrusted with civil and magisterial powers. In fact, each village seems to have been a self-contained body jealously watching over its own interests as well as those of its members. The village assemblies generally managed temples and were trustees of public charities. A number of village assemblies are said to have received money on interest from the Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore. In all probability the money thus borrowed was utilised in bringing waste lands under cultivation. From the produce of these lands, the interest on the money borrowed was paid. The money itself was apparently never returned. Village assemblies could alienate lands whenever the liabilities incurred by them could not be otherwise discharged.

Limits on its powers of taxation.

These village assemblies appear to have been invested with the power of taxation. This is inferable from many inscriptions, a few of which may be referred to here. From an inscription dated in 996 A.D., in the 12th regnal year, we see a *vyavastai* (agent) issued which says that the assembly of a village should not levy any tax other than the *siddhaya*, *dandaya* and *panchavara*. They should not levy any *sillirai* (or miscellaneous) taxes not mentioned in the rates already fixed. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 23). It would seem as though they could not levy tax which was not included in the royal schedule. In an inscription of his 9th year, the great assembly Uttiramērūr was convened to put an end to inequality in taxation. Though the inscription is incomplete, it may be inferred that resentment was felt at some partiality shown to some particular communities in the matter of taxation. Accordingly, the assembly enacted that the employees of the royal household, Brāhmans, Merchants, Vellālas (agriculturists) should individually be responsible for the payment of the fines imposed upon their respective classes. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 28, Appendix C. No. 197 of 1923.). From another inscription, (*Ibid* No. 379 of 1922), we get to know how the defaulters were dealt with. The assembly concerned, apparently, sent out its order to the *Adhikāri* of the place where the defaulters were, and he was requested to execute the order there. The property of the defaulter was, accordingly, sold away for any price it could fetch and the proceeds credited to the *tālam* (temple treasury) concerned, after obtaining a receipt. If necessary, the *Adikāri*, in his turn, sent out the order to the *sabha* of the village or to all the people of the place (*ūr*) in order that they might openly bid for the land. The price for which the latter bid was called *ūrvilai*. Where no bidders came and it was knocked down to the temple itself, it was called *ājnāyakrayam* (*i.e.*, upset price). (See *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 29, Appendix B. No. 379 of 1922).

Restrictions on Exactions.

Well-defined restrictions were evidently laid on any exactions or pretended claims of the members of the different committees. Members of the Annual Tank or Village Supervision were not entitled to any kind of payment in rice or paddy as *amanji* (without payment or cash). If any claimed such payment, they were to be fined each 25 *kalanju* of gold. The fine was to be collected by the *Dēva Kanmis* or Managers of the temple. Even after paying this fine, the defaulters were liable to a fine to the Dharmāsana (the court of Justice). The accountant of the committee who allowed unlawful collection was also asked to pay *vetti* (a fine). Anybody who said "nay" to this order and anybody who instigated others into saying so were to pay a fine of 15 *kalanju* to the Dharmāsana and they were thereafter to obey the same order. (*M.E.R.* 1918, No. 362 of 1917 dated in the 12th regnal year). Anybody who ran away without paying the taxes due was pursued to the village or hamlet concerned and there the order was executed, The case of one Kilakkil Avanipa Bhatta is in point. He was thus deprived of *bhattsvam* in a particular village, to which evidently he had run away, without paying the tax, the right being attached and sold by the local *sabha*, the purchasers being the local temple of Mahāsasta. The purchase in this particular case was called *ājnāyakrayam*. This term has to be distinguished from *Urvilai* and *Chandēsvaravilai*. The former was probably the price obtained at an auction where there was free bidding and the latter the price fixed and paid on valuation, Chandēsvara being the accountant-god of each temple.

Influence on Literature.

The reign of a powerful king like Rājarāja could not have been without its effect on South Indian literature. The traditions about the life of the sixty-three devotees of Siva which were in later times embodied by the Tamil poet Sēkkirār in his *Periyapurānam* were already current at the time of which we are speaking. It was in the time of the Chōla king Anapāya that Sēkkirār is supposed to have compiled the *Periyapurānam*. The record at Tiruvarur and allied inscriptions from other places prove that this Anapāya could be no other than the Chōla king Kulōttunga-Chōla II (A.D. 1133 to at least A.D. 1148). The Saiva hymns of the *Tiruppadiyam* were sung in the temple by 48 musicians accompanied by two drummers. The king himself and one of his officers set up images of the most prominent of the Saiva devotees and presented valuable ornaments to them. Rājarāja and his officers would thus have created a Saiva revival even if it did not already exist. The great love entertained by Rājarāja for Saivism must have been eagerly imbibed by his son Rājēndra-Chōla. The latter's spiritual teacher (*guru*) was Īsāna-Siva-Pandita, the Saivāchārya of the Tanjore temple. Inscription No. 20 at Tanjore also mentions the Saivāchārya Sarva-Siva-Pandita and makes provision of paddy for him, his pupils and his pupils' pupils who were natives of Āryadēsa, Madhyadēsa and Gaudadēsa. In Trilōchana Sivāchārya's

Siddhāntasārāvali, we are told that the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla brought many Saiva teachers from the banks of the Ganges and settled them in the Chōla country. It is, however, more probable that in setting up the images of the sixty-three, the king and his officers were only representing the religious fervour of the people at large to whom the lives of the sixty-three devotees of Siva must have been quite familiar even before the time of Rājarāja.

It has been supposed that Nambi-Āndār-Nambi was a contemporary of Rājarāja. It is true his patron is said to have been a Chōla king named Rājarāja Abhaya-Kulasēkhara. But there is a very serious difficulty in identifying this Rājarāja with the builder of the Tanjore temple. Among the poems which Nambi-Āndār-Nambi is said to have classified, is the *Tiruvisaippa* which contains a hymn on the Gangaikonda-Chōlēsvara temple built evidently by Rājarāja's son Rājēndra-Chōla and called after his title Gangaikonda-Chōla. The composer of the hymn himself must have lived after Rājarāja; and Nambi-Āndār-Nambi who classifies it along with the sacred writings of the Tamil Saivas, must certainly belong to a still later period.

The chief image of the Tanjore temple was called Ādavallān. Another name of the same image was Dakshinamēru-Vidangan. Ādavallān was also the name of a grain measure and of a weight for precious metals; while Dakshinamēru-Vidangan was the standard used in weighing precious stones. These two names were also borne frequently by ordinary individuals. Ādavallān, 'one who is able to dance,' occurs as a name of the god at Chidambaram in the first hymn of the *Tiruvisaippa* which was composed by Tirumāligaittevar. The name Dakshinamēru-Vidangan as applied to a god is easily explained with the help of a hymn of the *Tiruvisāippa* where Mēru-Vidangan occurs as a name of the god at

Chidambaram. Mount Mēru consists of gold and is supposed to be situated to the north of Jambudvīpa. The temple at Chidambaram seems to have been looked upon as the Southern Mēru, as it contained a large amount of gold on the roof of its golden hall. Thus, as is remarked by Mr. Venkayya, the two names of the most important image in the Tanjore temple are traceable to the *Tiruvisaippa.* The names Eduttapādam, Maralaichchilambu and Nīranipavarakkunru which occur as the names of the temple women in the Tanjore inscriptions (No. 66) are also found in the *Tiruvisaippa.* A number of other names which occur in the former are also found in the latter. Mr. Venkayya is inclined to think, therefore, that one or more of the authors of the *Tiruvisaippa* must have flourished during the reign of Rājarāja. Karuvūrdēvar who composed the hymns on the Rājarājēsvara and Gangaikonda-Chōlēsvara temples must have lived after Rājarāja. Gandarāditya, another of the anthors of the *Tiruvisaippa,* has been identified with Gandarāditya, second son of Parāntaka I. So little is known about this Gandarāditya that Mr. Venkayya is tempted to question this identification. It is true that in the hymn in question Gandarāditya calls himself 'king of Kōri' and 'lord of Tanjai.' But perhaps this means nothing more than that he belonged to the Chōla royal family. A certain Madhurāntakan Gandarādittanar (*M.E.R.* 1907, Part II, Para 37) figures in several of the early inscriptions of Rājarāja making enquiries about the management of Saiva temples, asking for their accounts and rectifying abuses. He was probably the son of Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōla, the predecessor of Rājarājadēva. It is not altogether impossible that this Madhurāntakan Gandarādittanār was the author of the hymn in the *Tiruvisaippa* under reference. Another of the authors of the *Tiruvisaippa* is Nambi-Kāda-Nambi. A certain Nambi-Kāda-Nambi of the Atrēya-*gōtra* is mentioned in an inscription of the 32nd year of the Chōla king Rājādhirājadēva (*M.E.R.* 1894, No. 221). In the light of the foregoing facts, it may be concluded that only some of the authors of the *Tiruvisaippa* flourished during the reign of Rājarājadēva.

The worship of the sixty-three saints became later a tenet of the Vīrasaiva faith as well. It will be seen from the above that it was popular over a half century before Basava.

Rājarāja's Imperial and Provincial Capitals.

The extent of his capital city, Tanjore, might be easily imagined, from the large number of streets, quarters, and bazaars mentioned in the inscriptions of the period. The city extended beyond its traditional limits. Apparently it was enlarged during the reign of Rājarāja. A great many of its quarters, streets and bazaars were named after the king or princes of the royal family. With the conquest of Gangavādi and Nolambavādi, not only provinces got new names after the titles of the king, but also the more important of its towns. Thus Talkād, the Ganga capital, became Rājarājapura; Manalur (Malurpatna, near Channapatna) became Nikarili-Chōlapura, after one Rājarāja's titles; Kuningal (modern Kunigal) became Rājēndra Chólapura, after the king's son, who had led the expedition into Mysore, etc. Kolar, however, retained its original name of Kuvalāla.

Rājarāja's titles.

Rājarāja bore several titles of which the following are the more important:—Mummadi or Mummudi-Chōla, Chōla-Arumori, Rājasrāya, Nityavinōda, Srī-Rājarāja and Sivapādasēkhara. He seems to have assumed the title *Jayangonda-Chōla* towards the end of his life. These titles of his figure in territorial designations occurring in the Tanjore inscriptions and one is tempted to think that in the names Kshatriyasikhāmani-Valanādu, Pāndyakulasani-Valanādu, Kēralāntakavalanādu, Rājēndrasimha-valanādu and Uyyakkondār-valanādu, Kshatriyasikhāmani Pāndyakulasani, Kēralāntaka, Rājēndrasimha and Uyyakkondār we have the titles of Rājarāja. He appears to have also been known by the title of Parākrama-Chōla. (*M.E.R.* 1819, Para 12). He is described as "the great king of the Chōla country who was, as it were, the supporting pillar and the celestial tree of the Solar race, who was the sun in the sky, *viz.*, of the Chōla family. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 20). Another of his surnames was Kōnērinmaikondān.

His domestic life, etc.

Like Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, Rājarāja seems to have had a number of wives. Lōkamahādēvi—she is surnamed Dantisakti-Vitanki in the Tiruvalanjuri (No. 633 of 1902) and the Tiruvaiyaru inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1895, Para 11), Chōlamahādēvi, Trailōkyamahādēvi, Panchavanmahādēvi, Abhimānavalli, Ilādanmādēviyār (Lātamahādēvi) and Prithivimahādēvi are known from the Tanjore inscriptions. From a record at Tirukkalittattai (No. 301 of 1908) we learn that Vemban Sirudaiyār *alias* Mīnavan Mahādēviyār was another queen of Rājarāja. Prithivimahādēvi (in Tamil, Piridimādēviyār) is called by her other name Nakkan Arumōri in the inscription from Uyyakkondān Tirumalai (No. 455 of 1908). Each of them set up a number of images in the Rājarājēsvara temple and made gifts to them. Lōkamahādēvi was probably the chief queen. She built the shrine called Uttara-Kailāsa in the Panchanadēsvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru near Tanjore and made many valuable gifts to it. The shrine was in existence already in the 21st year of the king's reign and was then called Lōkamahādēvīsvara after the queen. Besides the above, a few other queens are also known from other inscriptions. His senior queen (*Mūla dēviyār*) was Idangon Pichche, who is referred to as having made a gift of land in an inscription dated in the 27th year of

Rājarāja's reign. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 19. No. 14 of 1920). Another was Vanamahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi. She was the mother of Rājēndra-Chōla. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 11; Appendix B. Nos. 442 and 448). A record of Rājēndra-Chōla states that Udaiyapirāttiyār Tribhuvanamahādēvi was his mother. (*Ibid.* No. 460 of 1918). She was also known as Trailōkya-mādēviyār. She is described as the daughter of Irāman Abhimāna Tongiyar. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 14; Appendix B. 104 of 1925). He is stated to have made gifts of gold and silver vessels and ornaments to the Tiruvāduturai temples in the Tanjore District. Another queen of Rājarāja was Kuttan Viraniyār. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix B. No. 449 of his 28th year). Another was Sembiyār-Mukkok-Kīlānadigal *alias* Kannaranachchi Pidurinagaiyār. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 27, Appendix C. No. 139 of 1923). Chōlamahādēviyār mentioned above was the daughter of Tittaipiran. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 14; Appendix B. No. 223). Panchavanmahādēvi appears as Nakkan Panchavanmahādēvi in some inscriptions. She is described as the daughter of Dēvanār of Avani Kandarpapuram in Paluvūr. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 13; Appendix C. No. 385 of 1924). It was called Lōkamahādēvīsvara after the queen's title Lōkamahādēvi. (*M.E.R.* 1895; No. 219 and 222 of 1894). She gave the shrine a number of gold flowers and appointed a goldsmith to work for the temple. (*Ibid*, No. 220 and 216 of 1894). The name shows that it should have been built by her. In 1013 A. D., she performed the ceremony of *hiranyagarbha*, or passing through a golden cow (see above.) Rājarāja himself celebrated the *tulābhāra* ceremony at the same place. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 26; see above.) She seems to have outlived her lord for at least 17 years, for we find her (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. 154) making presents of gold necklaces set with costly gems to the temple built by her in the 21st year of Rājēndra-Chōla I (1031 A.D.).

Only one son and one daughter of the king are known, *viz.*, Rājēndra-Chōla I, whose accession took place one year before the death of Rājarāja, and Kundava or Kundavai, who married the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya. The Tiruvalanjuri inscription quoted above, also mentions a "middle daughter" named Mādēvadigal. Evidently Kundavai was the youngest of Rājarāja's children. She is mentioned in an inscription at Chidambaram, which records the fact that Rājēndra-Chōla put up at that temple a stone which he had received from the king of Kamboja. (*M.E.R.* 1888, Table II, No. 119; see also *E.I.* V. 105). The respect which Rājarāja showed to his elder sister Kundavai throws an indirect light on his domestic life. She is spoken as "the venerable elder sister." In the sentence which the king himself is said to have uttered when ordering all the grants made to the temple to be engraved on stone, the place assigned to his elder sister is next to himself and the queens are mentioned after her. During Rājarāja's reign, the walls of the central shrine seem to have been reserved for registering the king's grants. The gifts made by the queens and the officers of State had to be recorded on the niches and pillars of the enclosure. But Kundavai's gifts were invariably engraved on the central shrine. Whether she is the same as Queen Indaladēviyār described as the wife of Udaiyār Vallavarasan Vandyadēva mentioned in inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla I from Brahmadēsam is a moot point. In an inscription of the 5th year of Rājēndra-Chōla I, Indala-dēviyār is called Mandara-gauravanar Kuntadeviyar (wife of) Udaiyar Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, chief of the Sāmantas (feudatories). The Tanjore inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla I also mention Vallavaraiyar-Vandyadēvar as the husband of Kundavaiyār, the elder sister of Rājarāja. But here she is always called Parāntakan Kundavaiyār. The descriptions being different, it is doubtful if Indaladēviyār Kuntadēviyār is the same as Parāntakan Kundavaiyār. Mandaragaurava appears as the attribute of Pāndya king Rājasimha III, surnamed Abhimānamēru. Perhaps Vallavasāyar Vandyadēvār, the uncle of Rājarāja, was a native of the Kongu country, seeing that mention is made of a Pallavaraiya-nādu in an inscription (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 157; also Para 13) from the Kongu country.

This lady seems to have lived till at least the 5th year of Rājēndra-Chōla's reign (see above). A gift of hers made in his 3rd year but registered in his 5th year is to be seen at Kōnērirājapuram. This was made from Palaiyāru, where she resided. Palaiyāru was one of the royal homes of Rājēndra-Chōla. Apparently Rājēndra-Chōla treated her with the respect and veneration due to her age and position. She is described as Ālvār Srī-Parāntakan Kundavai Pirattiyār. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 20; *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 43; see also *S.I.I.* II, 72 and 81). As all the Tanjore grants refer only to the gifts made by her before the 3rd year, and as the gift above referred to speaks of her charities in the same year, while the actual date of the record is his 5th regnal year, it has been suggested that she must have died between the 3rd and 5th years of Rājēndra-Chōla I. An inscription at Uttaramallūr of Rājēndra-Chōla I dated in his 30th year registers a sale of land made tax-free, to the temple, for making a flower garden and for feeding Srīvaishnavas in a *matha* called after the king's aunt Srī-Kundavai-ālvār. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix C. No. 184 of 1923). She must have been dead many years ago at the date of this description. Kundavai Chaturvēdamangalam in Mulaiyūr-nādu is mentioned in a lithic inscription at Tirumallam. (*M.E.R.* for 1910, Para 20; Appendix No. 106 of 1910). This village was included among those which had to supply a Brahmachārin to the Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore. (*S.I.I.* II. 323).

Rājarāja's metallic likeness in the Tanjore temple.

There is a metallic image of Rājarāja in the Tanjore temple. It is nearly 2½ feet high from the pedestal with the label *Rāja-rājēndra-Sōlarāja of the big temple* engraved in the modern Tamil alphabet on the pedestal. The king is represented as a devotee standing before the god with both his palms joined together in worshipping pose. Though it is undoubtedly a work of much later date than that to which Rājarāja belonged, it may be taken to portray fairly faithfully. He is bejewelled and wears the crown. In other respects he is dressed in the fashion characteristic of the times. The barer portion of his body shows him to have been a practised athlete, a conception of him which is not belied by the energetic nature of his rule. The artist, whoever he was, has brought out in the expression of his face a sereneness and composure that is impressive to a degree. The half-shut eye-lids, the joined palms, the motionless erect posture, all combine in conveying the religious equanimity that Rājarāja had reached in his last days, when his own object was to make the temple he caused to be built not only great in the corporeal but also in the spiritual sense. (See *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 12 and Plate facing page 81; see also Appendix C. No. 852).

His coinage.

Chōla coinage changes, in characteristic fashion, in the reign of Rājarāja. Before his time, the earliest type, say before 985 A.D., seems to have been in gold and silver pieces, portraying a tiger seated under a canopy along with the Pāndya fish. The legends are indistinct and unreadable. Later, say before 1022 A.D., they indicate that the Chōla power was already becoming supreme. They bear the Chōla emblem, the tiger, in the centre with the Pāndya and Chēra emblems (fish and bow) on either side of it. The coin-legends, in Sānskrit characters, give the names or titles of the Chōla sovereigns, but they have not, as yet, been identified beyond dispute, with those occurring in the dynastic lists. With the reign of Rājarāja comes a coinage of an entirely new type; on the obverse, a king standing and on the reverse, a king seated, with the name *Rāja Rāja* in Nāgari. The coinage issued was wholly of copper. This type spread with the extension of the Chōla power over a great portion of Southern India. Its use was established in Ceylon, as a result of the Chōla occupation of the island and was continued by the independent Rājas of Kandy. Its influence is also noticeable on the earlier issues of the Nāyaka princes of Madura and Tinnevelly. (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 36; Brown, *Coins of India*, 62-63).

His death.

After an eventful reign of 29 years, Rājarāja seems to have died in or about 1012-13 A.D. Though there is no inscription attesting to this fact, there cannot be any doubt that it did occur about this date. The place of his death too is not definitely ascertained though it might well be presumed that he died in his favourite city of Tanjore, which he took so much pains to beautify and render famous in history.

Rājēndra-Chōla I, Gangaikondān, 1012-13 to 1045 A.D.

Rājarāja was succeeded on the throne by his son Rājēndra-Chōla, about the year 1012-13 A.D., during his father's life-time. He appears to have been co-ruler with his father during the last three years of the latter's rule. This seems to be the reason why no lithic inscription dated in 1st and 2nd years are met with, the earliest records belonging to the 3rd year. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 26). The last date so far verified for him is furnished by an inscription of his 32nd regnal year at Tirunāgēsvaram (*M.E.R.* 1912. Appendix B. No. 217). His inscriptions have been found at such widely distant places as Cape Comorin in the South, at Mahēndragiri on the East Coast, at Suttūru, near Nanjangud in the Mysore State, dated in his 31st year and *Saka* 954, cyclic year *Āngīrasa* (*E.I.* I. 208, No. 164), Nandagudi near Hadināru, Mysore State, dated in *Saka* 943, cyclic year *Raudra* (*E.C.* 204, No. 134), and at Polannāruwa in Ceylon. This shows the extent of his conquests and his dominion. There are numerous lithic inscriptions of his in Southern India, while a copper-plate inscription of his dated in his 18th regnal year, from Tirukkalūr, is also known. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Para 17). He ruled till about 1045 A.D. He proved himself equally successful as a warrior and as an administrator. In the early part of his life, he took part in the campaigns of his father, and seems to have led even independent expeditions. That he did take part in Rājarāja's war against the Western Chālukyas is proved by a record found at Ūttattūr, Trichy District. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. Nos. 515). One of his heroic soldiers, who was a native of Ūttattūr, fell in the war while piercing at close quarters the elephant of Satyāsraya Irivabedanga, the Western Chālukya king. This must have occurred on the occasion referred to in the Hottūr inscriptions dated in A.D. 1007-1008. The gift mentioned in the Ūttattūr record was registered in the 3rd year (1013-1014 A.D.) of Rājēndra-Chōla I. It is probable that the gift on behalf of the dead hero was actually registered five or six years after the event took place. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 22).

His conquests

The many inscriptions relating to his period describe his conquests and of these, several have been found in the Mysore State, ranging from his 6th to his 31st regnal year. Among these, a few may be mentioned here. An inscription dated in his 6th year, or A.D. 1017 has been found at Talkād; of his 9th year dated in *Saka* 943 (A.D. 1021) is at Nilatur, Srīnivaspur Taluk, and another of the same year registered as Nanjangud 134, dated in 1021 A.D.; of his 10th year at Talkād; of his

12th year (1023 A.D.) which is registered as Kolar 44; of his 16th year at Nagarla (Nanjangud 151) dated in 1067 A.D.; of his 21st year (1052 A.D.) at Suttūr above mentioned; of his 23rd year (1034 A.D.) registered as Channapatna 82; of his 24th year at Tadimalingi, near Talkād, dated in 1035 A.D.; of his 27th year (1038 A.D.) registered as Nelamangala 7; and of his 31st year also at Tadimalingi, dated in 1042 A.D. In several of these the many conquests made by him and the trophies acquired by him are described at great length. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Paras 98; 78; and 1916, Para 85). In Nanjangud 134 of his 9th year (1021 A.D.), they are thus described:—

> Idaturai-nād; Vanavāsi; Kollipāke; Manne; the crown of the King of Īla (Ceylon), and the more beautiful crown of its queen; also the crown of Sundara and the necklace of Indra which the King of the South (Pandya) had given up to the kings of Īla; the whole of Īlamandala (Ceylon); the famous crown and the ruby necklace which were heirlooms worn by the Chēralas of Kēralas (kings of Malabār); many ancient islands; the superb crown of pure gold which Parasurāma, when he uprooted the race of kings twenty-one times, had deposited in the inaccessible Chandimate Island. He moreover defeated Jayasinga (the Western Chālukya king) who turned his back at Musangi or Muyangi and fled.

To these achievements are added in Kolar 44 of (?) 1023, his 12th year:—

> The Irattapādi Seven-and-a-half Lakh country (the Ratta territory in the Dekhan); great mountains filled with the nine treasures; Sakkaragōttam (Chakrakōtta in Central India); Maduramandala (the Pāndya territory of Madura); Namanaigakkonai, Panjappalli, and other places whose names are gone.

But the information is supplied in Channapatna 82 of 1034, his 23rd year, and Nelamangala 7 of 1038, his

27th year. The above list of conquests is there extended as follows:—

> He took Masuni-dēsam; defeated Indirāviratan of the Lunar race in a great battle at Adinagaravai, capturing his relations and family treasures; Ōttavishaiyam (Orissa); Kōsalai-nād (in Central Provinces) Tandabutti (Dandabhukti), after destroying Danmapāla (its king Dhārmapāla) in a fierce battle; Dakkana-Lādam (Southern Lāta), after a vigorous attack on Iranasūram; Vangāla-dēsam (Bengal) from which Gōvindasandan (Gōvindachandra), dismounting from his horse, fled; terrified Mayipala of Sangottal in battle, capturing his elephants, women and treasures; and took Uttira-Lādam (Northern Lāta), and even Gangai (the Ganges). He also sent many ships over the billowy ocean and captured Sangirāma-Visaiyōttungapanman (Changirāma-Vijayōttungavarma), the king of Kidaram (near Prome in Burma), seizing his fine elephants and the jewelled archway of his fort and palace gates; gained Srīvijaiyam, Pannai, Malaiyūr, Mayirudingam, Ilangasobam, Mā-Pappalam (in the Andaman Islands), Mēvilipangam, Valarppandar, Kulaittakolam, Mādamalingam, Ilāmuri-dēsam, Mā-Nakkavaram (the Nicobar Islands), and Kidāram (in Burma).

A good many of these names of persons and places are not yet satisfactorily identified, but the enumeration suffices to show the wide range of Rājēndra-Chōla's victorious expeditions. His son boasts (Nelamangala 25) that his father had conquered from Gangai (*i.e.*, the Ganges) in the north to Ilangai (Ceylon) in the south, and from Mahodai (Cochin) in the west to Kadāram (Burma) in the east. In his later lithic inscriptions, dating from his 11th to his 31st regnal years, Rājēndra-Chōla's conquests are set out in an uniformly lengthy style. They include mention of all countries and places from Idaturai-nād to Kadāram. Leaving aside the part relating to Kadāram, which will be found referred to above separately, the part relating to the earlier conquests may be considered here. Of these, inscriptions dated in from the 8th to the 10th years refer in full to all the conquests from Idaturai-nād to Kērala and those from the 10th year refer in addition to Kērala and to Jayasimha and to his retreat from Musangi. The standardized description is given in the inscriptions dated from the 19th year onwards to 31st year. One of the 23rd year is that registered as Channapatna 82-3, and it is typical of its class. After stating how the goddess of Fortune, having become constant, increased, and how the goddess of the great Earth, the goddess of Victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of Fame, having become his great queens rejoiced, the inscription records that Rājēndra-Chōla, in his extended happy life-time, conquered with his great and warlike army:—

"Idaturai-nādu: Vanavāsi, shut in by a fence of continuous forests; Kollippakkai, whose walls were surrounded by *sulli* trees; Mannai-kkadakkam, of unapproachable strength; the crown of the king of Īlam which was surrounded by the (impetuous sea); the exceedingly beautiful crown of his queen; the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra, which the kings of the south (the Pāndyas) had previously surrendered to the king of Īlam; the whole of the Īla-mandalam surrounded by the clear sea; the crown praized by many and the garland of ruddy rays, which were family treasures worn in succession by the warlike Kēralas; many ancient islands securely guarded from time immemorial by the sea resounding with conchs; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Lakshmi, which Parasurāma who in anger extirpated kings twenty-one times in battle, had deposited in the inaccessible Santuna island, having considered it a secure place; the renowned Irattapādi, Seven-and-a-Lakh (country), together with the immeasurable fame of Jayasimha, who out of fear and to his disgrace, turned his back at Muyangi and hid himself; the great mountains filled with the nine treasures; Chakkaragōttam, whose warriors were brave; Madurai-mandalam, whose fortresses had cloud-kissing banners; Namanaiykkonai, which was surrounded by groves; Panjappalli, whose warriors were armed with cruel bows; Masani-dēsam, abounding in green paddy fields; a large heap of family treasures, along with many other treasures, after having captured together with his relations Indira-iratan of the ancient race of the moon, in a battle which raged at Ādinagaravai of unceasing great fame; Ōttayishayam, surrounded by dense (?) bamboo thickets, which it was difficult to approach; the fine Kosalainādu, where Brāhmans were collected together; Tandabutti whose gardens abounded with bees, after having destroyed Dharmapāla in a hot battle; (Dakkina Lādam whose fame spread in all districts), after having fiercely attacked Iranasuran; Vangāla-dēsam of unceasing drizzle (from which Gōvindasandan, dismounting from his horse, fled); elephants of great strength, women and treasures, after having been pleased to fighten in a hot battle-field Mayipala of (?) Sangottal; who were the warrior's ankle-rings; Uttira-Lādam, surrounded by the vast sea which abounded with pearls; the wave-throwing Gangai, whose sacred waters were full of fragrant flowers."

The identification of many of the places and persons mentioned in the above description is not free from doubt or difficulty. Idaturai-nādu has been, for instance, identified by Mr. Rice with Yedatore-nād in the north of Mysore District, but Sir John Fleet has suggested that it stands for the Raichore Doab. Vanavāsi is, of course, Banavāsi in the present Shimoga District. Kollippākkai is, according to Mr. Rice, Kolpuk in the present Nizām's Dominions. Mannaikkadakam is, according to Mr. Rice, Manne in the Nelamangala Taluk of Bangalore District, which was the Ganga royal residence. But others have identified it with Manyakhēta, the former capital of the Rāshtrakūtas, which had later passed into the hands of the Western Chālukyas. This identification seems correct, for in the Kanyākumāri inscription, the name actually appears as Manyakhēta. Rājēndra-Chōla is said to have made it "a sporting ground for his army." Īlam and Īla-mandalam refer to Ceylon, while the island of Santimat has not yet been identified. It should be some island on the West Coast. Irattapādi 7½ Lakh country is undoubtedly the old Rāshtrakūta kingdom in the rule of the Chālukyas of Kalyāni. Muyangi or Musangi, as it appears in certain incriptions, has been suggested to be Uchchangi by Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Rice, but is more probably Maski, in the Nizām's Dominions, where an Asōka inscription has been found. Sakkaragōttom has been identified with Chakrakōtta in Central India, while Madurai-mandalam stands for the Madura kingdom, whose capital was Madura. Namanaikkonai and Panjappalli probably represent places in the Madura kingdom which have not yet been identified. Masani-dēsam, "abounding in green paddy fields," has probably to be identified with Masinigudi, on the Mysore-Ootacamund Road, 18 miles north-west of Ootacamund and six miles from the foot of the Sigūr Ghat. There are the remains of a mud fort here and the place and its neighbourhood was at one time of far greater importance than at present. Remains of many forts, villages and cromlechs are to be seen round about it. The tract round the village was formerly highly cultivated, but was devastated in the campaign of 1790-91 with Tīpu. It was apparently the capital at one time of Wainād, Bayalnād of ancient days, but it is now a malarious jungle. (*Gazetteer of Nīlgiri District* I, 351-2). At the time of Rājēndrā-Chōla, it should have been part of Mysore, as it continued to be until the Mysore Treaty of 1799. The conquest of Masani-dēsam, which is specially mentioned here, would mean a fresh invasion during Rājēndra-Chōla's time to extend his conquests due south of Mysore towards the Moyār river. Indira-iratan of the ancient race of the Moon is probably Indra Rāja of Ratnapur in the Central Provinces. In the 11th century, the Chēdi country (corresponding to modern Central Provinces) was divided into the kingdoms of Western Chēdi, or Dahala, with its capital at Tripura, near Jabbalpur, and Eastern Chēdi, or Māhakōsala, with its capital at Ratnapur. The Chēdi kings were the representatives of the Kalachuris. The kings of Chēdi had relations with the kings of Jejakabhukti ruling over the country between the Jumna and the Narmada, now represented by Bundelkhand. (See Smith, *E.H.I.* 405). Ādinagaravai (or Ādinagavai as in Kolar 44 dated probably in 1023 A.D.) which is described as "of increasing great fame," represents, perhaps, modern Nagpur in the Central Provinces. Ōttavishaya "surrounded by dense bamboo thickets which it was difficult to approach," is undoubtedly Ōdda-vishaya, in modern Orissa. The "fine Kosalai-nādu, where Brāhmans were collected together," has to be identified with Mahākōsala or the Eastern Chēdi country, or Dakshina Kōsala country, now represented by the country south of Cuttack Tanda-butti (or Dandabhukti), "whose gardens abounde with bees" has not so far been identified but is probabl the name of a part of Bengal, much like the nam Jejakabhukti. This place, we are told, was taken afte the defeat of Dharmapāla, its king, in a fierce battle Next it is stated, that Dakkana-Lādam, or Dakshin Rādha, or Southern Rādha (now represented by th Burdwan Division of Bengal and *not* Southern Lāta Gujarāt as was once supposed) was taken after a fierc attack on Iranasūran, or Ranasūra. Also, when Vangāla dēsam, of unceasing drizzle, was taken, its kin Gōvindasandan, *i.e.*, Gōvindachandran having dismounte from his horse and fled from the battle-field. Similarly Mahīpāla was frightened in a hot battle at (?) Sangatto and his elephants, women and treasure were captured Sangattol seems to be a misreading for Samantata which we know, was the kingdom that was ruled over b Mahīpāla. The kingdom of Samantata had for its capita Karumanta, modern Kamta, 12 miles west of Comala town. The kingdom appears to have included in the 11th century the districts of Tipperah, Noakhali, Barisal, Faridpur and the eastern half of Dacca District. In the 10th century, it seems to have been ruled over by the Chandra kings of Arakan. (Smith, *E.H.I.* 415). This explains the description the land "of unceasing drizzle." Finally, Uttira-Lādam, *i.e.*, Northern Rādha (not northern Lāta in Gujarāt) or northern Bengal, which is described as being surrounded by the vast sea which abounded with pearls, was taken. The conquests above described refer to different parts of Bengal. Between the 7th and 11th centuries A. D., Bengal was ruled over first by the Sūra and next by the Pāla dynasty. Ranasūra referred to in the inscription of Rājēndra-Chōla as ruler of Southern Rādha apparently belonged to it. The Sūra dynasty was founded by Ādisūra, who introduced into Bengal the first five Brāhmanas and Kāyasthas to revive the orthodox faith which had been superseded by Buddhism. Ranasūra, one of his successors was evidently one of those kings dispossessed of his territories by Rājēndra-Chōla. (Haraprasāda Sāstri, *Mem. A.S.B.* III. i. 10). Dharmapāla, ruler of Dandabhukti, mentioned in the record of Rājēndra-Chōla, must be a Dharmapāla later than the Pāla king Dharmapāla who ruled from about 800 to 832 A.D. Mahīpāla of Samantata (see above) was apparently an ally of Ranasūra and fought with him against Rājēndra-Chōla. He was the king who drove out the usurping Kambōjas and revived the Pāla power in Bengal about 1026. He was the ninth king in the Pāla line. He is known to have been ruling in 1026 A.D., having won back this kingdom about 978 or 980 A.D. He is said to have ruled 58 years, which may be near the truth, for we have epigraphic proof that it lasted at least 48 years. (Sarnath Inscription, *I.A.* XIV, 140). Mahīpāla ruled over a large extent of country, which included parts of modern Assam, which may be "the land of unceasing drizzle." He is the best remembered of the Pāla kings and his reign saw a revival of Buddhism in his kingdom. He sent teachers of that religion to Tibet, where they founded Tibetan Buddhism, Rājēndra-Chōla attac him and defeated him, but the defeat could not have any permanent mark on his kingdom. For his succes Nāyapāla and his son Vigrahapāla II and his sons a their successors seem to have continued to rule, despite revolution, to about 1130 A.D. (Smith *E. H. I.* 415-16)

Order in which the conquests were effected.

In the Tiruvālāngādu plates, which record a grant of this king, in his sixth regnal year, the order in whic the above conquests were effected by him is definitel indicated. Backed up by a powerful army, we are told he turned his attention to the conquest of the fou different quarters (*digvijaya*).

War against Pāndyan king

First, with the object of conquering the Pāndyan king, he turned his attention to the south. It is to be presumed from this statement that the conquest effected by Rājarāja had not proved effective. Rājēndra's commander (*dandanātha*) so decisively defeated the Pāndyan king that he took to flight and sought refuge in the Malaya Hill. After taking many a lustrous pearl belonging to this king, Rājēndra, placed his own son, here called Chōla-Pāndya, who could not, however, be identified with any of his three sons, in charge of the conquered country and turned westward.

An inscription dated in the 10th year of Rājēndra-Chōla furnishes the information that he constructed at Madura a huge palace "by whose weight even the earth became unsteady" and anointed his son Chōla-Pāndya as the viceroy of the Pāndyan kingdom. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 26). According to certain inscriptions found in the Tinnevelly and Madura districts, the Chōla-Pāndya prince was entitled Jatāvarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya. The part of the Pāndyan country he seems to have ruled over possibly consisted of two provinces. One was called Rājarāja-Pāndinādu, so named after Rājarāja the Great, o was the first to annex Pāndi-nādu to his dominions. other Chōla-Pāndya viceroy in the Pāndya country s Māravarman Vikrama Chōla-Pāndyadēva. It has en suggested that he was the successor of Jatāvarman undara-Chōla-Pāndya, though what relation he bore to he latter is not known. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 20). He may be the Prince Chōla-Kēraladēva mentioned in certain inscriptions found at Tirukoilūr, S. Arcot District. *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 21. Nos. 126 and 127 of 1900). he province of Kongu was known in ancient times as hōla-Kērala-mandalam, or "the province of (prince) hōla-Kērala." (*S.I.I.* III. 44). The Manimangalam inscription of Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndra-Chōla mentions, as his son, a certain Chōla-Kērala among the recipients of kingdoms from him. Accordingly there is ground for identifying the Chōla-Kērala of the Manimangalam inscriptions with the Chōla-Kēraladēva of the Tirukoilūr inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 21). He may be the Chōla-Pāndya who was put in charge of the conquered Kērala country, being called Pāndya because he ruled over part of the Pāndya country on the Kērala side. Unquestionable evidence of the conquest of the present Tinnevelly District and the part of Travancore State contiguous with it as far as Cape Comorin is offered by many inscriptions. One of these is of 18th year of Rājēndra-Chōla I and another of Kūlōttunga-Chōla I, whose regnal year is lost. (*M.E.R.* 1894, Nos. 157 and 145). A half-ruined temple close to Cape Comorin has on it inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla I. Its ancient name was Rājarājēsvaram after Rājarāja I, his father. (*M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix B. Nos. 92 to 104).

Conquest of Ceylon.

The conquest of Ceylon is referred to as one of the chief events of Rājēndra-Chōla's reign. Apparently it accomplished what was left undone by his father or put down an assertion of independence on the part of the island king and his people. Rājēndra is said to have taken the crown of the king and the more beautiful crown of his queen as also the crowns of Sundara and the necklace of Indra, which had been taken by the Ceylon king from his Pāndyan neighbour. An inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājēndra (437 of 1907) shows that this conquest should have been effected in A.D. 1015-16. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 55). The Siva temple at Polannāruva in Ceylon has a fragmentary inscription of the time of Rājēndra-Chōla which shows his conquest and possession of the place.

War against the Kērala king.

For the first time in its history, Kērala, which was impregnable and unconquered, was entirely annihilated. Apparently, Rājēndra was here confronted by a combination of kings and a bloody battle ensued, which ended in ruin to several kings. Rājēndra next returned to his capital and started afresh for the conquest of the north, after having committed the conquered Kērala country to his son Chōla-Pāndya. Whether this was the same Chōla-Pāndya referred to above as having been put in charge of the Pāndyan country is not quite clear.

War against Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II.

Rājēndra-Chōla entered Kānchi in his march against Jayasimha II (Jagadēkamalla), the Western Chālukya king. Though Rājēndra-Chōla is said to have started to conquer Jayasimha II "alone," *i.e.*, by his own personal exertions and is described in these plates as "the very god of Death (Kāla) to the Taila (the Western Chālukya) family," he had undoubtedly the help of his general in the war he carried on against Jayasimha. The war was apparently a hard fought one. The slaughter apparently was so great that it caused much grief to the ladies of Jayasimha's realm. Evidently several of the adherents of the Chālukyan king fell in it, though the statement that Rājēndra's fierce general "cut to pieces" Jayasimha is a palpable exaggeration, for he long survived this war and indeed describes himself as a lion to the elephant Rājēndra Chōla. (*E.C.* VII. Shikarpur 125). Apart from this verbal overstatement which may be taken to refer to the reverses sustained by Jayasimha's forces rather than by Jayasimha himself, we have a graphic description of the fight. The forces, we are told, of Chōlēndrasimha and Jayasimha fought an intensive battle, each side kindling the anger of the other, wherein the fire generated by the tusks of huge infuriated elephants dashing against each other, burnt all the banners. Jayasimha, in order to escape from the fire of the terrible valour of Rājēndra-Chōla, took, we are informed, to his heels with fear, abandoning all his family riches and reputation. The rest of the enemy's forces, out of fear, quickly sought refuge in forests and mountain caves as did also the dust raised by Rājēndra's pursuing army. The pursuit should accordingly have been close and hot. Jayasimha's army, hemmed in on all sides by the continuous downpour of arrows, and beleaguered by the heroes of Rājēndra's army, was completely destroyed just as a range of clouds tossed about by the force of furious winds. The events referred to in this campaign are presumably different from those relating to the campaign of 1007-8. A.D., which was conducted during Rājarāja's reign. The campaign of Rājēndra's was, perhaps, only partially successful, though the damage done by his forces was great. It appears to have been fought in the spirit evidenced by the Hottur inscription (see *above* under Western Chālukyas), in which we have evidence of the lapse from the standard of conduct set down by Manu in regard to warfare. Rājēndra's success, if it was really attended by success, was wholly a temporary one, for we have ample proof in the shape of lithic inscriptions of the hold of Jayasimha II over his dominions in Nolambavādi and adjacent provinces. Equally exaggerated seems the statement in a Chōla inscription dated in 1021 A.D., that Jayasimha II turned his back at Musangi (probably Uchchangi) and the boast made in another dated in 1026 A.D., that Rājēndra took Irattapādi (*i.e.*, the Western Chālukya kingdom, which formerly formed the Rāshtrakūta kingdom), for we find from inscriptions actually found in the disputed territories that Chālukya rule was firmly established in it during the period (see *above* Western Chālukyas). The Kanyākumāri inscription of Vīra-Rājēndra referring to this campaign of Rājēndra-Chōla terms Jayasimha, the Kuntala king, *i.e.*, king of the Kuntala country, Kuntala being the country between the Vēdāvati and the Bhīma, formerly the territory ruled over by the Kadambas. It also furnishes us the additional information that Rājēndra made Manyakhēta, a Chālukya stronghold and former capital of the Rāshtrakūtas, a camping and sporting ground for his army. (*E.I.* XVIII. 53; *T.A.S.* III. i. 156. Verse 70).

Date of war against Jayasimha II, 1018 A.D.

This campaign should be set down to about the year 1018 A.D., the first year of Jayasimha and the 6th year of Rājēndra-Chōla, the year of the Tiruvālangādu plates. As the plates mention Jayasimha by name, any earlier date seems altogether out of the question. The cause of the war is not clear from the available inscriptions. It might, however, be surmised that it was due to the extension of Western Chālukya rule over Nolambavādi, which is testified to by the discovery of his inscriptions found at Bāgali, Kurugodu and other places. These show that the Chālukyas did not accept their defeat at the hands of Rājarāja in 1007-8 A.D., but reasserted their power, which became firmly established in about 1018 A.D., as the result of Rājēndra's campaign (*Ibid*). This re-assertion of their rule over Nolambavādi must have occasioned the renewed attempt made against them by Rājēndra-Chōla. So complete appears to have been the defeat of his campaign that we find in 1042 A.D., the last year of Jayasimha II, the local Chōla chiefs connected with Irungola-Dēva ruling as feudatories under him in the north of the present Sira Taluk. (*E.C.* XII, Sira, 40, 37 and 25).

Campaign against kings on the Ganges border.

After his campaign against the Western Chālukyas, Rājēndra-Chōla is said to have returned to his capital. He next prepared for a campaign against the kings ruling over the country bordering on the Ganges. What prompted him to prepare for this war—absolutely unprovoked—and how he fared in it are set out at length in the Tiruvālangādu plates (verses 109 to 119) which deserve to be quoted here:—

"This light of the Solar race, (*i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōla) laughing at Bhagīratha, who had brought down the Ganga (to the earth from heaven) by the power of (his) austerities, wished to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganga (*i.e.*, the river Ganges) carried thither through the strength of (his) arm. Accordingly (he) ordered the commander of the army who had powerful battalions (under his control), who was the resort of heroism (and) the foremost of diplomats,—to subdue the enemy kings occupying (the country on) the banks of that (river). Before him, as from the slopes of the Himālayas, marched a very large army like the tremendous volume of the waters of the Ganga with wavy rows of moving horses, causing all the quarters to resound with its confused clamour. The van of his army crossed the rivers by way of bridges formed by herds of elephants. The rest of the army (crossed the same) on foot, (because) the waters in the meantime had dried up being used by elephants, horses and men. The soldiers of Vikrama-Chōla (*i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōla, one of whose titles was Vikrama-Chōla) having reached the points of the compass (first) by the dust raised by crowds of elephants, horses and foot-men, quickly entered (next) the country of hostile kings. The general of the ornament of the Solar race first conquered Indraratha (and) captured the country of that jewel of the Lunar race who met him (on the battlefield) with very powerful elephants, horses and innumerable foot-soldiers. The white parasol of that king, the jewel of the Lunar race, fell (to the ground), its (supporting) staff and top being torn (asunder) in battle by sharp arrows, as if the disc of the moon (fell) distressed by the defeat (of her descendant). Then having robbed Ranasūra of his prosperity, he entered the extensive dominions of Dharmapāla. (and) conquering him too, this General of the king of Sibis, (*i.e.*, of Rājēndra-Chōla) reached the celestial river (Ganga). The *dandanāyaka* then immediately got the most sacred waters of that (river) carried to his master Madhurāntaka (*i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōla) by the subjugated chiefs on the banks of that (Ganga river). (Meantime) Rājēndra-Chōla (himself) with a desire to conquer (enemy kings) reached the river Godāvari and by the scented cosmetics on his body (washed away) during a playful bath in the waters (of that river) caused her (*i.e.*, the Godāvari river) to be suspected (of enjoyment with a stranger) by the lord of the rivers (*i.e.*, the ocean). The powerful general had (just then) got the waters of the Ganga carried to his master (Rājēndra-Chōla), after having defeated Mahīpāla and having taken possessien of his fame, splendour and precious gems."

The Kanyākumāri lithic inscription of Vīra-Rājēndra, son of Rājēndra-Chōla, confirms the above narration, though only briefly. It also attributes the conquest of the chiefs on the banks of the Ganges to the generals of Rājēndra and not to Rājēndra in person and states that the water of the Ganges—whose banks, it says, were destroyed by a roaring herd of elephants, was brought "in pots" which "were carried on the heads of crowned heads." (*E.I.* XVIII. 54; *T.A.S.* III. i. 157). Whether this expression sets the limit of the humiliation inflicted on the conquered kings or is only metaphorical in character, water being carried only "in pots" and on the "heads" of persons, it is difficult to say.

Bringing the Ganges into his own country.

It will be seen from the above that with the idea of bringing the Ganga into his own country through the strength of his arm, Rājēndra-Chōla ordered his commander to subdue the kings occupying the banks of that river. The first king conquered was Indira-iratan of the Lunar race; next, Ranasūra; and then Dharmapāla. The general of the Chōla army then reached the Ganga, secured the most sacred water of that river and carried it to his master Rājēndra after having defeated Mahīpāla on the way. Meantime, Rājēndra had himself reached the Godāvari to meet his able general who had just brought the water of the Ganges. The meeting point was on the banks of the Godāvari, apparently somewhere near modern Rājahmundry, for the sacredness of the water of the Ganges is enhanced by its being mixed up with that of the Godāvari before being used. The mixing up of the two sacred waters is still carried out by every devout pilgrim on the banks of the Godāvari, either at Nāsik or at Rājahmundry, whichever is found the more convenient spot for the purpose. Apparently, Rājēndra-Chōla carried out this traditional duty on the East Coast, possibly somewhere near Rājahmundry.

Authenticity of this event.

Some points worthy of note in connection with this bringing of the water of the Ganges to his own country by Rājēndra-Chōla may be incidentally touched upon. It will be seen that the Chōla general got the vanquished kings on the banks of the Ganges to carry the water on their heads. Mr. Venkayya has suggested that this humiliation of subjugated chiefs might have been an attempt at emulation of the incident mentioned in the well-known Tamil classical poem *Silappadikāram* (Saminathaier's Edn., Introduction, 58), according to which two princes of the north defeated by the Chēra king Seuguttuvan were made to carry stones (to the Chēra capital) for carving images of the deified heroic Pattini. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 18). However this might have been, there is hardly any doubt that such humiliation was apparently common during the period. That such humiliation was actually inflicted at least on certain of the conquered chiefs by the Chōla general is rendered more than possible by the discovery at Gangaikonda-Chōlapuram, the capital city founded by Rājēndra-Chōla, where the water of the Ganges, brought as above indicated, was used in founding a tank, of a Gahadavāla inscription, which belongs either to Madanapāla or his son Gōvindachandra of Kanauj. (*M.E.R.*, 1908, Paras 58-60). It is a Sānskrit inscription in Grantha characters, found next to a damaged Tamil record of the Chōla king Kulōttunga-Chōla, apparently dated in his 41st regnal year, or A.D. 1110-1111. The Grantha inscription begins immediately after the Tamil date and is a *verbatim* copy of a portion of the introduction in the copper-plates of the Gahadavāla king Gōvindachandra of Kanauj. (*E.I.* IV, 100). The inscription, however, is an unfinished one, and the date of the Tamil record leaves us in doubt whether it (the Grantha inscription) belongs to Madanapāla or his son Gōvindachandra. The latest known date of the former is A.D. 1109 and the earliest date of the latter is A.D. 1114. Mr. Venkayya suggests that there is no doubt that some sort of relationship existed between the Chōla king Kulōttunga I and the Gahadavālas of Kanauj. Perhaps either Madanapāla or his son Gōvindachandra or some other member of their family went to the Chōla capital Gangaikonda Chōlapuram on a friendly visit to the Chōla king Kulōttunga I and wished to make a grant to the temple. Accordingly, the genealogy of the donor was put in, but for some reason or other either the grant itself was not made, or it was not engraved in full on the stone. Though Mr. Venkayya has been unable to trace any reference in the numerous copper-plates of the Gahadavāla family to their relationship, alliance or friendly intercourse with the Chōlas, he suggests that one of their kings might have gone to the Chōla capital as mentioned in the Tiruvālangādu plates. He writes:—

"The Tiruvālangādu plates tell us that the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla I conquered the kings on the banks of the Ganges and got them to carry the water of the sacred river to his own capital where he is said to have set up a pillar of victory consisting as it were of the water of the Ganges. (*M.E.R.* 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 18). It is difficult to imagine a pillar of victory consisting of the water of the Ganges. But perhaps a tank or well was dug in which the water brought from the Ganges was poured. As a matter of fact, there is a well within the big temple at Gangaikondachōlapuram into which the water of the Ganges is supposed to have once flowed. (*Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly district*, p. 348). Was the boast of Rājēndra-Chōla that he got the kings on the banks of the Ganges to carry the water of the sacred river to his capital true? In this case, a Gahadavāla king or one of his relations must have actually gone to the Chōla capital, which was subsequently called Gangaikondachōlapuram. Is it likely that the acquaintance of the Gahadavāla kings with the Chōlas thus commenced was kept up even in later times? Have we to suppose that either Mandanapāla or Gōvindachandra, one of whose ancestors might have accompanied the Chōlas, wished to make a grant to the temple at Gangaikonda Chōlapuram, though he need not actually have gone there?

"The Gahadavāla kings of Kanauj were worshippers of the Sun and, strangely enough, Kulōttunga I appears to have built a shrine of Sūrya in his own dominions. The temple at Sūriyanārkōvil is perhaps the only one in the Tamil country where the Sun-god is regularly worshipped as the principal deity of a temple. The central shrine faces the west and is dedicated to the Sun and near it is an image of the god Visvēsvara with his consort Visālākshi. Brihaspati is given a place in front of the central shrine. The *garbhagriha* and the *mukhamandapa* of the temple are built of stone. The shrines of the remaining seven of the *navagrahas*, *viz.*, Rāhu, Sukra, Kētu, Chandra, Angāraka, Budha and Sani are constructed of bricks around the central building. Two inscriptions of Kulōttunga I are engraved on the base of the *mukhamandapa*. Both are built in. The temple is called in one of them Kulōttunga-Chōla-Māttāndālaiyam, which shows that it was probably built during the reign of Kulōttunga I and that it was already dedicated to the Sun-god. That there is in the central shrine of Sūriyanārkōvil an image of the god Visvēsvara with his consort Visālākshi, both of whom are worshipped in Benares even to this day, may be taken to show that the worship of the Sun was introduced from Benares, provided these two images are as old as the temple itself. This would again prove that there was some intimate relationship between the Chōla Kulōttunga I and the Gahadavālas of Kanauj."

It will be remembered that Kanauj lies on the western bank of the Ganges and in the Ganges-Jumna valley and would be just one of the countries subjugated by the general of Rājēndra-Chōla in his attempt to reach the Ganges. That Rājēndra-Chōla kept up the connection that he thus formed with the Ganges is further confirmed by the fact that he imported many Saiva teachers from its banks and settled them in the Chōla country. He was a staunch Saiva and his teacher Īsāna-Siva-Pandita, the Saiva *āchārya* in charge of the Tanjore temple, was probably one of those specially brought down from near the Ganges.

Consecration of the "Chōla-Gangam" tank.

The sacred water thus brought was apparently used for consecrating with it a tank that Rājēndra-Chōla excavated at his new capital Gangaikondachōlapuram. The Tiruvālangādu plates thus briefly refer to this event:—

> "(This) lord constructed in his own dominions as a pillar of victory (a tank) known by repute as Chōlagangam which was composed of the waters of the Ganges."

This tank still exists. It has at present an embankment some 16 miles long, and is fully provided with the necessary sluices and channels for irrigation of a large area. There is now hardly any doubt that it was brought into existence by Rājēndra-Chōla, as a memorial "pillar of victory," which he obtained over the kings of his time, especially those on the banks of the Ganges, and consecrated under his orders by the sacred water brought from the Ganges, which apparently was poured into the tank, thus symbolically converting the water of the tank into Ganges water. In place of the usual pillar of victory—a monolith—set up by previous kings to commemorate their conquests, Rājēndra-Chōla hit upon perpetuating his own victory by excavating a useful irrigation tank, whose water he, in orthodox fashion, the great religious devotee that he was, got consecrated by the water obtained from the Ganges.

Celebration of the conquest of the Ganges chiefs.

A lithic record found at Ennāyiram, *alias* Rājarāja Chaturvēdimangalam, describes the stately march home of Rājēndra-Chōla with all the splendour of a conqueror, of his wedding the Ganga and hence assuming the title of Gangaikonda-Chōla and building a Hall called *Gangaikondan-mandapa* after that title and feeding a number of people in it. It has been suggested (see *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 28) that this record indicates that Rājēndra-Chōla led the expedition to the Ganges bor
and not his general as stated in the Tiruvālangādu
This, however, is untenable in view of the definite
mation furnished by the Tiruvālangādu plates ar
Kanyākumāri lithic inscription that the conquest o
chiefs of the north was effected by Rājēndra's gene
and not by himself. The return home referred to in t
Ennāyiram record occurred apparently after the king's conquest of the Oriya country, which he accomplished after meeting on the banks of the Gōdāvari the generals marching back from their expedition to the Ganges border (see below). The Tiruvālangādu plates (verse 122) definitely mention the return home of Rājēndra after the conquest of the Oriya country and in the face of

this explicit declaration it would be difficult to construe the Ennāyiram inscription otherwise than as suggesting something in conformity with what is stated in the Tiruvālangādu and the Kanyākumāri inscriptions. The Ennāyiram inscription, whose date is undecipherable but which might be assigned to about 1023 A.D., records the interesting fact that the Assembly of that village, in order to secure success to the arms of the king, made certain charities to the Lord Paramasvāmin, who "was pleased to stand with a fierce appearance" in the temple of Rājarāja-Vinnagar, in the village of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam (the other name of Ennāyiram), receiving worship and offerings. The temple was obviously one dedicated to Vishnu, probably in one of his fierce conquering forms, and the charities made by the Assembly include the maintenance of a hostel and a college for Vēdic study. It also provides for the recitation of the *Tiruvāimozhi*, for the feeding of twenty-five Srī-Vaishnavas in the *mutt* attached to the temple; feeding 1,000 Srī-Vaishnavas, who came to witness the annual seven days' festival at the temple; for meeting the cost f the car festival; the distribution of garments to dicants, etc. In the newly built Gangaikondānpa, a total of 230 Brahmachārins studying different of the *Vēdas* were to be fed as also 40 others were n the *Rupāvatāra.* Provision was further made he feeding of 70 other students learning the *karana* (Grammar), *Prabhākara* (one of the *Siddhāntas*) and *Vēdānta.* To the professors teaching these subjects and the different parts of the *Vēda*, separate provision was made, partly in paddy and partly in gold. The grant was made on the order of king Rājēndra to mark the event and it was entered, at his instance, in the royal account books. In the hostel attached to the college, not only the professors and students were fed but also Srī-Vaishnavas. It was also ordered that on the birthday of Srī-Krishna, each of those who read the *Vēda* was presented with a gold ring and a gold flower. Merchants were to supply the hostel with the required rice, the Village Supervision Committee (*Ūrvāriyam*) [illegible] provide it with the necessary firewood. Local [illegible], both Brāhman and other, who had their shops [illegible] the southern bazaar of Ennāyiram, were to supply sugar and the other things required, in place of the interest due on the amounts invested with them. It is clear from the Ennāyiram records (*M.E.R.* 1918, Nos. 333, 335 and 343) that the occasion of the celebration of the conquest of the Gangas valley kings was attended with not merely regal pomp but also with the foundation of an useful educational institution, which was apparently a residential university, teaching almost every branch of the *Vēda*, *Vēdānta* and the *Vyākarana*. The reference to the study of the *Rūpāvatāra*, the well known commentary on Pānini, at this institution is worth noting. It is the work of the far-famed Buddhist writer Dharmakīrti, to which this is, perhaps, the first reference we have in a lithic inscription in Southern India. For a work which had become so famous as a text-book for study about the first quarter of the 11th century A.D., it should have been already old and well recognized as an authority on the subject of grammar. Accordingly Dharmakīrti's work may have to be set down to about the beginning of the 10th century A.D., at the latest and not to the 12th century A.D., as suggested by the late Professor M. Rangāchārya. (See *Rūpāvatāra*, Madras Edition, Sānskrit Introduction).

At this point, a problem of some interest, closely connected with the title of "Gangaikondān" might be considered. Hitherto there has been some difference of opinion as to the origin of the title of "Gangaikondān" as applied to Rājēndra-Chōla. The suggestion of Mr. Rice

Origin of the title of "Gangaikondān" or "Capturer of Gange."

that Rājēndra-Chōla took the title of "Gangaikonda-Chōla" because of his conquest of the Ganga country (*Mysore and Coorg*, 89, note 1) has to be give up in view of the explicit mention of the conques in der Rājēndra's directions, if not under his leadershi. The chiefs on the Ganges border, of their bringing ble but capital the sacred water and of his commemor ds the of the event by the founding of a *mandapa* cal in *Gangaikondān*, etc. He appears to have taken the titl to mark as much the occasion of the celebration as of the conquest of the northern kings. Though the theory of Mr. Rice is directly contradicted by the Ennāyiram record and has to be abandoned, the opinion might perhaps be hazarded that the idea of the conquest of the chiefs on the Ganges border was probably suggested to him by his conquest of the Gangas and their country in 1004 A.D., while he was still a prince, leading expeditions under the orders of his father Rājarāja. There is, however, no inscriptional or other basis available for this suggestion and further speculation as to its probability or otherwise seems therefore hardly called for. Remembering that the Pallava king Narasimhavarman was called "Vātāpikonda" or the conqueror of Bādāmi, and the Chōla king Parāntaka I, "Madiraikondān" and "Īlamkondān," or the "conqueror of Madura" and the "conqueror of Ceylon," we have to interpret the title "Gangaikondān" as the "conqueror of Ganga," where Ganga means the river Ganges or the kingdoms on its border.

Thus the title of "Capturer of Gange," referred to in many of the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla, is a clear reference to the conquest of the kings on the Ganges border and not to the capture of the Ganga kingdom in Mysore. The term invariably used is "Gangē" or "Gangai" and not "Ganga," when the conquest of the kings of the Ganges border is referred to. (Chintāmani 153;

Srinivaspur 17; Chintāmani 47, etc.). Where a Ganga king is referred to, the term used is "Ganga" and not "Gangē" or "Gangai" (cf. Nanniya-Ganga; Prithivi-Ganga; Ere-Ganga; Kachcheya-Ganga; Ganga-Gāngeya; Guttiya-Ganga; Rakkasa-Ganga; etc.). As Rājēndra-Chōla actually sent invasions against the kings of the Ganges border and won victories over them, the phrase "Gangē-Kondān" (cf. Madiraikondān, Tanjaiyumkonda, Īlam-kondān, etc.) seems not inappropriate. The title is better justified in the case of the conquests effected in his own reign rather than in that of his father Rājarāja, during which time the Ganga kingdom was overturned. The title further is more expressive of the capture of a person (king or kings) rather than the conquest of a kingdom.

Conquest of Gangapādi and Nulambapādi.

Since the older identifications of Idaturai-nādu with Yedatore in the Mysore District, and Manne in the Bangalore District, have thus to be given up, the conquest of Gangapādi and Nulambapādi should have been accomplished by Rājēndra-Chōla, as a general under his father, during the latter's reign. As these conquests are mentioned in an inscription dated in the 8th year of Rājarāja, they should be set down to some time anterior to that year, *i.e.*, 992 A.D. (*S.I.I.* II. v. 3 f.n. 1). A representation of the conquest seems to be portrayed in the panels of figure-sculpture to be seen in the Arkēsvara temple at Hale Alur in the Mysore District. (See Chapter V above). Yedatore 31 (*E.C.* IV), which is not dated, refers to a war in which "all the Ganga line were thrust out and rendered powerless." It may be taken to refer to this first campaign against Gangapādi by Rājēndra-Chōla. The only other wars that Rājēndra-Chōla carried out during his own reign in or about Mysore was the conquest of the country called Masinidēsam, identified with Masinikōvil or Masini-gudi, south of the Mysore

District (see above) and Banavāsi, in the north-west of the state.

Conquest of Kulata and Utkala.

The war against the Utkala (Odda) king was apparently undertaken on the occasion of the visit of Rājēndra to the East Coast to meet the generals returning from the Ganges border (see above). It is thus described in the Tiruvālangādu plates:—

> "The heroic king killed in battle (the lord of) Odda who was carrying on the orders of the king of the Kali (age), *i.e.*, who was following vicious ways, together with his (younger) brother and (his) army, and then forcibly took possession of (his) rutting elephants. There, the king with his own hand (and) from the (back of the) elephant mounted himself, killed a mad elephant that ran at him with its trunk raised."

This account seems to suggest that Rājēndra took a personal part in the fight against the Utkala king. The Kanyākumāri lithic inscription gives a rather different version. It says that Rājēndra-Chōla "had the lords of the Kulata and Utkala (countries) slain by the generals of his forces," which would seem to indicate that he took no personal part in the killing of the wicked Utkala king and his brother. The version of the Tiruvālangādu plates being more circumstantial, has to be accepted as enshrining the true facts. As to the subjugation of the Kulata chief, the reference should be taken to be to the same chief who is referred to in Rājarāja's inscriptions. From the Mahēndragiri pillar inscription, which bears the Chōla insignia of the tiger and the two fishes, we learn that the Kulata chief referred to was Vimalāditya. He is stated in that inscription to have been defeated by a general of Rājēndra-Chōla, whose name is given as Rājēndra-Chōla-Pallavaraiyan Rājarājamarayan. He is called in another inscription found in the same place as Dattakara. To signalise his victory over Vimalāditya, the general set up a pillar of victory on Mahēndragiri. (*M.E.R.* 1897, No. 397; *A.S.I.* 1911-1912, 171). Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that Kulata mentioned above has probably to be identified with the country of the same name referred to in the *Brihatsamhita* as lying in the north-eastern division of India. (*S.I.I.* III. 388 f.n. 6 quoting *I.A.* XXII, 182).

Conquest of the "Eastern Country."

In several of his inscriptions Rājēndra-Chōla is described to have taken Pūrvadēsam, Gangai, Kidāram, etc. Pūrvadēsam in these inscriptions has been interpreted as "Eastern Country." Mr. Hira Lāl suggests that the Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces is called *Pūrvarāshtra* in inscriptions. (*E.I.* IX. 283). If this is so, the expedition against *Pūrvadēsam* means the reduction of this portion of the Mahākērala country and not any vague conquest of the East Coast. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 15).

Conquest of Kalinga and Vanga.

An exploit attributed to the generals of Rājēndra-Chōla in the Kanyākumāri inscription is the subjugation of the Kalinga and the Vanga kings. (Mr. Krishna Sāstri has pointed out that the reading of *Vimsēndra* in line 360 of the Kanyākumāri inscription is a mistake for *Vangēndra*. See *E.I.* XVIII. 25 note 1). This is not referred to in the Tiruvālangādu plates, which state that after the conquest of the Kuluta and Utkala chiefs, Rājēndra returned to his capital, being worshipped all along the route by the kings whom he had subdued. There are no details available of these conquests, except what are mentioned in his inscriptions dated from his 19th regnal year. (See Channapatna 82-83, quoted above, with identification of places mentioned therein). That he did war against the Pāla kings of Bengal may now be taken as fairly established. If he did conquer Kalinga and Vanga (*i.e.*, Bengal), as is possible he actually did, it renders more than possible his conquest of the other chiefs mentioned in the Tiruvālangādu plates and the Kanyākumāri inscription.

Invasion of Burma and Indonesia.

But, perhaps, the greatest feat of arms performed by Rājēndra's troops was the capture of Kataha in Burma, which ended in the annexation of a part of that peninsula. This is referred to in the Tiruvālangādu plates and in the Kanyākumāri and other lithic inscriptions. The Tiruvālangādu record refers to this expedition in brief terms. It merely records the fact that he "conquered Kataha with (the help of) his valiant forces that had crossed the ocean." The Kanyākumāri inscription describes it thus: "With (the help) of his forces, which crossed the seas, which were excessively powerful in arms and which had scattered away the armies of all his enemies, he (Rājēndra-Chōla) burnt Kataha, that could not be set on fire by others. What is (there that is) impossible for this Rājēndra-Chōla!" Several other lithic inscriptions give graphic accounts of this conquest. Among these are the following:—The Tanjore inscription dated in the 19th regnal year, or A.D. 1030 (*S.I.I.* II. No. 20): in his 22nd year, or A.D. 1033 (*E.C.* X, Kolar 109a); in his 23rd year, or A.D. 1034 (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 82-83); and in his 27th year, or A. D. 1038 (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 7a). The following passage taken from the last of these epigraphs fully describes this conquest:—

> "Having sent many ships in the midst of the billowing (or rolling) sea and having captured Sangirama Visiaiyōttunga-parman (*i.e.*, Sangrāma Vijayōttungavarman), the king of Kadaram, along with his victorious five elephants which had (well-formed) frontal globes and resembled the impetuous sea (in fighting) took the great heap of treasures which he had rightfully amassed: the (arch called) Vichchadira-Horanam (Vidyādhara-tōrana) at the "War-gate" of the enemys' extensive city; the wicket door set with jewels of great

splendour (or "the jewel-gate" adorned with great splendour). and the door set with large jewels (or the gate of large jewels); the expensive Srī-Vijaiyam (*i.e.*, Srī-Vishaya, north Burma or Pegu); Pannai, watered by the river; the ancient Malaiyūr (Malaya), which had many hill-fortresses: Māyirudingam, the moat around which was the deep sea; Ilangasobam (Lankāsoka) of undaunted heroic deeds (or undaunted in fierce, battles); Mā-ppapālam (= Mahāpappālam, a fort in the Telaing country of Burma), having a system of full streams (*i.e.*, having abundant high waters as defence); Māvilipangam, which had five fortifications as defence; Vilaippandur, full of luxuriant green jungle (or possessing cultivated land and jungle); Kalai-ttakkolam (= Kalam-ttakolam, sea-port town of Takkolam), praised by great men versed in the sciences; Madamaliyam (= Maṭama or Martaban); of steady heroic deeds (firm in great and fierce battles); Ilāmuri-dēsam, whose fierce strength was increased by enmity (or whose fierce strength was subdued by vehement attack); Mā-nakkavaram (the Nicobar islands), surrounded by gardens resounding with bees; (or whose flower gardens—resembled the girdle of the nymph—of the southern ocean); and Kadaram, of great strength, guarded by the deep sea (or of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea)."

Kadaram or Kidaram above referred to is supposed to be Tharakhettra, 8 miles west of Prome. (*I.A.* XXII. 6, 160). It has also been identified with Kerti in the northern coast of Sumatra (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 15), but there is nothing to support this suggestion. On the other hand, the first named identification has much in favour of it. The other places mentioned are in or about Burma and there has been found much valuable local evidence to testify to the influence of Tamils from Southern India in Burma. About the time of Rājēndra-Chōla's conquest of Burma, that peninsula was already well-known to Indians. Local records show that Tagaung, the cradle of the Burmese race, was founded in the 9th century B.C., by Abhiraga, an Aryan Prince from North India In 483 B.C., Aryan colonists from Tagaung founded

Prome and in the 1st century A.D., when the latter was destroyed, the fugitives sought refuge at Pagan, to the northward, and established there a new kingdom. The Telaing kingdom of Thaton was subverted in 1057 A.D., a year which serves as a great landmark and a dividing line between traditional and authentic Burmese history. In Burma, there were prevalent the Northern and Southern schools of Buddhism, Prome marking the line of separation between Pāli and Sānskrit. The country south of Prome was influenced by South India and Ceylon, whence Buddhist scriptures in Pāli were obtained. The country north of Prome with Pagan as its centre was influenced by Sānskrit. Rājēndra-Chōla's conquest had to do more with Prome than with Pagan and apparently occurred before the subversion of the Pagan kingdom in 1057 A.D. A Tamil inscription of the 13th century A.D., has been found at Pagan showing the prevalence of the Vaishnavite faith there. This shows that since Rājēndra-Chōla's conquest, Tamil influence spread northwards to Pagan. The inscription consists of one verse in the Sānskrit language and *Grantha* alphabet and a prose passage in the Tamil language and alphabet. The Tamil characters are those of the 13th century. The Sānskrit verse is taken from the *Mukandamāla* (verse 6), a short poem by the Vaishnava saint, Kulasēkhara, who, as shown by Mr. Venkayya, must have lived before the 11th century. The Tamil prose passage records gifts by a native of Mayodayarpattanam in Malaimandalam, *i.e.*, Cranganore in Malabar. The recipient of the gifts was the Vishnu temple of Nānādēsivinnagar at Pukkam *alias* Arivattana-puram, *i.e.*, Pagan. "Nānādēsi-Vinnagar" means "the Vishnu temple of those coming from various countries." The name shows that the temple, which was situated in the heart of the Buddhist country of Burma, had been founded and was resorted to by Vaishnavas from various parts of the Indian peninsula. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Para 13).

Some Telaing inscriptions intimately connecting Kyanzittha, king of Pagan, with Rājēndra-Chōla and Kulōttunga I, raise questions of no ordinary interest. On close examination, it has been found that the astounding statements of the Telaing inscriptions that Kulōttunga-Chōla resided at Pegu of Kidāram, that he visited Pagan bearing tributes to Kyanzittha, that he presented the latter with a daughter and that he himself became a convert to Buddhism, have none of them been confirmed by Tamil inscriptions. The connection of Burma with Southern India is, however, established beyond doubt. Burman script and numerals seem closely related to the Telugu and Kannada scripts and numerals. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Part I, Pages 10-11, Para 9). The conquest of Kidāram was accounted a great feat of arms, judging from the prominence given to it in the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla. In later times—for *e.g.*, in the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla—Rājēndra-Chōla became known as Kidārangondasōla, and a village came to be called after this title of his, Kidarangonda-Sōlapuram. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 26).

Kalai-Takkōlam is probably *Kalam-Takkōlam*, meaning the sea-port town of Takkolam, which has been identified with the Takola of Ptolemy, the geographer. (*I.A.* XIII. 372; see Ptolemy, Book VII, Ch. 2, 5). It is probably the modern Taikkala, south-east of Pegu. Kadaram and Takkolam probably indicate Pegu Province. Pegu appears to have been under Indian rule for nearly five centuries. (See *Burma A.S.R* 1909-10, Pages 14-16; 1916-17, Para 57). Madamalingam is probably Matama or Martaban on the same coast. Srīvijiyam is undoubtedly Srī-Vishayam, a name given to north Burma, or Pegu. The "ancient Malaiyur" is probably the Malaya peninsula. Apparently Rājēndra-Chōla's fleet crossed the Bay of Bengal and attacked and captured Kadaram, which is said to have been "of great strength, guarded by the deep sea." The smaller ports, including Takkōlam and Martaban, also fell. With these successes, the kingdom of Srī-Vishaya (*i.e.*, Pegu) passed under Chōla rule. Two granite pillars standing at the town of Pegu are believed to have been set up by the Chōla king to commemorate his conquest. (*Burma A.S.R.* 1906-07, Page 19). The conquest of the Nicobars (Mahā Nakkavaram) appears to have next followed. The campaign must have proved a successful one for Sangrāma Vijayōttungavarman, the king, who was attacked by sea, was defeated and caught. This king must have been a successor of Māravijayōttungavarman, the son of Chūdāmanivarman, the king of Kataha or Kadaram, who is mentioned in the large Leyden grant as a vassal of Rājarāja. The expedition against him was probably undertaken by Rājēndra because of his intended or actual rebellion against his suzerain lord. That he and his successors remained faithful to the Chōla emperors is suggested by the mention of an unnamed king of Kadaram as a vassal of Kulōttunga-Chōla in the small Leyden grant. (See Burgess, *Archælogical Survey of India* IV, 224, text line 5 and 225, text line 10).

Since the above was written, Mr. V. Coomaraswamy, B.A., of Ceylon, has suggested the following identifications of the twelve places enumerated as having been captured by Rājēndra-Chōla in the course of his naval expedition :—

(1) Srī-Vijayam = Srī Bōja, the capital of the kingdom of Kadaram, which is located in the Island of Sumatra.

(2) Pannai = the Pannai Island in the Philippine group.

(3) Malayūr = The Malayan land which is the ancient appellation "Thana Malaya" now included in the Sultanate of Johore.

(4) Irudingam = Tarantaka in the Island of Sumatra.

(5) Ilangāsōkam = The Island of Lankavi of modern maps,

in the straits of Malacca and the *Lakalons* of Elledirishi. (See *Ancient Jaffna*, 199).

(6) Pappālam = An ancient port in Lower Burma, also referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 76, verse 63 as *Pappālam.*

(7) *Limbamgam* = The port of Lemang in the Island of Borneo.

(8) Pandūr = The Island of Bintang or Penten near Singapore.

(9) Takkōlam = The port of Takkōla at the mouth of the river Takkōla in the Island of Sumatra, the classical Daragala.

(10) Madamālingam = Probably Mantalingam, a port in the Paragna Palavan Island in the Philippine group.

(11) Ilamuri = Lameria in Lambir, a part of North Borneo.

(12) Nakkavāram = The Nicobars.

Mr. Coomaraswamy also draws attention to the interesting fact that Marcopolo, who visited some of the places mentioned in Rajēndra inscription about a century and half later describes them almost by the same names. (*Ceylon Hindu Organ* No. 24, 1927).

The date of this conquest.

The year in which this conquest was effected is not quite certain. It has been set down to A.D. 1025-7, *i.e.*, to some time between the 14th and the 16th regnal years of Rājēndra-Chōla. (*Burma A.S.R.* 1906-7, Page 19). Some other writers have referred it, rather vaguely, to a year before the 19th regnal year. A number of lithic inscriptions found in the Kolar District fix the date of this expedition within fairly narrow limits and suggest a date anterior to the 11th regnal year. In Srinivāspur 17 and Chintāmani 153 (*E.C.* X), both of which are undated, Rājēndra-Chōla is only described as the "conqueror of Ganga," *i.e.*, the kings on the Ganges border. In Kolar 106a, which is dated in his 8th regnal year, the conquests mentioned are Idaturai-nādu, Banavāsi, Kollippakkai, Mannaikkadakkam, Īlam and Kērala. In Kolar 112a, which is of his 11th regnal year, he is described briefly as the conqueror of the eastern country (*i.e.*, Vēngi or

Pūrvarāshtra as the case may be) and Gangai (*i.e.*, the Ganges valley). In Chintāmani 47, which is also of his 11th regnal year, in addition to the eastern country and Gangai, he is said to have taken Kadāram also. Kolar 111 dated in his 11th year also mentions the same three conquests. The longer historical introduction which describes in full the conquests from Idaturai-nādu to Kadāram is first seen in the Tanjore inscription of his 19th year and repeated in inscriptions dated in his 22nd, 22rd and 27th years above mentioned. There are inscriptions of his dated in the 26th and 31st years, but they do not indicate that Rājēndra-Chōla made any further conquest of Kadāram. As Chintāmani 47 of the 11th regnal year refers definitely to the conquest of Kadāram, while other inscriptions of the same year (Kolar 112a) do not mention it, it is possible that the conquest should have been accomplished somewhere about that year. The conquest must have been too fresh to have been included at once in all the dynastic descriptions. Inscriptions dated in the 6th (Kolar 106a), the 8th (Kolar 106a), the 9th (Nanjangud 134) and the 10th (T.-Narasipur 34) years do not refer to it. So that the inference seems fairly irresistible that the conquest of Kadāram should have been accomplished in or about the 11th regnal year, or about A.D. 1021-1022. This is as near a date as we can get to for the event in the present state of our knowledge.

Recently, a mutilated inscription dated in the 3rd year has been found at Tirukkānavāsal giving a part of the historical introduction. This, if it has been properly read, would be the earliest date in which Rājēndra-Chōla's earlier conquests are first mentioned, the earliest of the others so far discovered being in his 5th year. (See *M.E.R.* 1909. Appendix B. No. 451 of 1908; also Para 43). An inscription found at Uyyakondān-Tirumalai dated in the 10th year sets out the historical introduction up to the conquest of Irattapādi 7½ lakhs and suggests like several inscriptions found in the Mysore State, that the northern and Indonesian conquests took place later. An inscription found at the same place, but dated in the 12th regnal year, gives the full historical introduction. Thus the inference drawn from the inscriptions found in the State that the northern and Indonesian conquests took place between the 10th and 12th regnal years is confirmed by inscriptions found outside of it also.

Summary of Rājēndra-Chōla's conquests.

Summarising briefly, Rājēndra-Chōla's conquests, during the period of his rule, included parts of Gangapādi and Banavāsi in Mysore; Vēngi and Kalinga up to Mahēndragiri and Orissa in the East Coast; Kērala in the West Coast; the dominions of the Haihayās in the Central Provinces: probably also the territories of the king of Kanauj in the Ganges valley; the dominions of Pāla kings in Bengal and Assam; the kingdom of Pegu in Burma; and some of the unidentified countries and places mentioned in his later records, may perhaps be taken to refer to his conquest of Sumātra and Jāva, where Tamil inscriptions have been found. The Chinese work *Sungshih* records that Srī-Rājēndra-Chōla (*Shih li lo ch'a yin to lo chu lo*) sent an embassy to China in A.D. 1033. Seeing that he had a well-manned and strong navy, it is possible that this embassy took the sea-route to China. The object of the embassy is not known but it has been surmised that he might have had "more extensive military schemes in view than are revealed in his inscriptions." (Subramania Iyer, *Ancient Dekhan*, 257). At the same time, it may be taken to have been merely a friendly gesture on his part to his neighbour.

His capital cities.

Besides Tanjore, Rājēndra-Chōla had other capitals in which he seems to have resided at times in his royal progresses. First among these is Gangaikonda-Chōlapuram, which appears to have been founded by him to commemorate his victories over the kings on the Ganges border. The consecration of the great tank he built at it has been referred to above. He beautified the city by the construction of a great temple and a fine palace whose remains are still to be seen at the place, now included in the Trichinopoly District. The sculptures in the temple have been described as of "singular excellence." (Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, see figs. 159-61). The *Linga* in the temple is of black granite, a monolith nearly thirty feet high. The circumstances under which Tanjore was deserted in favour of Gangaikōnda-cholapuram are nowhere stated. Albiruni, the Arabian traveller, states that in the beginning of the 11th century (see Sewell's *Lists* II. 155) Tanjore was "in ruins." Apparently the royal residence was removed to Gangaikonda-chōlapuram and we hear no more of Tanjore as a place of importance. The great temple at Tanjore continued to receive royal support and was under the direct eye of the king's *guru* Isāna Pandita (see below). The town of Kānchi, the old Pallava seat, was apparently one of Rājēndra's provincial capitals. Seated in a temple at that ancient city, he made one of his many grants to the goddess Pidāriyār at Kuvalāla or Kolar with effect from his 7th year. (*E.C.* X Kolar 112a). A third capital of his was Vikramachōlapuram in Kaivāra-nād (Chintāmani Taluk), from where he made another grant to the same goddess in his 16th year. (*Ibid* Kolar 111). Talkād should also have continued as one of the provincial capitals during his reign.

His religious faith—Saivism.

Rājēndra-Chōla seems to have been a devout Saiva and a reformer of temple worship. His war against the Pāla kings of Bengal, who were patrons of Buddhism, need not, however, necessarily mean want of toleration towards that religion. His grants to the Pidāriyār temple at Kolar shows that strict Saivism was not held to be incompatible with primitive forms of belief. Apart from his grants to this temple in his 11th and 16th years, the former of which was to take effect as from his 7th year, his general Uttama-Chōla had its brick portions built with stone. (*E.C.* X Kolar 109a, dated in his 22nd year). An inscription found running around the figure of the lotus on the top slab of the first doorway of the Kolāramma temple, which may be assigned to 1030 A.D., states that its outer *mantapa* was called *Srī-Rājēndra-Chōla-dēvan*, after the name of the king and that it was caused to be erected by Jakkiyappai (or Jakkiyabbi), daughter of Tribhuvanaiyan of Ittakirai, at the foot of the Sulkal-malai, otherwise called *Kanaka-parvatam* (the golden mountain) in the Kadambanakkai-nādu. (*E.C.* X Kolar 115). The worship of Chāmundēsvari is referred to in an epigraph dated in 1038 A.D., found at Alūr, Mailanahalli Hobli, Nāgamangala. (*E.C.* IX, 7a). It records a grant of 500 *kuli* of land to the goddess Chāmundēsvari under the (?) silk-cotton tree to the west of Siddhīsvaram for providing thrice daily the usual offerings. The village is described as being situated in the Kukkanur-nādu in Vikrama-Chōla-Mandalam. Rājēndra's *guru* was Īsānasiva Pandita, who is mentioned in several of his inscriptions as "the guru." (*e.g.*, in an inscription of Rājendrā's 6th year in *S.I.I.* II. 92). Rājēndra is said to have imported into his kingdom a number of Saiva priests from the Ganges border for conducting the worship in the temples on approved lines. The respect he showed to his *guru* is reflected in the grant he ordered to be made to a temple founded in Īsānasiva-Pandita's honour and name at Suttur in the Mysore District. An inscription of his 21st year (1032 A.D.) at that place (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 164) records the gift of the five great musical instruments to the temple of Īsāna Īsvaran Udaiyār—undoubtedly named after his *guru* Īsana Pandita—at Srōtriya-grāma (*vulgo* Suttūr) by the *Mahājanas* and merchants of the place according to the sacred order of the king. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 85). The deserted Siva temple at Kūramvandal, in the Chingleput District, was also founded by Īsāna-Siva-Pandita. It is remarkable as a well preserved specimen of Chōla architecture. An inscription on its northern wall, dated in the 12th year of Rājēndra-Chōla, states that it was built by the priest Īsāna-Siva-Pandita and records the grant of an allowance of paddy and gold to twenty-four dancing girls attached to it. The temple was dedicated to Gangaikonda-chōlēsvara, after one of the surnames of his royal disciple. The same wall has another inscription dated in the 22nd year of Rājēndra-Chōla. (*M.E.R.* 1893, Para 14). The deserted Arkēsvara temple at Hale Ālur, in Chamarājanagar Taluk, the materials of which have been put together in subsequent times from old ruins, apparently belongs to the same reign. The figure sculpture on its pillars shows great artistic skill. Heggadadēvankote 16, dated in 1021 A.D. in Rājēndra's 9th year, mentions the re-construction of the ruined temple of Belatur, which, it says, had fallen level with the ground, by the chief of Nūgu-nād, who set up the *linga* in it, which had been pulled out. One Basavayya performed the Rudra-hōma, and gave a feast to a thousand people. Basava Setti, the chief above referred to, is recorded to have made grants of land to the temple for maintaining the worship in it and for burning a perpetual lamp in it, on the occasion of the re-commencement of worship at the temple. All this throws a side-light on the advance Brāhmanism was rapidly making in displacing the competing faiths of Buddishm and Jainism. In fact, under the Chōlas, Saivism received considerable impetus. There is at least no doubt that during Rājēndra-Chōla's reign, Saivism was in high favour. He built rest houses for Saiva ascetics (Siva-yōgins). One of these was the dwelling place, or as we would now call it a *matha*, called *Tiruvāgisam-Rājēndrasōlan*, at Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai. Its name shows that it was called after himself. That it met a local religious want is testified to by an inscription of the 12th year of Rājēndra-Chōla, which records a private grant of paddy for feeding the ascetics resident in it. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Appendix B. No. 467 of 1908). Kālāmukha ascetics had already become influential in the Chōla kingdom during the reigns of Parāntaka I and Āditya II (*M.E.R.* 1909, Appendix A. No. 129 of 1907). They had apparently extended their influence still further south during the succeeding reigns. It is evident from several inscriptions of Rājēndra's time that Brāhmans were held in high respect. There appears to have been a *ghatika* of theirs at Vembarrūr (Veppattur) in the Tanjore District. The grants made to them show the esteem in which Vēdic learning was held at the time. The Ennāyiram inscription also well testifies to this fact. The study of the *Vēda*, *Vēdānta* and the *Vyākarana* had become popular and provision was made for their regular teaching and for the boarding and maintenance of scholars learning them. (See above). During Rājēndra's time, Tiruvorriyūr, near Madras, continued to be a place of religious importance. It attracted, as ever before, pilgrims from the north. Nimbaladēvi, wife of Indaladeva of Talaigrama in Virātanagara (identified with Hangal in the present Dhārwār District) visited it in the 30th year of Rājēndra's reign and made a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp in it. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. 138). Ariyavammai (*alias* Nāgalabbaisāni) wife of Prabhākara-Bhatta of Mērkalāpuram, in Āryadēsa) settled in Tiruvorriyūr, as a devotee of the temple. She bought and granted in the 30th year of Rājēndra, a piece of land for a flower garden for the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1913. Appendix B. 155 of 1912). Under Rājēndra's own patronage, the *vimāna* (central shrine) of the temple was built. It was "constructed of black granite without the least technical flaw, by the architect Ravi, surnamed Vīra-Chōla-takshan in three tiers decorated with *charanas, tōranas, kūtas, kōsthas, nivas* (big and small), lion faces and *nāsikas.*" (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. 126). Chaturānana Pandita was at the head of the temple (see above) and the construction seems to have been left to him by the king, for we are told in the inscription that it was at the bidding of Chaturānana that the architect built the *vimāna.* An important festival in this temple, which commenced with Ārdra in the month of *Mārgali* (December-January) each year, was called Rājēndrasōlan-tirunāl, either in honour of the king or on account of the coincidence of the asterism with that of his birthday. (*Ibid* Appendix B. No. 104). An officer of the king named Rājēndrasinga-Muvēndavēlan instituted inquiries into temple affairs at the Vakkānikkum-mandapa of the temple and made provision for meeting the cost of some detailed items of worship from the fee *kutradandam* (fee for wrongs done) which he appears to have collected from the residents of all the *dēvadāna* villages, servants and the worshippers of the temple, and also from a discount in kind for errors in measuring, which he imposed on all paddy received into the temple treasury annually. These items of expense included ghee, camphor, food and cloths for garland-makers, food and cloth for Brāhmans who recited the *Vēdas*, rice, sugar, dhall, vegetables, curds, pepper, nuts and betel-leaves. Such articles as were not indigenous were evidently paid for in gold, while others were purchased for paddy. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 146). Another famous temple of the time was that of Vīdivitankan, now known as the Tyāgarāja temple at Tiruvārur, in the Tanjore

District. Between the regnal years 16 and 18 of this king, Anakkiyar Paravai Nangaiyār rebuilt in stone this shrine. The fact is recorded that in the 18th year she covered this shrine with gold tiles, and its other parts and the central *vimāna* with copper. Her endowments and those of others included gold ornaments set with jewels, pearls, necklaces, gold utensils and a large number of lampstands. One of these last, we are told, was to be lit at the place where the king (Rājēndra) and herself (she calls herself his "servant" and was probably a queen) took their stand in the temple, apparently on an important occasion. To this temple—it has even now a reputation second to none in Southern India—Rājādhirāja Rājēndra-Dēva II made gifts and added to its buildings. (*M.E.R.* 1920, Para 20, Appendix B. No. 680 of 1919).

Worship of Vishnu during his reign.

The worship of Vishnu continued undisturbed as usual during his reign. It was evidently becoming more and more popular in the Chōla country. The setting up of images in honour of Krishna is referred to in certain inscriptions of the 10th year. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 43). Conjeeveram and the country round about it continued to be the stronghold of Srī-Vaishnavism. A grant of land to the temple of Mahāvishnu at Tirumukkūdal, in the Chingleput District, is mentioned in a record dated in the 7th year of Rājēndra-Chōla. The temple at the place now called after Vēnkatēsa Perumāl was already an ancient one, dating as it did from the time of the Ganga-Pallava king Nripatūnga. The flower garden, whose cultivation was arranged for by the Vaikhānasas, at the instance of the local village assembly, was called "Rājēndra-Sōlan," after the king. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 11, Appendix B. No. 172 of 1915). Perhaps one of the most popular Vaishnava temples of Rājēndra's time was the Tiruvanantēsvara at Kāttumannār Kōyil. It is described in one inscription of the 8th year of his reign at that place as the *mūladaivam* (chief deity) of the Chōla kings. Among gifts recorded to it are by one of his queens, who consecrated two images (of Chandrasēkhara and his consort) in it and by certain of the Kaikkōlars of the village who presented to it an umbrella consisting of 19,908 pearls and a gold ornamental handle weighing 275 *kalanju* (of gold). The magnitude of these gifts shows the esteem in which the temple was held in Rājēndra's time. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 32. Appendix B. No. 629).

Worship of Sūrya, and other gods.

The worship of Sūrya (the sun) appears to have been common during this period. A shrine in his honour was built at Alagādriputtūr in the 4th year of Rājēndra. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 43). The worship of Ganapati and of Kshētrapālar is referred to as prevalent in his time. Thus a grant dated in 1013 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 135) registering a grant of land for the festival of the god Arumolidēvīsvaram-udaiya Mahādēvar of Nagarili-sōlapuram, a portion of Manalur, states that the festival of that god should commence after the festival of Ganapatiyār was concluded. A tank was built at Puttandur in 1043 A.D., with three sluices by the local gamunda, who, it is recorded, set up three images on the occasion of Duggai, (*i.e.*, Durga), Kettirapālar (Kshētrapalār) and Ganavatiyār, (*i.e.*, Ganapatiyār) and made a grant of 700 *kuli* of land for it. (*E.C.* IX, Hoskote 142).

Features of his administration.

Rājēndra-Chōla seems to have administered the vast tract of country under his rule much on the lines laid down by his father. Rural administration continued as of old. Frequent references to village assemblies occur in the inscriptions of his period, both in the Tamil Districts of what is now the Madras Presidency and in the parts of Mysore in Chōla occupation since the 10th century A.D. These indicate three different classes of these assemblies. Those designated *sabhas* were generally to be found in *Brahmadēya* (*i.e.*, Brāhmana) villages and were almost entirely constituted of Brāhmanas. The rules laid down in the Uttaramallūr inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I (*A.S.R.* for 1904-5, Page 131 to 145), for membership on village committees apply purely to such Brāhmānical *sabhas.* A still earlier inscription at Manur in the Tinnevelly District (No. 423 of 1906) which is dated in the 35th year of the reign of Māranjadaiyan (*i.e.*, about the 9th century A.D.), refers to similar rules for membership in the *sabha.* These are interesting and deserve to be recorded here. It is stated that of the children of shareholders in the village, only one, who is well-behaved and has studied the *Mantra-Brāhmana* and one *Dharma* (*i.e.*, Code of Law) may be on the village assembly (*manru*) to represent the share held by him in the village and only one of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a share purchased, received as present, or acquired by him as *strīdhana* (through his wife); (2) that (shares) purchased, presented, or acquired as *strīdhana* could entitle one, if at all, only to full membership in the assemblies; and in no case was quarter, half or three-quarter membership to be recognised; (3) that those who purchased shares were to elect only such men to represent their shares on the assembly, as had critically studied a whole *Vēda* with its *parisishtas*; (4) that those who did not possess full membership as laid down by rule (2), were not to stand on any committee (*vāriyam*) (for the management of village affairs); (5) that those who satisfied the prescribed conditions should, in no case, persistently, oppose (the proceedings of the assembly) by saying 'nay, nay' to every proposal brought up before the assembly, and (6) that those who did this together with their supporters were to pay a fine of five *kāsu* on each item (in which they so behaved) and still continue to submit to the same rules. The last two conditions, queer though they are, speak for themselves and explain why even village assemblies had to penalise the behaviour of refractory members. The two other classes of village assemblies appear to have consisted of all the residents of a village (*ūrom*) including cultivators and professionals, and of merchants (*nagarattom*). No rules regulating the management of these two classes of assemblies have been discovered so far. It is not unlikely that all the conditions pertaining to membership in the Brāhmanical *sabhas* prevailed, except perhaps the knowledge of the *Vēdas.* Three inscriptions copied at Nattam, a hamlet of Paramēsvaramangalam (otherwise called Nigarilisōla-chaturvēdimangalam) in the Chingleput District, refer to the hall (*chatussala*) known as *Rājēndrasōlan*, in the village where the assembly used to meet and mention the committee of 'annual supervision' (*samvatsara-vāriyam*) which was constituted to look after village affairs, from and after the month of Tulā in that year. The committee consisted of twelve members and formed a part of the great village assembly (*mahā-sabha*). *Ūr-vāriyam* was the name of one of the village officers or of a committee of officers whose function, according to another record, was, evidently, to see the lands of the village properly cultivated and to collect the produce. These facts confirm the statement contained in the Uttaramallur inscriptions, *viz.*, that the 'members comprising the committees should change every year' and that a village assembly consisted of several subordinate committees.

Criminal Justice.

A few of Rājēndra's inscriptions found in the State afford curious details regarding local fights and the justice administered by the king's representatives in the interior of the kingdom. Death was the punishment for murder.

The dwelling place of a thief who had unlawfully taken possession of a dog that did not belong to him was, it is recorded, burnt down, and fifty golden images, which he had, were seized and sent to the king. In Nelamangala 1 (*E.C.* IX), dated in this king's 18th year (A.D. 1029), the writer of the inscription is described as the son of *Mahāmātra* Ajavarmaya. The post of *Mahāmātra* goes back to the time of Asōka (3rd century B.C.). Whether it existed during Rājēndra-Chōla's time is a moot point. Kolar 112a which records a grant made to the Pidāriyār temple at Kolar by the king from Kānchi, where he should have been staying temporarily, shows the methodical, though circumlocutory manner in which public business seems to have been transacted. The order appears to have been communicated by the Royal Secretary to the Chief Secretary, who with three others having passed it, directed that it should be entered in the revenue register. Accordingly the revenue officers (eleven of them are named) and the revenue accountants (seven of them are named) met together and made the entry in the revenue register on the 29th day of the 13th year (of the reign). The grant was ordered to take effect from the king's sixth year, though actually made in the 13th, which shows that the endowment had to be ante-dated by four years. (*E.C. X*, Kolar 112a). Kolar 111, dated 1027 A.D., registers a similar grant to the same temple, but made in the 16th regnal year and entered in the revenue register on the 281st day of that year. This record shows that on the registration of the lands or villages granted as *dēvadāna*, the revenue specified was paid in paddy and gold to the temple authorities for meeting the cost of the requirements of the goddess. In the *dēvadānas* thus registered under the king's orders, the local rulers remitted the land tax, the tax on houses, the tax on (?) sugarcane mills and other similar taxes. (*E.C.* X. Kolar 110, dated probably

Conduct of public business.

in 1280 A.D.). This grant states that the charity recorded in it "is under the protection of all Mahēsvarās" and adds the tag: "There is no guide but virtue to those who understand virtue." The Kolattūr copper-plate grant, dated in the 15th regnal year of this king, states that the gift recorded in it is under the protection of the Earth, Water, Fire, Air, the Sky, the Moon, the Sun and the Stars. (*E. C. III*, T.-Narsipur 94). An inscription dated in 1014 A.D., found at the Nārāyana temple at Malūrpatna, recording a grant to the god Jayangonda-Sōla-Vinnagar-Ālvār, states if those bound by its terms fail to supply annually the paddy required of them, the Srīvaishnavas and the Five Hundred charged with the protection of the charity, shall levy a fine of 1000 *Kalanju* of tax-free gold and compel them to supply it. It appears from the record that they received from the hands of *pūjaris* of the temple 320 *kalams* of paddy, measured by Jayangonda-Sōlan (a measure), and were to pay into the temple treasury, as interest, every year on it at the rate of 3 *Kuruni* and 6 *nāli* of rice, 100 *kalam* of clean paddy and 50 *kalams* of white paddy at the time of the spring harvest and 50 more at the time of the summer harvest—freed from stones, chaff, sprouting and diseased grains. They were also to give two full meals every day to those who went to them for collecting this paddy. If they made default even then, those who went to collect the paddy, were entitled, it is recorded, to forbid the entry of fire and water into the village, cut off communication with other villages and distrain cattle for collection purposes. Any obstructing them in the work of collection were to be responsible for any injury that might be caused by such obstruction. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 129.)

In another record relating to the same temple, dated in 1014 A.D., the fine is fixed at 50 *kalanju* of gold on those who obstructed the members of the Assembly of

Punganur in enforcing the right to irrigate certain lands granted to the temple. The Assembly had the power delegated to it in this behalf by the inhabitants of the village "with pouring of water." The village was a tax-free *dēvadāna* granted to the temple by the local Assembly. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 127). For the maintenance of tanks, it appears from an inscription of his 6th year that not only private donations (called *erpatti*) were collected but there was levied, besides, a regular tax (called *eri-ayam*) collected in kind by the great men in charge of the tank supervision committee which was responsible for the maintenance of tanks. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Appendix C. No. 192 and No. 66).

Supervision of Temples.

The duty of supervising the temple administration seems to have been entrusted to a committee of the Assembly itself, appointed every year, or to independent bodies subject to the control of the Assembly. Inscription No. 66 of 1923 (*M.E.R.* 1923) mentions such a committee consisting of 8 members called *Manrādivāriyam*, to which the work of inspecting the produce of the temple land and conducting the festivals in the temples with the *mēlvaram* received from the tenants, was assigned. Punishments were meted out to defaulters in the matter of burning perpetual lamps by the "Annual Supervision Committee" along with the *Sraddhāmantas* and devotees. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Nos. 163 and 164 of 1922). Local bodies responsible to the *sabha* were the *Perilamaiyar* (*M.E.R.* 1923, Nos. 163, 164, 166, 167, 178 and 182 of 1923) also called *Irandupakkattu Perilamaiyar* (*M.E.R.* 1923, No. 185 of 1923) whose assurance was obtained by the donors or by the assembly with regard to the burning of perpetual lamps, the *Vīraganattār* (*M.E.R.* 1923 No. 187 of 1923), the *Kaliganattār* (*M.E.R.* 1923, No. 189 of 1923), the *Krishnaganapperumakkal* (*M.E.R.* 1923, No. 174 of 1923) and the

Srīvaishnava-vāriyam (*M.E.R.* 1923, No. 188 of 1923). Similarly we come across the *Sattaganattār* comprising ten members evidently constituted for the management of the Sasta temples, (*M.E.R.* 1923, No. 37 of 1923). Lands sold by the Assembly to temples were first exempted from taxes like *siddhayam*, *panchavaram*, *sillarai*, etc. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 31, No. 194 of 1923; No. 184 of 1923).

Rājēndra-Chōla appears to have taken a keen interest in the management and supervision of temples. Thus in the 3rd year of his reign, he instituted while on a visit to the temple at Palayara (Tanjore District), an enquiry into the accounts and other affairs of several temples in the outgoing districts. He then settled many points connected with their income, fixed their scale of expenditure and entrusted the management of their affairs as then settled to certain local committees composed of respectable people. (*Ibid* Para 32. Appendix C. Nos. 15 and 102 of the 10th regnal year). He carried out a survey of *Brahmadēya* lands during his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 43).

His domestic life.

As his father, Rājēndra-Chōla, he seems to have had a number of queens. Among these the names of the following are known from inscriptions:—(1) Tribhuvana-mahādēvi, (2) Vānamahādēviyār; (3) Mukkōkilānadigal; (4) Nakkan Karukkan-marudal *alias* Panchavan-mādēvi, (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 17. Appendix B. No. 464); (5) Danti-Pirāttiyār who is mentioned in an undated fragmentary inscription of Rājēndra-Chōla which records a grant to a temple at Nattam in order that queen Dantipirāttiyār and Rājēndra-Chōla might prosper (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 269) and (6) Arindavan Mahādēvi, who is referred to in an inscription dated in his 17th regnal year. The last of these built a shrine of Kshētrapāla in the temple of Kōnērirājapuram in the Tanjore District, to which she made a grant in that year.

Rājēndra-Chōla I had three sons and one daughter. Of the former, Rājādhirāja I was the eldest and he succeeded him on the throne. The name of the daughter was Ammanga, called Pillaiyār Ammangai-Ālvār, in the inscriptions dated in the 4th and 5th regnal years of Kulōttunga-Chōla I. (*M.E.R.* 1912. Appendix B. No. 469 and 470). She was the wife of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja and the mother of Kulōttunga-Chōla. Perhaps as a Chōla princess she was called Pillaiyār and as an elderly person Ālvār. She was probably a widow at the time the above records were engraved. (*i.e.*, 1074-1075 A.D.).

His nobles and generals.

Among his nobles were the following :—Araiyan Rājarājan *alias* Vānavan Brahmādirājar of the king's *Perundaram*; Rājarāja Vādya-mahārājar, evidently the master-musician Sembrugudaiyār ; Vaippūr-kilavar ; Madisūdan Ādittan of Siruvayal or Siruvayalūr "who settled the District of Damar-kōttam of Jayangonda Sōlamandalam. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 13). The first of these Araiyan Rājarājan was also one of his foremost generals. He appears to have had a number of titles, among them *Nālmadi-Bhīma* and *Jayasinghakula Kāla* The last of these indicates that he took part in the war against the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha. He built a *mandapa* in the 10th year of Rājēndra-Chōla's reign at Kottasīvaram in the present Anantapur District. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix C. No. 23). His title *Vikrama-Chōla Chōliyan Varaiyan* is after Vikrama-Chōla, one of the titles of Rājēndra-Chōla I. An equally notable member of *perundanam* was Irāyiravan Pallavan. He was called Mummadi-Chōla Bhōjan in Rājarāja's time. In Rājēndra's time he came to be known as Uttama-Chōla-Pallavaraiyan. Another general referred to in an inscription dated in his 6th year was Sōla-Mērvēndavēlar. He was then the Commander of Rājēndra's troops.

Narakkan Krishnan Rāman of Kēralāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam was still another military officer of the time. A gift of his, made in the 32nd year of Rājēndra-Chōla, in favour of the Siva temple at Tirunāgēsvaram, is known. He was the Commander of Rājarāja's army and superintended the building of the enclosure of the great temple at Tanjore. (*S.I.I.* II. 139, No. 31). He set up an image of Ardhanārīsvara in that temple. (*Ibid* No. 39).

His coinage.

So far as could be made out, Rājēndra-Chōla does not appear to have added anything notable to the coinage of his time. The coinage of his father's time seems to have been current, though a *Rājēndra-Sōlan-Kāsu*, a coin apparently issued by Rājēndra-Chōla I, is referred to in an inscription of his dated in his 3rd year and found at Kolar. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 24; Appendix B. No. 478). An inscription dated in his 3rd regnal year, found at Tirumukkūdal, Chingleput District, supplies the information that the *Kāsu* was a gold coin and when weighed by the weighing stone (*niraikallu*) was found to be equal to three *Kalanju*. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 12; Appendix B. No. 176). It fetched an interest of 9 *manjādi* per year. Paddy was sold at 40 *Kadi* per *Kalanju*. From another inscription, dated about 20 years later (in Rājēndra-Chōla's 25th year), it would seem as though the rate of interest had nearly trebled itself and that 70 *Kalanju* and 2 *manjādi* fetched an interest of 3 *Kalanju* and 8 *manjādi*. The rate of exchange of paddy was 13½ *kalams* per *Kalanju*. A grant to a tank, dated in 1023 A.D., is said to have consisted in 57 *gadyāna* in gold, 359 golden grains of rice and 42 *poral*. A grant of 37 *poral* is also mentioned. (*E.C.* IX. Hoskote 10).

His titles.

Among the titles and surnames of Rājēndra-Chōla I are a few of some historical interest. He is referred to in some certain inscriptions as "Kalyānapuramkonda-Chōla", *i.e.*, "the Chōla who took the city of Kalyāna," undoubtedly after his conquest of the Western Chālukya capital. (*M.E.R.* 1921. Appendix B. No. 497). In the inscriptions of his successor Rājādhirāja, he is reverently called "Periyadēvar," *i.e.*, "the great lord," evidently because of his greatness as a conqueror. A rather strange surname of his is given in an inscription of his 26th regnal year. It is that of *Vīrarākshasa*, after which a village was called Vīrarakshasanallūr. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix C. No. 194 of 1923). It means a "hero among Rākshasas" or "a hero among giants," which is to be construed as being more complimentary than otherwise. An equally interesting title of his is *Kalikanthaka*. But his most conspicuous titles were "Gangaikonda-Chōla" and "Mudigonda-Chōla." "Gangaikonda-Chōla" has been explained already. As regards "Mudigonda-Chōla," it is derived from the fact that he took the *crown* (*mudi*) of the king of Ilam (Ceylon) with that of his queen, the crown of Sundara, the *crown* of the king of Kērala and the *crown* which Parasurāma had deposited at Sandimattīvi (in the Kērala country).

Identification of Rājēndra-Chōla with Satyēndra-Chōla of literature.

The story of Satyēndra-Chōla, told in a variety of versions in Kannada, Tamil and Telugu, seems to refer to Rājēndra-Chōla. Among the version is the one of Shadakshara Dēva, included in his *Rājaskēharavilāsa* (1655), in which some of the descriptions seem to be not wholly imaginary. The story briefly is that the horse of Satyēndra-Chōla's son, Rājasēkhara, while he was out riding through the streets, kicks the son of an old woman, who dies. Satyēndra after investigating the cause, orders his own son to be beheaded, and himself dies with his ministers. Siva appears on the scene, and as a reward of the king's piety and justice, takes all of them to his own regions. This story is told in Tamil by Pillai Nāyinār and then in Kannada by Gubbiya Mallanārya in his *Bhāvachinta Ratna* (1513 A.D. Narasimhachār, *Karnataka Kavicharite*, 1919 Edition, 443, 193; see also Wilson, *Mackenzie Mss.* 324). Satyēndra-Chōla is one of the Nava-Chōlas (or Nine Chōlas) celebrated in the Vīrasaiva work *Nava-Chōla Charita*. There is a Telugu version of this work mentioned by Wilson (*Mackenzie Mss.*, 273).

If it is granted that Satyēndra-Chōla's story as told in the *Rājasēkharavilāsa* has some historical basis, then Rājasēkhara of that work should be Rājādhirāja I, who was the second son of Rājēndra-Chōla, and was entitled *Rājakēsarivarman* and not his unnamed elder brother, whose title too is not known. *Rājasēkhara* in that case may be either a corruption, wanton or real, of *Rājakēsari*. According to the more prosaic story told in inscriptions, Rājādhirāja survived his father many years and ruled from 1018-1050 A.D.

His death, 1044 A.D.

Apart from the above poetical story of his translation to Siva's own regions, Rājēndra-Chōla probably died at Brahmadēsam, Cheyyūr Taluk, North Arcot District, in A.D. 1044. His latest date is 1042 A.D. It is not unlikely that his queen Vīra-mahādēvi, sister of the general (*senāpati*) Madurāntakan Parakēsarivēlar committed *sati* and was buried with him. In a record dated in the 26th year of Rājādhirājadēva, which corresponds to 1044 A.D., it is stated that this general made a gift of land for maintaining a water-shed in order that the thirsty spirit of his sister, the above mentioned queen, might be appeased. It is stated that she entered the supreme feet of Brahma, *i.e.*, died, in the very same tomb in which the body of King Rājēndra-Chōladēva was buried. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B, No. 260; Para 14).

Estimate of Rājēndra-Chōla's career.

Rājēndra-Chōla I must, from the information available from his many lithic inscriptions, be judged to be a great conqueror, greater in some respects than even his more famous father, a wise administrator, and a pious and tolerant prince. His extensive conquests in Indonesia remain still to be carefully studied. That he should have carried on successful wars in distant places argues not merely peace at home but also the continued loyalty of his subjects in his home-lands. The discovery of Tamil inscriptions in the region to which he led his armies shows that his conquests in those regions were not of mere raids for plunder. He not only kept his vast kingdom together, but also extensively added to it. He must have been served uncommonly well by his generals and governors, for some of his wars were fought exclusively by his generals. He leaves the impress of an ambitious ruler anxious to leave his mark on the pages of history. His interest in the Saivite creed was a personal one ; but he was no puritan or bigot. His attempt at reforming temple ritual by importing suitable religious teachers from upper India, where that creed had an established following at the time, shows he was a progressive prince. His greatness consisted in carrying through his father's plans of conquest to the utmost limits in almost every direction. Peace at home and conquest abroad seem to have been as much his motto as that of Rājarāja I.

Rājādhirāja I, A.D., 1018-1055.

Rājēndra-Chōla was succeeded on the throne by his son Rājādhirāja I. He was apparently Rājēndra-Chōla's second son, his unnamed elder brother being only known from certain references in inscriptions. (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 75 and 76 ; *S.I.I.* III, i. No. 28). Of Rājādhirāja, we have numerous inscriptions both in and outside the State. Most of these are lithic in character though a copper-plate one dated in the 31st year of his reign from Tirakkalūr is also known. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Para 17). The exact length of his reign is not yet satisfactorily settled. An inscription of his at Mindigal (near

Chintāmani, Kolar District) is dated in his 30th regnal year, which is coupled with *Saka* 870, Cyclic year *Sarvajit.* He must accordingly have ascended the throne in or about 1018 A.D., during the life-time of his predecessor Rājēndra-Chōla I. (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B. No. 279 of 1895). The year 1018 A.D. would be the 17th regnal year of Rājēndra-Chōla I. This conclusion is corroborated by an inscription of his (Rājādhirāja's) own dated in his 26th regnal year in which the people of Tirumarapādi speak of 'our emperor Rājēndra-Chōladēva.' (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B. No. 75 of 1895). In the introduction to the same inscription, Rājādhirāja describes himself as the co-regent of his father. (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B. No. 75 of 1895). It is thus clear that he began his rule while his father was still king. Being thus associated with his father in the Government, or as certain inscriptions (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 25 and *E.C.* X. Chikballapur 21) put it, having planted his own umbrella under the white parasol of his father, he doubtless shared, as the inscriptions state he did, in his career of conquest. There are inscriptions of his dated from at least the 11th year of his reign (*M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix B, No. 123 of 1896) to his 36th year (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 17. Appendix B, No. 262; *M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B, Nos. 48 and 244 of 1925). One dated in his 35th year is at Kōyil Tēvarāyanpēttai in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 21). Several dated in his 32nd year are also known. (*e g.*, *M.E.R.* 1895, No. 221 of 1894; *M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B, No. 342; *M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix C, No. 239 and *M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C, No. 55 of 1918). One of his 31st regnal year is known. (*M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix B, No. 96 of 1896), There are a few also dated in his 30th regnal year. (*e.g.*, *M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B, No. 330 of 1917). These inscriptions ought to suffice to show that he did rule at least up to the 36th year of his reign, *i.e.*, to 1054 A.D. If this is so, the date assigned to the battle of Koppam at which he is said to have died cannot be taken to be 1052 A.D., as fixed by Dr. Kiëlhorn. Sir John Fleet, who has fixed the date of this battle "shortly before the 20th January 1060" (*Kanarese Dynasties*, 441) is probably correct. (See *ante* under Western Chālukyas). He should, therefore, have lived down to that date.

His other name, Vijayarājēndradēva, and his surnames.

He was also known according to the testimony of his inscriptions, as Vijayarājēndradēva, and distinguished by the surnames of Jayangonda-Chōla and Rājakēsarivarman. Later, for some reason or other, the last title is found altered in his inscriptions to Parakēsarivarman. (*M.E.R.* 1819, Appendix B, No. 251). Similarly other inscriptions (see *M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B, No. 256) make the next king Rājēndradēva, a Rājakēsarivarma, while he is actually a Parakēsarivarman. This confusion in titles may have been due to the usual overlapping periods of reign and the exercise of independent powers by the crown princes during the last days of their fathers' reign. He probably adopted the title of *Vijayarājēndradēva* after his capture of Kalyānpura. (*M.E.R.* 1907-08, Para 56; *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 21; and *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 23). The identity of Vijayarājēndradēva with Rājādhirāja is decisively established by an inscription which begins with the historical introduction common to his inscriptions, in which mention is made of the king by name thus: Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Udaiyār-Srī-Vijayarājēndradēva. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 21). An unfinished record of his from Tiruviramisvaran (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 23, No. 123 of 1911), dated in the 35th year of his reign also calls him Rājakēsarivarma Vijayarājēndradēva. It is, perhaps, not unlikely that the conquest of Kalyānapuram subsequent to which Rājādhirāja changed his name, happened in or before the 35th year of his reign. (*Ibid*). This inference is supported by a few other inscriptions. Thus in an inscription, whose date is lost, he is stated to have taken the head of Vīra-Pāndya, the Sālai of the Sērala (Chēra king), Ilanga (Ceylon) and Rattapādi 7½ lakhs and performed the anointment of victors at Kalyānapura. Another, dated in his 36th year, states definitely that the king had the anointment of heroes under the (appropriate) name Vijaya-Rājēndradēva. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B, No. 48, and 244 of 1925). The surname *Jayangonda-Chōla*, (*i.e., the Chōla who obtained the victory*) probably dates from about the same time and signifies his success over the Western Chālukyas. He is said to have "acquired great fame under the title of *Jayangonda-Chōla.*" (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 75 and 76).

Description of his reign.

The reign of Rājādhirāja is described at length in several of his inscriptions. Among these are *E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 75; *S.I.I.* III. i. No. 28 at Manimangalam in Chingleput District, which is dated in his 29th year; an inscription at Tiruvēnkādu, Tanjore District, of the same year (*M.E.R.* No. 114 of 1896); an inscription at Tiruvorriyūr, near Madras, dated in his 31st year (*M.E.R.* No. 107 of 1892); an inscription of his 32nd year at Tiruvaiyāru, near Tanjore (*M.E.R.* No. 107 of 1892); and an inscription dated in his 33rd year at Devanhalli, near Bangalore (*E.C.* IX, Devanhalli 76). The historical introduction prefaced to his inscriptions dated in his 29th year gives a list of all his conquests, while those of his 31st, 32nd and 33rd years furnish some additional details. The reign of Rājādhirāja is thus described in the former :—

> " While the goddess of the earth was beaming under his fringed white parasol, which resembled the moon in beauty, (*the king*) wedded the goddess of fortune, wielded the sceptre, and destroyed the dark Kali (*age*).
>
> (*He*) bestowed crowns of brilliant jewels, adorned with gold, on his father's younger brother, (*his*) glorious elder brother,

his distinguished younger brothers, and his royal sons who knew the (*right*) path, (*along with the titles*) 'Vanavan of great beauty,' 'Villavan,' 'Minavan,' 'Gangan,' 'the king of the people of Lanka,' 'Pallavan (*who wears*) golden ankle-rings,' (*and*) 'the protector of the people of Kannakuchchi (Kanyakubja)', and granted to these (*relatives*) of great renown the dominions of those (*hostile kings*).

Among the three allied kings of the South, (*i.e.*, Pāndyas),—(*he*) cut off on a battle-field the beautiful head of Manabharanan, (*which was adorned with*) large jewels (*and*) which was inseparable from the golden crown; seized in a battle Vīra-Kēralan whose ankle-rings were wide, and was pleased to get him trampled down by his furious elephant Attivarana; and drove to the ancient Mullaiyūr Sundara-Pāndiyan of endless great fame, who lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol, the bunches (*of hairs*) of the white yak, and the throne, and who ran away,—his crown dropping down, (*his*) hair being dishevelled, and (*his*) feet getting tired.

(*He*) sent the undaunted king of Venādu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the three (*princes*) of the famous Iramangudam.

While the strong Villavan (*i.e.*, Chēra) was attacked by pains in the bowels, fled from his country and hid himself in the jungle, (*the* Chōla *king*) destroyed (*his*) ships (*at*) Kandalūr-Sālai on the never decreasing ocean as (*easily as he*) would have put on a beautiful fresh flower of the *ranji* (tree).

When even Āhavamallan became afraid; when Gandappayan and Gangādharan, (*who belonged*) to his army, fell along with (*their*) elephants (*whose temples*) swarmed with bees, (*in a battle*) with the irresistible army of Levudan; (*and*) when the (*two*) warriors of great strength, and others retreated like cowards, (*the* Chōla *king*) seized (*them*) along with gold of great splendour and with horses, elephants and seeds, achieved victory in his garment, and caused the centre of Kollippakkai, (*a city*) of the enemies, to be consumed by fire.

With a single unequalled army (*he*) took the crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of the people of Lanks on the tempestuous ocean; the crown of large jewels, (*belonging to*) the lord of Lanka, Vikrama-Pāndiyan, who, having lost the whole of the southern Tamil country which had previously belonged to him, had entered Īlam (*surrounded by*) the seven oceans; the beautiful golden crown of the king of Simhala, Vīra-Salāmēgan, who believing that Īlam (*surrounded by*) the ocean was superior to the beautiful Kannakuchchi (Kanyakubja) which belonged to him, had entered (*the island*) with his relatives and (*those of*) his countrymen who were willing (*to go with him*), and had put on the brilliant crown; who, having been defeated on the battle-field and having lost his black elephant, had fled ignominously: and who, when (*the* Chōla *king*) seized his elder sister along with (*his*) daughter and cut off the nose of (*his*) mother, had returned in order to remove the disgrace (*caused*) thereby, and, having fought hard with the sword, had perished in a hot battle; and the extremely brilliant crown of large jewels, (*belonging to*) the king of Īlam, Srīvallavan (Srīvallabha) Madanarājan, who had come to Kannaran (Krishna) and taken up (*his*) abode (*with him*).

Having led for the second time a warlike army into the northern region, (*the* Chōla *king*) defeated in battle Gandar-Dinakaran, Nāranan (Nārāyana), Kanavādi (Ganapati), Madisūdanan (Madhusūdana), (*who wore*) a garland of flowers (*surrounded by*) bees, and many other kings, and caused to be destroyed the palace of the Salakkiyar in the city of Kampili, whose gardens diffuse fragrance."

An achievement attributed to Rājādhirāja by both sets of inscriptions mentioned above is that he "destroyed the palace of the Chālukya king in the city of Kampili," a statement which is ampified in the *Kalingattu-parani* (VIII 26) when it says that he "planted a pillar of victory at Kampili." He is further said to have appointed seven of his relatives to be governors over the Chēra, Chālukya, Pāndya and Ganga countries, the island of Ceylon, the Pallava country and Kanyakubja. His claim to the conquest to the last of these countries seems to rest on the fact that he killed a king of Ceylon, who was a native of it. Next, he is said to have defeated three Pāndya kings. The first of these, Mānābharana, was decapitated on the battle-field; the second, Vīra-Kērala, was trampled down by his furious elephant called Ativarana; and the third, Sundara-Pāndya, was compelled to flee to ancient Mallaiyūr, his kingdom, and thus his was lost. Further, Rājādhirāja is said to have killed, also in battle, an unnamed king of Vēnādu (*i.e.*, Travancore), and caused the ruin of the three princes of Irāmagudam. Having routed and put to flight the Chēra king, he, following in this respect the example of his grandfather Rājarāja I, destroyed the ships at Kāndalūrsālai. This would seem to show that the Chēras had, since their last defeat, largely recovered their ground and had opposed the incursions of Rājādhirāja on them. It is particularly mentioned of the Chēra king that he was suffering from pains in the bowels and had hid himself in the jungles at the time of Rājādhirāja's attack on him. Then followed a victorious war against Āhavamalla, Vikki, Vijayāditya and Sungamayan, which was led by a general named Kēvudan, and in the course of which two of Āhavamalla's officers named Gandappayan and Gangādhara were killed and the City of Kollippākai (which had been taken by Rājēndra-Chōla I and had apparently rebelled) was set on fire. The Āhavamalla referred to here has to be identified with the Western Chālukyan king Āhavamalla Sōmēsvara I and Vikki and Vijayāditya, his two sons, with Vikramāditya VI and Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya. In this war apparently many enemy elephants were killed, others fell into the hands of the conqueror with the golden ornaments they had on them with many horses as well. The victory over Āhavamalla is described as having been an easy one, and his generals are stated to have retreated from the field of battle like cowards. The next expedition of Rājādhirāja cost their crowns to four Ceylon kings—Vikramabāhu, Vikrama-Pāndya, Vīra-Salāmēgan, and Srīvallabha Madanarāja. The second of these is said to have ruled over the Southern Tamil country before taking possession of Ceylon, the third to have originally ruled over Kanyakubja and the fourth to have taken refuge with a certain Krishna. Worst of all fared Vīra-Salāmēgan. The Chōla king seized his elder sister and his daughter (or wife) and cut off the nose of his mother, while he himself fell in battle. It is said of him that he took fright and fled from the field of battle, on his strong elephant, but having heard of the fate of his relations, returned to wipe out his disgrace, but perished in his endeavour. His golden crown, set with large jewels, fell to the Chōla king. A somewhat different account of these struggles with the Ceylon king is given in the 56th Chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* (Wijesinha's *Translation*, 91), which mentions successively the reigns of Vikramabāhu, who is supposed to have reigned from A.D. 1037 to 1049, Vikrama-Pāndu (A.D. 1052 to 1053), Jagatipāla (A.D. 1053 to 1057) and Parākrama-Pandu (A.D. 1057 to 1059). Of Jagatipāla, it is said that he came from the city of Ayōdhya, that the Chōlas slew him in battle, and that they carried his queen and his daughter to the Chōla country. As the names of the first two kings, Vikramabāhu and Vikrama-Pāndya, are the same in Rājādhirāja's inscriptions and in the *Mahāvamsa*, Dr. Hultzsch proposes to identify Jagatipāla with Vīra-Salāmēgan, who came from Kanyākubja, who was killed by the Chōlas and whose elder sister and daughter were carried away by them. It remains uncertain whether he was a native of Kanyākubja (Kanauj) or Ayōdhya, as stated respectively in Rājādhirāja's inscriptions and in the *Mahāvamsa*. The fourth king Srīvallabha Madanarāja is perhaps the same as the Parākrama-Pāndu of the *Mahāvamsa*, who is said to have been killed by the Chōlas. In his second expedition to the north, Rājādhirāja is said to have chased away (*i.e.*, defeated and put to flight) many other kings, of whom four are specially named. These are Gandar-Dinakara (*i e.*, Gandarāditya), Nāranan (*i.e.*, Nārāyanan), Ganavati (*i.e.*, Ganapati) and Madisūdanan (*i.e.*, Madhusūdana). These have not yet been identified, though they may be taken to be feudatories of the Chālukya king. During this raid, Rājādhirāja is said to have also destroyed the palace at Kampili surrounded by fragrant gardens. Kampili was one of the principal capitals of the Western Chālukyas. It is also mentioned in Western Chālukya inscriptions and has been identified with the modern town of the same name in the Bellary District.

His conquests.

From the above, it will be seen that Rājādhirāja was a warlike prince. Some at least of his expeditions were personally led by him, while in others, he seems to have employed his trusted generals. His wars were directed against the Pāndyas, Chēras and Vēnādu in the South; against the Western Chālukyas, in the North; and against the kings of Ceylon. There is hardly any doubt that he had a foothold in the territories forming these kingdoms. Indeed, we know that his father and grandfather had carved out provinces of their own in them. So the boast that he appointed his relatives as governors to these provinces and to the Ganga (*i.e.*, Western Ganga) and the Pallava countries may be taken to be not without foundation. The statement relating to Kanyākubja is, as already stated above, an evident exaggeration; for there is no record of Rājādhirāja leading an expedition against Kanauj, though he did succeed in battle against a native of Kanyākubja, who was a king of Ceylon.

First war against the Chālukyas.

That Rājādhirāja actually captured Kalyānapura is proved from Western Chālukya and Chōla records. The dark deeds he perpetrated in this war are referred to in the Annigere record dated in 1071 A. D., already referred to. (See under *Western Chālukyas*). It refers to the wicked Chōla, who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Belvola country and burned the Jaina temples which Ganga-Permadi, the lord of the Gangamandala, while governing the Belvola province, had built in the Annigeri-nādu. (Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 441). According to a fragmentary inscription built into the Dasikere oddu, to the east of Talkād, the destruction of Āhavamalla's army is attributed to Gandakayya and other generals. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 80). That in the first expedition he did take Kalyānapura is testified to by an image at Dārāsuram, near Kumbakonam. (*M.E.R.* 1908; also Appendix D. No. 28). The image is now standing on the platform to the left of the entrance into the inner *gōpura* of the Airāvatēsvara temple at the village. It bears an inscription at its bottom to the effect that it was brought by Vijayarājēndradēva (*i.e.*, Rājādhirāja) after the conquest of Kalyānapuram. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 50; also No. 24 of 1908). It was apparently an image which was transported from Kalyānapuram to Dārāsuram. After his conquest of Kalyānapuram, the division of Amūr-kōttam received the name of Kalyānapuramgonda-chōla-kōttam. That he reckoned this victory a great one is proved by the importance he attached to it. His surnames *Vijayarājēndra* and *Jayangonda-Chōla* apparently date from this conquest. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 76). In an inscription at the Nāgesvara temple at Kumbakonam, he claims to have destroyed Kalyānapura and to have performed the anointment of heroes under the name Vijayarājēndra. (*Ibid* and *M.A.R.* 1912, Para 80). This is confirmed by an inscription from Alangudi in the Tanjore District, which mentions that Vijayarājēndra took Kalyānapuram and Kollapuram. (*M.E.R.* 1898-1899, Para 53).

War against the Pāndya and Ceylon kings.

The war against the Pāndyas was apparently a successful one, king Mānābharana being killed and his two sons being taken captives. As his *Sēnāpati* (general) Jayamarindālvār, who is a signatory in an inscription of Rājēndra-Chōla I at Karūr (*S I.I.* III, 39) is mentioned in a Ceylon record, (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 612) he must be taken to have led the expedition against Ceylon. The powerful Ceylon king Vijayabāhu I surnamed Sangabōdhi, about this period, drove out the Chōlas from the island, and re-established the Singhalese rule in the island. During his reign, a chief named Dēvasēna built a Tooth relic temple and set up a Buddha image and invoked the Vēlaikkara army to protect it. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 27; also Appendix B. 600). The Vēlaikkara troops, however, rebelled against him in the 30th year of his reign, on being asked by him to go to war against Chōlas. They were Indians who had emigrated to Ceylon and had embraced Buddhism as their religion. They would not, however, fight against the Chōla king, under whose auspices they had entered the island. The rebellion, however, was quelled and the Vēlaikkaras entered into a friendly compact with Vijayabāhu I in regard to protecting the new Tooth relic temple built under his orders by his general Dēvasēna. (*Ibid*, Para 29-30).

War against the Vēnādu king.

The Tirumalavādi record of the 26th year of his reign, the Cape Comorin inscription of his 31st year, and the Basinikonda inscription of his 32nd year mention among other things that Rājādhirāja drove the king of Vēnādu (*i.e.*, Travancore) to Sēnādu (*i.e.*, the Chēra country); relieved the Kūpaka king of his subordination, and destroyed the ships of Kāndalūr-sālai. The statement about obtaining liberty to the Kūpaka king shows that the Vēnādu sovereign, whose subordinate he appears to have been, had overrun his country and occupied it and that Rājādhirāja drove the Vēnādu king out and restored to the Kūpaka chief his kingdom. (*M.E.R.* 1895; Appendix B. No. 75 of 1895; *M.E.R.* 1896, Para 26 and Appendix B. No. 96 of 1896; *M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 342, and Para 26; and *E.I.* IX 234 f.n.). The exact date of this restoration of the Kūpaka chief and the burning of the Kāndalūr-sālai is not known, but may be set down to somewhere about the 26th year of his reign or A.D. 1044. Kūpaka is part of the modern Travancore State. The destruction of the sālai of Sēramān (*i.e.*, the Chēra king) apparently belongs to the same campaign. A fragmentary inscription found at Ūttattūr in the Trichy District, substitutes for Sāla, the name Kāndalūr-Sālai on the borders of the Western ocean and thus makes it clear that the place has to be looked for on the West Coast, in the old Chēra country. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 24). Rājādhirāja boasts in his inscriptions (of his 29th year) of having collected the tribute due to him from the different kings "without remissions." Apparently he was an exacting king so far as his tributaries were concerned. He, however, received only the sixth share of the produce of the earth due to him. These riches, both tribute and his part of the revenue from land, he "gladly gave away" to those versed in the four Vēdas. We are told that "in order to be famed in the whole world, he followed the path of Manu and performed the horse-sacrifice." From this we may infer that he had enough to perform the *asvamēdha* (horse-sacrifice), which indicates the booty he must have gathered from his many wars. Phrases indicative of his unbounded liberality occur in his inscriptions and show that though he might have been relentless in his methods of warfare, he knew how to endear himself to his people and to his army and how to win their goodwill.

Rājādhirāja, as a builder of temples.

Rājādhirāja, like his predecessors, was a builder of temples. He built the two Siva temples at Mannārgudi, Tanjore District, called the Jayangondachōlēsvara and Rājādhirājēsvara, now called Jayangondanātha and Kidarnātha, after the well known title and name of this king. (*M.E.R.* 1897, Para 11). Among his grants was one to the Mahāvishnu temple at Tiruvadandai. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Appendix B. Nos, 258). This shows the toleration extended by him to the rival Vishnu faith, which was indeed a marked characteristic of the Chōla kings. He was apparently the founder of Kallur, *alias* Rājādhirājachaturvēdimangalam, which is referred to in an inscription of his near the ruined Mūlasthāna temple at Jōdi Kempāpūr, Chamrajnagar Taluk. It refers to an agreement entered into by certain warriors of this village which indicates how the war spirit of the time had caught hold of even the mercantile classes. Thus, we are told that these warriors, who belonged to the mercantile classes, made a grant for lamps at Kavaraisvāmi Udaiyār's temple. They deemed the sceptre as their God. The record points the moral thus :—"There is no guide but virtue to those who understand virtue." (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 95).

Brāhmanic education in the 11th century.

An inscription of Rājādhirāja, dated in his 30th year, found at Tribhuvani, in the South Arcot District, throws an interesting side light on the education given during his period. This inscription, dated in 1048 A.D., records the purchase of land by the village assembly in the name of the God Vīranārāyana-Vinnagara-Ālvār, to meet all the requirements of the charity known as the *Rājēndra-Chōlan-uttamāgram* established in the village by the general of Rājēndra-Chōla-Māvali-Vānarāja, in order to secure the health of king Rājēndra-Chōla. Evidently the charity had been instituted while Rājēndra-Chōla was yet alive, but the necessary arrangements for giving effect to it were made by the village assembly only in the 30th year of the reign of his son and successor. We are told that land was purchased to the extent of 72 *vēli* which could yield an annual rental of 12,000 *kalam* of paddy, which quantity was required annually to conduct the charity in all its details. Besides providing for offerings, worship, etc., on a grand scale to Vīrrirunda-Perumāl Alagiyamanavāla and Narasinga-Ālvār, for conducting the festivals of Māsi-tiruppunarpūsam Jayantyāshtami, Mārgali-tiruvēkādasi, for Uttarāyana, Dakshināyana, Aippasi and Sittirai Vishus, for feeding the Srī-Vaishnavas and for reciting the Tiruvāymoli—all of which required 2,475 *kalam* of paddy annually, the grant made further provision also for (i) three teachers of the *Rig-Vēda*, three of the *Yajur-Vēda*, one each of *Chhandōgasāma Talavakārasama, Apūrva, Vājasanēya Bōdhāyanīya and Satyāshta* (*adha*) *sūtra*, thus making a total of 12 teachers with a daily allowance of 4 *kalam* of paddy; (ii) for one person each for expounding the *Vēdānta, Vyākarana, Rūpāvatāra, Srī-Bhārata, Rāmāyana, Manu-Sāstra and Vaikhānasa-Sāstra*, (iii) for sixty students each of the *Rig-Vēda* and *Yajur-Vēda*, twenty of *Chhandōgasāma* and fifty of other *Sāstras*, thus making a total of 190 persons with a daily ration of 11 *kalam*, 10 *kuruni*, 4 *nāli*; and (iv) for 70 other students of the *Vēdānta, Vyākārana and Rūpāvatāra*. The provision thus made for feeding the teachers and students detailed above consisted of 9,525 *kalam* of paddy. In all, the total requirements for the year came to 12,000 *kalam* which were ordered to be measured out by the holders of the 72 *vēli* of land purchased and given for the purpose. It was stipulated that the *taram* (*i.e.*, the class) of the land should not be altered even when the general classifications were undertaken; that on this land, except *ēri-āyam, pādikāval*, and *ēri-amanji*, no other taxes or obligations should be imposed and that the teachers who gave instruction in the *Vēdas*, the Bhattas who expounded the *Sāstras* and the students who learnt the *Vēdas*, etc., were also exempted from certain payments or obligations. The rest of this huge record is damaged. Nevertheless, it adds to the epigraphical evidence available to show that temple charities were not exclusively meant for ceremonials in the temple but also for scientific (sāstraic) and religious (Vēdic) education. These details give us a glimpse of the Brahmānic education of the time. What teachers instructed their pupils in and what students read and learnt are alike made plain from this record, which is, in certain respects, fully in accordance with what we learn from the Ennāyiram record of Rājēndra-Chōla. (see *ante*).

Second war against the Western Chālukyas; Death of Rājādhirāja, 1054-55 A.D.

The second war against the Western Chālukyas appears to have occurred towards the close of Rājādhirāja's reign. Evidently this expedition was led in person by him, his brother Rājēndra being second in command with him. The cause of this war may be inferred from *E.C.* X, Kolar 107, and Mulbagal 107. Though these inscriptions belong to the 3rd and 6th years (1054 and 1057 A.D.) of Rājēndra-Chōla, the brother and successor of Rājādhirāja, they give particulars relating to the war which occurred in Rājādhirāja's time, in which both were engaged. From Mulbagal 107 it would appear that Rājēndra-Chōla, backed by the army of his elder brother, led his own forces against the Western Chālukya territories (Irattapādi 7½ lakh country) and erected a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram (modern Kolhapur). Eager to take revenge, Āhavamalla (Sōmēsvara I) attacked the Chōla army at Koppam, identified with modern Khidrāpur, 30 miles off Kolhapur, where there is a well-known temple of Koppēsvara, on the Pērāru or big river, a name by which the Krishna is probably meant. The battle was apparently a hard fought one. Rājādhirāja, apparently riding an elephant, was killed and his brother Rājēndra-Chōla marched up to take his position and turned the fortunes of the war. The Annigere record, already referred to above, states that Rājādhirāja yielded his head to the Chālukya king Sōmēsvara (Āhavamalla) in battle and forfeited his life. This, however, clouds the real facts which are mentioned in other inscriptions. Thus, a Chālukyan inscription found in this State (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 118) says that the Chōla king valiantly died in the battle-field (*āhavanangadōl chōlikan ammisattan*). In another inscription, found at Punjai in the Tanjore District, and dated in the 3rd year of Rājēndra-Chōla (A.D. 1054), it is stated more explicitly that Rājādhirāja died on elephant back (*ānaimēl-tunjiyarulina*). As he died fighting in the battle at Koppam, he must be taken, from the manner in which he is described in this inscription, to have died on elephant-back while fighting in the battle. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 10; also Appendix B, No. 193 of 1925). This is confirmed by another inscription dated in the 36th year of Rājādhirāja himself and in the 3rd year of Rājēndra-Chōla, his younger brother. In this record Rājādhirāja is definitely described as *ānaimēl tunjiyarulina Vijayarājēndradēva*. This epithet cannot, therefore, be held to apply to Rājēndra-Chōla himself as has been suggested by some. (T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Sōlavamsa Charitram*, 22-23; and *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 16). It is thus clear that Rājādhirāja fell in battle while fighting on his elephant. Notwithstanding his death, his brother Rājēndra-Chōla, who was himself severely wounded in action, and had lost many of his principal leaders, took command of the army and saved the day. He contrived to slay king Sōmēsvara's younger brother Jayasinga, Pulakēsi, Dasavarma, Nanni-Nulamba and many other princes, so that Āhavamalla (*i.e.*, Sōmēsvara) fled in terror. The exciting nature of the fight will be perceived from the following account taken from an inscription:—

"When the impetuous and angry Salukki Āhavamalla, having heard the report that the Valavan (Chōla king) desirous of war had marched upon Irattamandalam of superior strength, and had destroyed its fame . . and many districts and towns, exclaimed, "This is a disgrace to me!" sprang up, his eyes burning with rage, went to the beautiful great *tirtha* Koppam, the strength of which place is hard to describe, and commenced hostilities: though the shower of Āhavamalla's straight arrows pierced his (Rājēndra-dēva's) elephant's forehead, his own thighs and mound-like shoulders, and though the warriors wearing ankle-rings, who had mounted the warlike elephants along with him fell—not minding all this, (he) distributed on the battle-field many matchless warlike regiments which had not yet been detached, and transported to heaven Jayasimha, the younger brother of the valorous Chalukki, the warlike Pulakēsin (*i.e.*, Āhavamalla), the garland-wearing Dasapanman (or Dasavarman); among proud princes the *Mandalika* Asōkan, Araiyan who ruled with great renown which was well deserved, Mottayan, who wore a garland of opening buds full of honey, the unfailing Nanni-Nulamban, and other princes without number; whereupon the terrified Salukki (Āhavamalla Sōmēsvara I), having been utterly routed, along with the steady Vanniya, Rēvan, Tuttan, who had a powerful army, Gandamayan, whose army threatened death, and many other furious princes, fled trembling vehemently with dishevelled hair, turning his back, looking round, and tiring his legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean. At that time, the Chōla king captured in battle *Satrubhayankara*, *Karabhadra*, *Mūlabhadra* and many other excellent elephants of noble breed, horses of lofty gait, herds of camels, the victorious banners of the boar, and the other insignia of royalty, the peerless Sattiyavvai, Sangappai and all the other queens, a crowd of women, and other booty which he (*i.e.*, Āhavamalla) had abandoned on that battle-field, and performed the anointment of victory."

The above realistic account is taken from an inscription found at Volagerehalli, hamlet of Kengeri, near Bangalore. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 108). The date is lost, but it probably belongs to the 4th year of Rājēndra-Dēva as it bears the same introduction as his Manimangalam inscriptions. (*S.I.I.* III, i. No. 29). Kolar 107, dated in his 3rd year, and Mulbagal 107, dated in his 6th year, add a few more particulars to the above account. The latter inscription says that Rājēndra-dēva

> "Without meeting with opposition in battle, while his drums were sounding through the directions, converted the whole warlike army of Āhavamalla into reeking corpses that covered the earth, and when Āhavamalla turned his back and fled from the battle-field at Koppam on the banks of the Perāru, was pleased to take possession of his elephants, horses and camels."

To the above booty, Kolar 107 adds "women and treasuries" and says that he performed, thereafter, the anointment of victory. Manimangalam 22 (*S.I.I.* III, i) adds the further information that the news of the anointment of heroes spread in all directions.

Such was the battle of Koppam, at which Rājādhirāja died. His death was revenged by his younger brother, Rājēndra-dēva, whose reign is dealt with below.

Internal condition.

Rājādhirāja undoubtedly maintained his father's reputation as a prince and as a soldier. The kingdom seems to have enjoyed internal peace and there is evidence enough to believe that during his time the people were contented and happy. The administration seems to have run smooth, despite the distractions created by the wars which the king either indulged in or possibly could not avoid. His hard won names of the victorious (*Jayangonda*) Chōla and the triumphant king of kings (*Vijaya-Rājēndradēva*) seem to have been earned by him by his success in war. His death on his warring elephant, on the battle-field, is one that he would naturally, as a keen soldier, have wished for himself.

Rural administration

The village assemblies continued to function as usual throughout his reign. Though they usually met in *mandapas* built specially for the purpose, we are told in an inscription at Kōnērirājapuram that the assembly of the *brahmadēya* village of Pāvaikkūdi met under a tamarind tree called *Rājēndra-sōlan* and made a grant to a Siva temple. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Appendix B, No. 653 of 1909; Para 21). The king's officers called *Adhikāris* could, when they required for any purpose, convene meetings of the Village Assembly. In one case, we are told, they convened such a meeting and ordered the re-survey of the village land at the request of the assembly. Certain inscriptions show that the assembly could not impose more than a specified number of taxes on public charities. The exemption from taxation in cases of this kind was apparently under royal direction. Similarly teachers and students of the *Vēda* were exempted from taxes of certain kinds. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 18; see Appendix C, No. 176).

Rājēndra-Dēva, 1052-1062 A.D.

Rājādhirāja was succeeded by his younger brother Rājēndra-Dēva. His reign overlapped that of his elder brother as his own was overlapped by that of his successor Vīra-Rājēndradēva. This may be inferred from the Tirumalavādi inscription of the 9th year of Rājēndra-Dēva which refers to a gift made in the 3rd year of Vīra-Rājēndra-Dēva. (*M.E.R.* 1895; No. 87 of 1895). He is styled Parakēsarivarman in his inscriptions. According to Dr. Kiëlhorn, he ascended the throne on 28th May 1052 A.D. His inscriptions have been found as far south as Cape Comorin, where in the temple of Kumāri is one of his 4th year. (*M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix B, No. 105 of 1896). Inscriptions of his 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th and 12th years are known. The last is, perhaps, the latest known of his reign. His 12th regnal year corresponds to 1063-64 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 49, No. 144 of 1898; see also *M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B, No. 57; *M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix A, No. 213 of 1914; *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 31, Nos. 58 of 1918 and 318 of 1917; *M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C, Nos. 108, 115, 137 and 102). Several of these inscriptions give a description of the chief events of his reign. The great part he took in the battle of Koppam and the manner in which he retrieved the fortunes of the day have been narrated above. Though both Rājādhirāja and Rājēndra-Dēva were present at this battle and took part in it, Rājēndra-Dēva alone takes credit in his inscriptions for the victory achieved in it. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 49, No. 144 of 1898). This claim has to be understood as referring to the final phases of that battle and no more.

His conquests: War against the Western Chālukyas, 1054-55 A.D.

Some of his inscriptions, like those of his predecessor and successor, make mention of his relations on whom king Rājēndra-Dēva is said to have conferred certain titles. The recipients of these honours were one of his own paternal uncles, his four younger brothers, his six sons and two grandsons. The fifth of the sons, Mudikonda-Chōla, who had the title Sundara-Chōla, has been identified with a prince of the same name and title, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājēndra's successor, Vīrarājēndra I. His second son was also called Mudikonda-Chōla, but he bore the title of Vijayālaya. A number of Rājēndra-Dēva's inscriptions furnish us a detailed account of the part he took in the battle of Koppam, which is also briefly referred to in others belonging to his reign. His enemy Āhavamalla (Sōmēsvara I) is, in these inscriptions, expressly referred to as Salukki, *i.e.*, the Chālukya king. The circumstances under which this battle came to be fought have been detailed in the account of the reign of his brother Rājādhirāja. The war began with the invasion by the Chōla king of the Rattamandalam. The advancing army did great damage to the enemy's country, including the destruction of temples, and was met by Āhavamalla at Koppam. At first the advantage seems to have been on the side of the Chālukya king. Rājēndra himself and his elephant were wounded by arrows, and the men who had mounted the elephants along with him were killed. But fresh troops were advanced and turned the fortune of the battle. Āhavamalla fled and several of his officers fell. Among these, the inscriptions mention a younger brother of the Chālukya king Jayasimha (who is unknown to Chālukya inscriptions), Pulakēsin (apparently a subordinate chief), Dasapanman (which probably stands for Yasōvarman), Asōkaiyan, Āraiyan, Mottaiyan and Nanni-Nulamban, who may have been a Pallava chief of Nulambapādi, and among those who took part in the fight, Vanniya-Rēvan, Tuttan and Kundamaiyan. The first of these has been identified with the Haihaya chief Rēvarasa, who is mentioned as a feudatory of Sōmēsvara I in an inscription dated in 1054-55 A.D. (Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 439). Among the spoil of the battle were many elephants, three of which are mentioned by name, the banner of the boar, and two queens by name—Sattiyavvai and Sangappai. This defeat of Āhavamalla-Sōmēsvara I is not fully reflected in the Chālukya inscriptions. Though the Annigere record admits the devastation of the Chālukya territory, it states that Rājādhirāja ultimately yielded his head in battle to Āhavamalla and thus losing his head, broke the succession of his family. He thus practically claims a victory for himself, the date of which is fixed by an inscription at Sūdi in the Dharwar District to be shortly before the 20th January 1060 A.D. (Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer* 441). The grant referred to in this record is said to have been made by them while halting, on his journey back after a conquest of the Chōla country and king. Bilhana duly chronicles the war and claims that Sōmēsvara I penetrated as far as Kānchi, the then Chōla capital, and stormed that town and drove the ruler of it into the jungles. (*I.A.* V. 328; and *Vikramānkadēva-charita*, Introd. 27). So, the statement made in the Manimangalam inscription (*S.I.I.* III. i. No. 29, line 10) that Āhavamalla, on his defeat by Rājēndra-Dēva at Koppa, retreated and "was forced to plunge into the Western ocean" cannot be taken to be literally true. It only means that he was compelled to beat back and with that the sun of his fame set. The fact that Sōmēsvara I ruled to about 1068 A.D., shows that he survived the battle of Koppam by several years. At the same time, it must be added that Bilhana's boast of Sōmēsvara's conquest of the Southern countries up to Kānchi is not reflected in the Southern inscriptions of this period.

War against Ceylon.

Finally, we are told that Rājēndra-Dēva despatched an army to Ceylon, where the Kalinga king Vīra-salāmēgan was decapitated and the two sons of the Ceylon king Manabharanan were taken prisoners. Another Vīra-salāmēgan, who is stated to have migrated to Ceylon from Kanyākubja, had been killed by his predecessor, Rājādhirāja. The latter had decapitated another Manabharana, who was, however, a Pāndya king and not a king of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions two princes of the name Manabharana, and two others of the name Kittisirimēgha. Manabharana I (father of Parakramabāhu I) and Kittisirimēgha I were nephews and sons-in-law of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu I. His queen Trilōkasundari was a princess of Kālinga (*Mahāvamsa*, Chapter LIX, 49, 44 and 29). The *Mahāvamsa* mentions three of her relations, Madhukannara, Bhīmarāja and Balakkasa. Manabharanan and Vīra-Salāmēgan of Rājēndra-Chōla's inscriptions may correspond, in Dr. Hultzsch's opinion, to Manabharana and Kittisirimēgha mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, and the reason why Vīra-Salāmēgan is styled a Kalinga king in Rājēndra-Dēva's inscriptions might be the fact that his mother-in-law was a Kalinga princess according to the *Mahāvamsa*. (*S.I.I.* III. i. 59). On the other hand, king Vijayabāhu I is supposed to have reigned from A.D. 1065 to 1120, and Vikkamabāhu, in whose time Manabharana I and Kittisirimēgha I usurped the government of Ceylon, from A.D. 1121 to 1142, while Rājēndra and Vīra-Rājēndra I, have to be accommodated between A.D. 1050 and 1070. Consequently, Manabharanan and Vīra-Salāmēghan mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Dēva must be distinct from, and prior to Manabharana I and Kittisirimēgha I referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*. The conquest of Ceylon by Rājēndra-Dēva, however, is independently established by the existence of an inscription of his found at Sangili-Kanadarāva in that island. (*S.I.I.* III. i. 39 f. n. 7). In this inscription is mentioned Sēnāpati Jayamurinādālvār, who was one of the five officers of Rājēndra-Dēva, who signs the grants recorded in Nos. 20 and 21. (*S.I.I.* III. i.) In these inscriptions he is stated to have borne the name of Araiyan Rājarājan, *alias* Vīrarājēndra-Jayamarina-ālvān. (*Ibid*, 39).

Description of his reign.

One of the Manimangalam inscriptions (*S.I.I.* III. i. No. 29), which is identical in terms with *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 108, gives a full description of his reign. The date of the latter is lost, but as it is substantially the same as Manimangalam 29, it might be set down, as before suggested, to the 4th year of Rājēndra-Dēva's reign. The following extract from the Manimangalam inscription is based on Dr. Hultzsch's reading of it as contained in *S.I.I.* III. i. 61-63 :—

> "While the goddess of fortune and the great goddess of the earth became his great queens, (*the king*) raised on high (*his*) brilliant white parasol and uprooted the powerful Kali (age).

(*He*) bestowed high crowns, resplendent with large jewels, on Gangaikonda-Sōlan, who was the younger brother of his father (*and who was*) powerful in defeating (*his enemies*), (*with the title*) 'Irumadi-Sōlan of exuberant valour;' among his royal younger brothers of warlike strength, on the victorious Mummadi-Sōlan, (*with the title*) 'Sola-Pāndiyan whose valour conquers (*enemies*) on the battle-field;' on Vīra-Sōlan, the lord of Koli (*i.e.*, Uraiyūr), who wore ankle-rings, (*with the title*) 'Karikāla-Sōlan (*who is*) praised on earth;' on Madhurāntakan, whose strong and broad hand (***weilded***) the sword in warfare, (*with the title*) 'Sōla-Gangan;' on Parāntakadēvan, whose valour was combined with strength of shoulders, (*with the title*) 'Sōla-Ayōttiyārājan'; among (*his*) sons, who regarded with kindness (their enemies?) in distress, on Rājēndra-Sōlan, (*who was*) praised on this earth, (*with the title*) 'Uttama-Sōlan'; on Mudikonda-Sōlan, (*who wore*) a garland of opening buds (*as*) an ancient (*i.e.*, hereditary) ornament, (*with the title*) 'the brave Vijayālayan'; on Sōla-Kēralan, (*who possessed*) very tall elephants with spotted foreheads, (*with the title*) 'Sōla-Kēralan (*who holds*) a long bow'; on Kadarankonda-Sōlan of great valour, (*with the title*) 'Sōla-Janakarājan in whom the eminence of the race of the Sun rests'; on Mudikonda-Sōlan, who conquered the earth (*surrounded by*) the roaring ocean (*and who was*) praised by many, (*with the title*) 'Sundara-Sōlan'; on Irattapadikonda-Sōlan, (*who was*) the rock of support to pure Tamil, (*with the title*) 'Sola-Kannakuchchiyarājan, the lord of the ancient earth'; then, among the sons of his sons, on Madhurāntakan, who was (*i.e.*, resembled) the great sun (*and who wore*) sounding ankle-rings, (*with the title*) 'Sōla-Vallabhan (*who leads*) a victorious army'; and on the matchless Anaichchevagan, whose hand (*held*) a strong bow, (*with the title*) 'Nripēndra-Sōlan.'

While (*the* Chōla *king*) was resplendent on earth, the proud and furious Salukki (*i.e.*, Chālukya king) Āhavamallan,—having heard the substance of the report that the Valavan (*i.e.*, the Chola king), desirous of war, had started (*from his country*) had reached Iratta-mandalam, (*whose inhabitants are*) very brave, and had destroyed many rivers (!), districts and towns, exclaimed; "This (*is*) a disgrace to me!" sprang up, (*his*) eyes burning (*with rage*), went into Koppam, the strength (*of whose position is*) hard to describe, (*and*) commenced to attack the enemy.

At that time, when the shower of his (*viz.*, Āhavamalla's) straight arrows pierced the forehead of his (*i.e.*, the Chōla king's) elephant, his royal thigh, and (*his*) shoulders which resembled hillocks, and when the warriors wearing ankle-rings, who had mounted the elephant along with him, fell, (*the* Chōla *king*) distributed (*on the battle-field*) many matchless warlike regiments (*which had*) not (*yet been*) detached, and transported to heaven Jayasingan, (*who was*) the younger brother of that strong Salukki, the warlike Pulikēsi, and Dasapanman, (*who wore*) a garland; among proud princes, the chief (*Mandalin*) Asōkaiyan, Araiyan, who ruled (*with*) great fame which was well deserved, Mottaiyan, (*who wore*) a garland of half-open (*buds*) full of honey, Nanni-Nulamban of great valour, and other princes without number.

The Salukki was defeated,—with Vannaiya-Rēvan, Tuttan, (*who had*) a powerful army, Kundamayan, whose army spoke (*i.e.*, threatened) death, and other princes,—fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (*his*) back, looking round, and tiring (*his*) legs, and was forced to plunge into the western ocean.

At that time (*the* Chōla *king*) captured in battle *Satrubhayamkara*, *Karabhadra*, *Mulabhadra* and many (other excellent elephants of noble breed, horses of lofty gait, herds of camels, the victorious banner of the boar and the other insignia of royalty, the peerles Sattiyavvai, Sangappai and all the other queens) a crowd of women, and other (*booty*) which he (*viz.*, Āhavamalla) had abandoned on that battle-field, and performed the anointment of victory.

(*The king*) despatched a warlike army into the southern region, captured in Lanka, (*surrounded by*) the black ocean, Vīra-Salāmēgan, the king of the Kalingas, (*who had*) a powerful army, with (*his*) elephants (*which resembled*) the ocean, caused to be cut off (*his head which wore*) a brilliant crown, and seized on the battle-field the two sons of Manabharanan, the king of the people of Lanka."

His domestic life, etc.

Not much is known of his domestic life. One of his queens is referred to in an inscription of his 3rd year as making a gift of gold ornaments to the shrine at Dakshinakailāsa. (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix A. No. 213

of 1914). He had a daughter by name Madhurāntaki. She subsequently became one of the queens of king Kulōttunga-Chōla I. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 22). After her, the temple at Kōnerirājapuram was called Madhurāntaki-Īsvara. (*M.E.R.* 1910 Para 22; Appendix B. No. 633 of 1909).

His military officers.

His chief military officer, who had control over the Dandanāyakas, was Vēttan Panchavēdi Vanan *alias* Madhurāntaka-Tamil Apparuraiyan. A *sēnāpati* of his was Sēnāpati Jayankonda-Chōla-Brahmādirāyar, the father of Kāmakkarraiyal, the donor of the grant recorded in the Manimangalam inscription. (*S.I.I.* III. i. No. 29). He was apparently a Brāhman.

Floods and Famine.

An inscription of his reign, dated in his 2nd year, mentions a flood in the Cauvery which appears to have caused damage to the irrigation channels. It does not seem that its ravages extended beyond Tanjore District. In the next (3rd) year of his reign, there also occurred in this district a famine caused probably by failure of rain. The people seem to have had no funds to purchase paddy for their own consumption, seed-grains and other necessaries of consumption. Either Rājēndra-Dēva's granary was empty, owing to the performance of the horse-sacrifice of his predecessor, or the hosts of relatives for whom he had to provide (*S.I.I.* III. i. No. 29) left him too impoverished to help the people in their distress. Whatever the cause, Rājēndra-Dēva was apparently not remarkable for his liberality. The inhabitants of Ālangudi, a village in the Tanjore District, one of the villages affected by the famine, had accordingly to shift for themselves. They made over to the temple 3¾ *vēli* of land and obtained gold and silver from its authorities, the annual interest due on the money being repaid from the produce of the land. Later, the village assembly remitted the taxes payable by the temple on the land alienated in its favour. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 53).

The year in which Rājēndra-Dēva died is not known, though it is nearly certain he ruled till about 1062-63 A.D.

Rājamahēndra-Dēva, Rājakēsari-varman 1063-1065 A.D.

Rājĕndra-Dēva appears to have been suceeeded by his son Rājamahēndra-Dēva, with whom probably ruled jointly Vīra-Rājēndra and Adhirājēndra, his paternal uncles. His reign seems to be covered altogether by those of Rājēndra-Dēva and Vīrarājēndra I. All these kings, as successors of Rājēndra-Dēva, have to be accommodated between A.D. 1063-64 and 1070 A.D., the date of accession of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, Rājēndra-Dēva's son-in-law. (*E.I.* IV. 266). It is not improbable that Rājēndra-Dēva was ruling with one or more of these three princes as co-regents. (*M.E.R.* 1897, Para 49). Of Rājamahēndra, however, nothing particularly to his credit is known, except that he enforced the rules laid down by Manu. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 53, No. 5 of 1899). Very few inscriptions of his reign are known. An incomplete one has been published by Dr. Hultzsch. (*S.I.I.* III. i. No. 56). It is dated in his 2nd year, and is to be seen on the south wall of the *Mahāmandapa* in the Bilvanāthēsvara temple at Tiruvallam. It records a grant by a millitary officer named Sankaran Kandaradittanār *alias* Sēnāpati Rājarājasōliyavaraiyār, lord of Inganūr in Inganādu, a district of Arumolidēvavalanādu. Another inscription of his dated in the same (2nd) year is to be seen on the walls of the Vishnu temple at Pullalur, Chingleput District. It records a gift of land made as Bhārata vritti by the wife of a member of the directorate (*Ālumganam*) of a village. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 32; Appendix C. No. 50 of 1923). Another inscription of his dated in his 3rd year, has been found at Tirupāpaliyūr. (*M.E.R.* 1902, Appendix B.

No. 119 of 1902). The very rarity of his inscriptions indicates that he could not have ruled long—probably not beyond three years. Olakkaiyūr (modern Olakkūr in the South Arcot District) received the surname of Rājamahendranallūr apparently after him. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 22). He must be the king who is said in the *Kalingāttu-Parani* and *Vikkirana-Sōlan-Ulā* to have ruled between kings Rājēndra-Dēva and Vīrarājēndra. This identification is the more probable as the *Kalingāttu-Parani* speaks of Rājamahēndra in the same manner as does a description of him occurring in his inscription above referred to. While the latter praises him for guiding the goddess of the earth on the path of Manu, the *Kalingāttu-Parani* refers to "the Chōla who dispensed justice three or four times better than the ancient Manu." (*S.I.I.* III. i. 41). An inscription of the 9th year of Rājēndra-Dēva mentions among the boundaries of a village "the road of Rājamahēndra." (*I.A.* XIX 331). Dr. Hultzsch seems to be on firm ground when he suggests that Rājamahēndra was, perhaps, the co-regent of Rājēndra-Dēva. The inscription of Rājamahēndra dated in his 3rd year, referred to above, states that he fought with Āhavamalla. As both Rājēndra-Dēva and Vīrarājēndra were at war with the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla-Sōmēsvara I, it is very probable that Rājamahēndra took some part in their campaigns against their northern enemy.

Since no records of Rājamahēndra beyond his 3rd year have been found, it might be suggested he died about 1065 A.D.

Vīrarājēndra-Dēva I; Vīra-Chōla; Karikāla-Chōla, 1062-63 to 1070-71 A.D.

Vīrarājēndra-Dēva, I, younger brother of Rājēndra-Dēva, next ascended the throne, in 1062-63 A.D., and ruled up to 1070-71 A.D. The 2nd year of his reign is referred to in an inscription dated in the 20th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 22). Inscriptions of his dated in his 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th years have been found in the Bangalore District and in the Districts of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 22, Appendix B. No. 718 of 1909; *E C.* IX, Channapatna 85; *M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 182, and *M.E.R.* 1925 Appendix B. No. 190 of 1925), besides many of his reign at the Siva temple at Kiranūr, near Palni. (*M.E.R.* 1894, September, Para 12). An inscription of his dated in his 7th year, couples that regnal year with *Saka* 991, Cyclic year *Saumya*, corresponding to A.D. 1069-70. The year of his accession would accordingly be 1063-4 A.D. But a calculation made from the astronomical details furnished by this inscription shows that he must have ascended the throne in 1062-63 A.D. Probably the Cyclic year is wrongly quoted in this inscription. (*M. E. R.* 1904, Para 21. No. 273 of 1904).

His conquests.

An inscription at Karuvar, in the present Coimbatore District, dated in his 4th year (*S.I.I.* III. i. No. 20), which is in many respects similar in its historical introduction to an inscription of his dated in the same year and found at the Kailāsēsvara temple at Malur (*E. C.* IX, Channapatna 85), gives a graphic account of the events of his reign. He fought, it would appear, three times against the Western Chālukya King Āhavamalla-Sōmēsvara I, and his two sons Vikramāditya VI and Jayasimha III, or as they are styled in the Chōla inscriptions, Vikkalan and Singanan. Vīrarājēndra claims to have gained a decisive victory over them at Kūdalsangamam, a place at the confluence of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. (*I.A.* XIX. 340). The battle of Kūdalsangamam was the third occassion on which Vīrarājēndra I professes to have defeated the Western Chālukyas. He had already before driven Vikkalan from Gangapādi over the Tungabhadra and on a second occasion he had defeated an army which his enemy had sent into Vēngaināḍu under the *Mahāmandanāyaka* Chāmundarāja. The latter was killed and his daughter Nāgalai, who was the Queen of Irugayan, mutilated. Chāmundarāja is probably identical with the *Mahāmandalēsvara* Chāvundarāya of Banavāsi, who is referred to as a feudatory of Sōmēsvara I with the dates 1045-46 A.D. and 1062-63 A.D. (Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 439). Two other chiefs whose names occur in the account of the battle of Kūdalsangamam—Kēsava-Dandanāyaka and Marayan—have been identified by Dr. Hultzsch with two other feudatories, the Dandanāyaka Kēsavāditya-Dēva and Mārasimha. At this great battle—it seems to have been a hard fought one—the whole Chālukya camp fell into the hands of Vīrarājēndra I, including the wives of the enemy, the boar-banner, and the female elephant Pushpaka. Vīrarājēndra claims to have killed the King of Pottappi, identified with the country round Kālahasti in the North Arcot District (*S.I.I.* III. i. 33 f.n.1), the King of Kērala, the younger brother of Jananātha of Dhāra, the Pāndyan king and others. Exact information is lacking as to when these conquests took place. But an approximation may be made as to the sequence in which they followed. The earliest form of the longer historical introduction beginning with *Tiruvalara* affixed to his inscriptions, is found in an inscription of the 2nd year at Tirūvengādu. (*M.E.R.* 1896, No, 113a of 1896). Three battles of the Chālukyas are referred to in it:—(1) Vikramāditya VI was driven from Gangapādi over the Tungabhadra; (2) an army which he had sent to Vēngai-nādu was defeated and (3) Āhavamalla with his two sons Vikramāditya VI and Jayasimha III was put to flight at Kūdalsangamam. It would seem to follow from this that the battle of Kūdalsangamam should have been fought before 1064 A.D., which corresponds to his 2nd regnal year. To the above conquests, the Karuūr inscription of the 4th year

(1066 A.D.) adds that Vīrarājēndra I killed the king of Pottappi, the Kērala, the Pāndya and others. (*S.I.I.* III No, 20). The Manimangalam inscription of the 3rd year (*S.I.I.* III. No, 30) notices further victories over the Kēralas, Chālukyas and Pāndyas, a battle which had been fought on the bank of an unspecified river; the burning of Rattapādi and the planting of a pillar of victory on the Tungabhadra; the appointment (of Vikramāditya VI) as heir-apparent of the Chālukya king (Āhavamalla); the conquest of Vēngai-nadu, Kalingam and Chakrakōttam; and the bestowal of Vēngai-nādu on Vijayāditya VII. There are several inscriptions with the shorter historical introduction, which opens with *Vīramai tunāiyagavam* and of these, those dated from the 2nd to the 5th years state Vīrarājēndra I defeated Āhavamalla and his two sons Vikramāditya VI and Jayasimha III at Kūdalsangamam and seized Āhavamalla's queen, treasures and vehicles. This brief statement corresponds to the long description of the battle of Kūdalsangamam, which appears first in the Tiruvēngādu inscription of the 2nd year. In accordance with the statements in the longer introduction, in which the battle of Kūdalsangamam is said to have been the *third* encounter with the Chālukyas, the Tirunāmanallur inscription of the 4th year (S.*I.I.* III. ii. 81) attributes to Vīrarājēndra the *birudu* "who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times." Five inscriptions of the 5th year add that Vīrarājēndra I terrified Āhavamalla yet a second time on the appointed battle-field, fulfilled the vow of his own elder brother and seized Vēngai-nādu." The "battle which had been appointed near the river" and the conquest of Vēngai-nādu are referred to also in the Manimangalam inscription of the 5th year. The elder brother mentioned has been identified by Dr. Hultzch with Ālavandān, surnamed Rājarāja or Rājādhirāja. The vow which he is said to have made seems to have had the conquest of Vēngi for its object.

In two inscriptions of the 6th year (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 83 and *M.E.R.* 1890, No. 16 of 1890), several fresh details are given. On a third occassion, *i.e.*, after the two encounters at Kūdalsangamum and near the river, Vīrarājēndra I "burnt (the city of) Kampili" before Sōmēsvara could untie the necklace which (he) had put on, and set up a pillar of victory at Karadikal, a place not yet satisfactorily identified. In the Manimangalam inscription of the 5th year, the same expedition is referred to by the statement that Vīrarājēndra I conquered Rattapādi, "kindled crackling fires" and set up a pillar of victory on the bank of the Tungabhadra. The Kampili referred to here has been identified with the place of that name on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra in the Bellary District. Karadikal is probably to be sought on the northern bank. The Sōmēsvara mentioned in the inscription must have been Sōmēsvara II, the eldest son of Āhavamalla and elder brother of Vikramāditya VI and Jayasimha III. The necklace referred to was the emblem of the dignity of *Yuvarāja*. The *Vikramānkadēvacharita* states that Āhavamalla had actually appointed Sōmēsvara II as his heir-apparent. As Sōmēsvara II is still described as heir-apparent in the 6th year of Vīrarājēndra I, it follows that at this time Āhavamalla was still alive. Finally, Vīrarājēndra is stated to have expelled Devanatha and other chiefs from Chakra-kōttam and to have "recovered" Kanyākubja, *i.e.*, Kanauj. Both Dēvanātha and the expedition into Chakrakōttam are referred to in the Manimangalam inscription of the 5th year. The introduction of the inscriptions of the 7th year differ considerably from that of the preceeding years. It first mentions that Vīrarājēndra defeated the Pāndya, Chēra, and Simhala kings, but does not mention their names. Āhavamalla is said to have been put to flight in battle five times. As the earlier inscriptions show, these five occasions were:—(1) the battle on the Tungabhadra in Gangapādi; (2) the first expedition into Vēngai-nādu: (3) the battle of Kūdalsangamam; (4) the battle near the river; and (5) the burning of Kampili. Then we have in one inscription of this (7th) year, the re-conquest of Vēngai-nādu, which according to another of the 6th year, fell between the 4th and 5th encounters with Āhavamalla. Accordiug to one inscription of the 7th year, Vīrarājēndra bestowed the Vēngaimandalam on the Chālukya Vijayāditya who has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the Eastern Chālukya, Vijayāditya VII. The same fact is mentioned in the Manimangalam inscription of the 5th year. We have, then, in an inscription of the 7th year the further additional fact that Vīrarājēndra conquered the country of Kadaram in Burma. Finally, Vīrarājēndra drove Sōmēsvara II out of the Kannara country, invested his younger brother Vikramāditya VI with the necklace—the emblem of the dignity of heir-apparent—and made Rattapādi over to him. The same transaction is referred to in the Manimangalam inscription of the 5th year by the statement Vīrarājēndra had the necklace on "the liar's" neck and appointed him to the dignity of Vallabha (or Chālukya). A comparison of the inscriptions of the 6th year suggests that the necklace bestowed on Vikramāditya VI was taken away from his elder brother Sōmesvara II and that Vīrarājēndra I appointed the former as heir-apparent of Āhavamalla in his place.

Their order fixed by his inscriptions.

From the above comparative study of the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra I, the following tentative deductions may be made:—The fight against the Kērala, and Pāndya and others took place early in his reign. There were five fights against the Chālukyas, the third one being at Kūdalsangamam, sometime before 1064 A.D. The battle near the river and the sacking of Kampili probably followed between 2nd and 5th years, *i.e.*, 1064-1067 A.D.

It was probably in one of these encounters that Āhavamalla was terrified and Rājādhirāja's vow fulfilled by the conquest of Vēngai-nādu. At this time—between the 4th and the 5th years, Āhavamalla must have been yet alive. The change of the necklace from Sōmēsvara II to Vikramāditya VI should have taken place after the battle on the river and the sacking of Kampili. The expulsion of Dēvanātha and others from Chakrakōttam and the reconquest of Kanauj must have been a little before the 5th year or A.D. 1067. The bestowal of Vēngai-nādu on Vijayāditya VII took place probably before the 5th year, while the conquest of Kadaram followed in the 6th year. This was probably one of his last conquests.

Apparently to secure his position, he seems to have bestowed honours on near relations. Thus on his elder brother Ālavandān (probably a cousin) he bestowed the title of Rājarāja; on his son Madhurāntaka the Tondaimandalam (*i.e.*, the Pallava country) and the title of Chōlēndra; on his son Gangaikonda-Chōla, the Pāndimandalam (*i.e.*, the Pāndya country) and the title of Chōla-Pāndya; and on Mudikonda-Chōla, the title of Sundara-Chōla.

Description of the battle of Kūdalsangamam.

The following extract from the Karuvur inscription is descriptive of the battle of Kūdalsangamam and is worthy of transcription here:—

> While the goddess of fortune was prospering; while the circle of the great earth rested on (*the king's*) round arm (*as lightly*) as his bracelet of jewels, and while the shadow of (*his*) royal white parasol (*set with*) numerous jewels protected the living beings of the circle of the earth (*more tenderly*) than the mother that bore (*them*); while (*all*) other kings (*wearing*) sounding ankle-rings took shelter at his feet; (*and*) while the Kali (*age*), in despair, retreated to (*its*) natural abode; the abyss,—(*the king*) duly bestowed a splendid crown of jewels (on *his*) incomparable elder brother, (Āla)vandān, (*along with the title*) 'Rājarāja who is praised on the great earth.'

(*He*) was pleased to grant the Pāndi-mandalam, whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son Gangaikonda-Sōlan, (*along with the title*) 'Sōla-Pāndiyan, (*the leader*) of an army of very tall elephants.' (*He*) bestowed a brilliant crown on Mudikonda-Sōlan, whose hand (*held*) the sword (*and*) whose spear had a sharp point, (*along with the title*) Sundara-Sōlan, and conferred endless great distinctions (*on him*). (*Thus he*) granted to each of his numerous relations suitable great riches.

(*He*) drove from the battle-field in Ganga-pādi into the Tungabhadra the *Mahāsāmantas*, whose strong hands (*wielded*) cruel bows, along with Vikkalan, who fought under a banner that inspired strength.

(*He*) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (*viz.*, Vikkalan) had again despatched into Vēngai-nādu; cut off the head of the corpse of the *Mahadandanāyaka* Chāmundarāja; and severed the nose from the face of his (*viz.*, Chāmundarāja's) only daughter, called (Nā)galai, (*who was*) the queen of Irugayan (*and*) who resembled a peacock in beauty.

The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (*him*) yet a third time, hoping that (*his former*) defeats would be revenged. (*The king*) defeated countless *Sāmantas*, together with these (*two*) sons of Āhavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Singanan, at Kūdalsangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave van-guard in advance, and having himself remained close behind with the kings allied to him, (*he*) agitated by means of a single *mast* elephant that army (*of the enemy*), which was arrayed (*for battle*), (*and which*) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner-troop, (*he*) cut to pieces Singan, (*the king*) of warlike Kosal (ai), along with the furious elephants of (*his*) van-guard. While Kēsava-Dandanāyaka, Kettarasan, (Maraya)n of great strength, the strong Potta (ra) yan (*and*) (Irechchayan) were fighting, (*he*) shouted:—"(*Follow*) Muvendi, (*who wears*) a garland of gold"! and cut to pieces many *Sāmantas*, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvanan, who was in command, fled; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair; Singanan fled, (*his*) pride (*and*) courage forsaking (*him*); Annalan and all others descended from the male elephants on which they were fighting in battle, and fled; Āhavamalla too, to whom (*they were*) allied, fled before them. (*The king*) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, seized his (*viz.*, Āhavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, white *chāmaras*, the boar-banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tōrana*), the female elephant (called) *Pushpaka*, and a herd of war elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidst (*general*) applause, put on the crown of victory, (*set with*) jewels of red splendour.

His other conquests have been referred to in the passage below :—

(*He*) despatched (*the banner of*) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads, surrounded by garlands (*won*) on battle-fields, of the king of Pottappi, whose horses chafed under the bridle, of Varan, of the (Kērala), (*who wore*) large ankle-rings, (*and*) of the younger brother of Ja(na)nātha of Dhāra. (*He causd to be*) trampled down by a furious *mast* elephant the king of the South (*i.e.*, the Pāndya), (*who wore*) golden ankle-rings, the young son of Srīvallabha, (*and*) Vīrakēsarin, whose crown jewels glittered as the lighting, and captured Madakodu (?). According to the Takkolam inscription, the translation would run :—" (He) caused to be trampled down by a *mast* elephant Vīrakēsarin, the son of the Pāndya Srīvallabha."

(*He*) wielded the sceptre beyond (*all*) limits and illustrated the laws of the *Vēdas* (*by his conduct*).

Narrative of the battle continued.

One of the Manimangalam inscriptions (*S.I.I.* III, i. No. 30), which opens with the same passage as the Karuvur inscription, continues as follows, and narrates the re-conquest of Vēngi country thus :—

When at Ulagai the Kēralas were uprooted along with the infants of their family, ran away and plunged into the western ocean, (*the* Chōla *king*) despatched (*his*) elephants for a rare bath (*in the ocean*). (*He*) tied in the stables the Irattas (*i.e.*, the Chālukyas) whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyas, which (*he*) had seized. (*He*) took the tribute which they paid, along with female elephant (*which had*) trappings, and returned.

Having occupied (*an island*) surrounded by water, (*he*) cut off in a hot battle, which had been appointed near the river, the great heads of the following *Dandanāyakas* :—Malliyanan of great valour, Manjippayan, Piramadēvan (*i.e.*, Brahmadēva), whose elephants dripped with rut, Asōkaiyan, (*who wore*) a fresh garland, Sattiyanan of brilliant valour Pattiyanan, (*the minister for*) peace and war, Vimayan, (*who wore*) a fragrant, excellent garland (*and who resembled*) a rutting elephant, and Vangaran of great wisdom, (*and the heads*) of the Ganga (*king*), (*who carried*) a dreadful lance, of the Nulamba (*king*), of the king of the Kadavas, and of the Vaidumba king, the rut of whose elephants was diminishing (*through fear*).

Before (*the* Chōla *king*) had nailed up (*the heads of these princes in*) the great city (*called after*) the great river Ganga, the Salukki, who came from the race of the Moon, reproached himself, saying ;—" It is much better to die than to live in disgrace," became troubled in mind, and declared that the same Kudal, where, previously, (*his*) sons and himself turned their backs and were routed, (*should be the next*) battle-field.

In order that all might know (*it*), (*he*) wrote as preamble of a letter, which was hard to be despatched, the words :— " He who does not come to the appointed Kudal through fear, shall be no king, (*but*) a liar (*who incurs*) great disgrace in war," (*and*) gave (*this letter*) along with the order for despatch (?) to the liars of Iratta-pādi, who ordered Ganga(k)ettan (*to deliver it*).

He came, postrated himself at the two feet (*of the* Chōla *king*), and declared (*the contents of*) the letter. The mind, the face and the two royal shoulders (*of the king*) became doubly brilliant with surpassing beauty and joy.

(*He*) started and entered that battle-field. Not having seen the king of the Vallabhas (*i.e.*, the Chālukyas) arrive at Kandai, (*he*) waited one month after the appointed day. Then the liar ran away until his legs became sore, and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three : Dēvanāthan, Sitti and Kēsi, turned their backs.

(*The* Chōla *king*) subdued (*in*) war the seven and a half *lakshas* of the famous Iratta-pādi, kindled crackling fires. In order that the four quarters might praise (*him*), (*he*) planted (*on*) the bank of the Tungabhadra a pillar (*bearing*) a description of (*his*) victory, while the male tiger, (*the crest of the race*) of the Sun, sported joyfully.

(*The king*) appointed the liar, who came on a subsequent day, as Vallabha (*i.e.*, Chālukya king), and tied (*round his neck*) a beautiful necklace (*kantika*). (*He*) wrote unmistakably on a board how (*the Chalukya*) had escaped the trunk of an elephant (*which had*) a cord (*round its neck*), and had run away with the knowledge (*of all the people*) of this earth. Then, on the auspicious day on which (*the latter*) attained to the dignity of Salukki, (*the* Chōla *king*) tied on (*his*) breast (*that board*) and a quiver (*of arrows*) which was closed (*and hence useless*).

Having moved (*his camp*), he declared :—" (*We*) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēngai, which (*we had formerly*) subdued. You, (*who are*) strong, come and defend (*it*) if (*you*) are able ! " That army which was chosen (*for this expedition*) drove into the jungle that big army, which resisted (*its enemies*) on the great river close to Visaiyavadai (*and*) which had for its chiefs Jananāthan, the *Dandanāyaka* Rājamayan, whose *mast* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparasan.

His elephants drank the water of Godāvari. (*He*) crossed even Kalingam and, beyond (*it*), despatched (*for*) battle (*his*) invincible army as far as the further end of Sakkara-kōttam (Chakra-kōtta).

(*He*) re-conquered the good country of Vēngai and bestowed (*it*) on Vijayādityan, whose broad hand (*held*) weapons of war, (*and*) who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet.

Having been pleased to return speedily, (*the* Chōla *king*) entered Gangāpuri with the goddess of victory, who had shown hostility in the interval, and there made (*himself*) the lord of the earth, (*with the title*) Rājādhirājarājan, in accordance with the observances of his (*family*).

While (*all*) the kings on earth worshipped (*his*) feet and praised (*him*), (*he*) was seated on a throne of bright jewels and exhibited in order the heap of the great treasures which (*he*) had seized in the good country of Vēngai. (*He*) unlocked the rings and chains (*of prisoners*) and altered (*his previously made*) vow, according to which they ought to have lived (*in confinement*). (*He*) wielded a sceptre which ruled (*as far as*) the limits of (*the mountain*) surrounded by snow (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) and of Setu (*i.e.*, Rāmēsvaram), and illumined the earth.

Imposition of a war-tax.

Vīrarājēndra's wars appear to have cost him heavily. To meet the war expenditure, he seems to have resorted to taxation. We get a few glimpses of this attempt on his part from some of the inscriptions of his reign. Thus, on the occasion of his invasion of Vēngi-mandalam, he is known to have imposed on every *vēli* of land a war-tax of one *Kalanju* of gold. The tax was a general one. Apparently its incidence was found to be heavy. Some of the village assemblies sold certain of the jewels belonging to the temples in exchange for communal lands. Later on, in the reign of Rājarāja II, these lands were made tax-free. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 35, Appendix B. No. 521. Inscription of the 10th year of Rājarāja II).

Internal conditions in the Chōla Empire.

Despite the wars indulged in by Vīrarājēndra, at some cost to his subjects, there was, so far as the Chōla empire itself was concerned, peace at home. The administration appears to have gone on as usual and rural life too seems to have run its even course. Vīrarājēndra had eight executive officers, who are referred to in an inscription dated in his 5th year. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 182). His capital seems to have been Gangaikonda-sōlapuram. His throne in this city was located in the place called Sōla-kēralan. This throne was known as *Rājēndra-Sōla-Mavali-Vānarājan.* (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 16). Among the principal capitals, Kānchi is mentioned in an inscription of his 3rd year corresponding to 1073-1074 A.D. (*S.I.I.* III. i. 117) as being in his son's possession. Title to property was protected by what has been inferred to be a system of registration as it prevails to-day. Of course, it should have been in vogue for many years before Vīrarājēndra, for there is nothing whatever to show that he introduced any innovation of the kind. It appears from an inscription of the 3rd year of his reign, that a man had to pay 80 *Kāsu* for obtaining a copy of the title deed that he had lost. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 16;

Appendix B. No. 190 of 1925). Personally, Vīrarājēndra seems to have enjoyed a popularity that might well have been the envy of any prince. By inflicting repeated defeats on the Western Chālukyas, he seems to have brought peace and prosperity to the Chōlas. That was evidently the chief reason for the popularity he seems to have enjoyed. The people could not, in such a case, have minded the pressure of a water-tax. They might well have been tired of the Chālukyan incursions and the fact that Vīrarājēndra defeated them time after time should have enhanced his reputation with his own people. Like other Chōla kings, a festival was annually celebrated in his honour in the temple in the particular month in which the asterism under which he was born fell. In the 5th year of his reign, about which the wars against the Chālukyas were over, a Vaisya, named Mādhava, provided for the celebration of this festival in the month of Srāvana, at the temple of Tirumukkūdal, in the Chingleput District. What is of greater interest is that this loyal Vaisya donor revived the charities in this temple and constructed the surrounding walls and a *mantapa* called *Jananātamantapa* (*i.e., Royal mantapa*). In this *mantapa*, named after the king and probably dedicated in his name, were located a school for the study of the *Vēdas*, *Sāstras*, *Vyākarana*, the *Rūpāvatāra*, etc., and a hostel for students and a hospital (*Ātulasālai*) as well. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 16. Appendix B. No. 182). We have details of this charity. The students were provided, we are told, with food, bathing-oil on Saturdays and oil for lamps. The hospital was named *Vīrasōlan*, after a title of Vīrarājēndra. and was provided with 15 beds for sick people. The following items of expense were set apart for their comforts:—

(1) rice,
(2) 1 doctor in whose family the privilege of administering medicines was hereditary,
(3) 1 surgeon,
(4) 2 servants who fetched drugs, supplied fuel and did other services for the hospital,
(5) 2 maid-servants for nursing the patients, and
(6) a general servant for the school-hostel and hospital.

The following medicines required for one year were stored in the hospital :—

(1) ....asaharitaki—2 *padis*,
(2) gomutra-haritaki—2 *padis*,
(3) dasamula haritaki—1 *padi*,
(4) bhallataka-haritaki—1 *padi*,
(5) gandiram—1 *padi*,
(6) balakoranda-tailam—1 *tuni*,
(7) pancha.........tailam—1 *tuni*,
(8) lasu......nda-tailam—1 *tuni*,
(9) uttamakarnadi-tailam—1 *tuni*,
(10) ....ghritum—1 *padakku*,
(11) bilvadi-ghritam—1 *padakku*,
(12) mandukara-vatakam—2,000,
(13) drivatti—1 *nali*,
(14) vimalai—2,000,
(15) tamradi—2,000,
(16) vajrakalpam—1 *tuni*, and 1 *padakku*,
(17) kalyāna-lavanam—1 *tuni* and 1 *padakku*, and
(18) other drugs required to administer these.

Cow's ghee for making *puranasarppi* and oil for burning one lamp throughout the night, were also provided for. Water from Parambalur, scented with cardamom and *khas-khas* roots, was supplied to the inmates of the *Jananātha-mandapa.* This provision from temple funds for a hospital, an educational institution and a hostel clearly indicates the lines on which these funds were usually managed and the charities directed. Without such specification in inscriptions it would be quite possible to imagine that temple funds were meant exclusively for rituals and processions.

A similar hospital, *Sundara-sōla-Vinnagar Ātulasālai* (apparently located in a Vishnu temple dedicated in the name of Sundara-Chōla and so dating from his reign) is known to have existed at Tanjore. As Sundara-Chōla reigned from about 949 to 966 A.D., that hospital should have been in existence from about the middle of the 10th century A.D. Kundavvai, sister of Rājarāja the Great, made a grant of land for its upkeep in 1015 A.D., so that the hospital had continued for nearly sixty years already. The founding of hospitals of this kind for the treatment of the sick, with beds, medicine and other conveniences shows that the recurring wars which should have accustomed people to loss of life and bloodshed, had not blunted the moral feelings of the people. The founding of a hospital by Mādhava, the Vaisya, in the name of the king indicates to some extent the regard and affection with which Vīrarājēndra was held by his people.

The temples, with which charities of this kind were closely connected, always received close attention at the hands of royal officers. Thus, we are told in an inscription that one of the *adhikāris* (agents) of Vīrarājēndra, Rājēndra-mūvendavēlar by name, built in the 5th year of his reign the shrine of Padampakkadēva, which is included in the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras. He also presented a flower garden, named after the king, to this temple. He made another grant to the deity Padampakkadēva. The image of this deity has been suggested to be one of Lakulisa of Karōhana (Kārvān) with whom the temple at Tiruvorriyūr is intimately connected. The stone pedestal of Natarāja (dancing Siva) in this temple was called *Vīrarājēndran* after the king and was got made by a chief named Sivalōkanādan of Tiruvēnkādu. Another piece of land, called *Vīrarājēndra-vilagam*, was granted in the name of the king for the increase of his race, for the prosperity of his queen and the glorious health of their children. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 32; Appendix B. Nos. 217 and 218.) Vīrarājēndra appears to have been known as Jayasinga-Kulakāla, as he was opposed to the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha III and so the enemy of the whole of his race. The quarter in which the weavers had settled in Tiruvorriyūr was called after this title and his officer at Tiruvorriyūr was called Jayasinga-Kulakāla-Viluppparaiyār. All these facts seem to indicate the personal popularity of Vīrarājēndra as a sovereign. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 32.).

Vīrarājēndra, as a literary patron.

During his reign, the well-known Tamil grammar *Vīra-Sōliyam*, named after his title *Vīra-Sōla*, was composed. The fact that it bears his title of *Vīra Chōla*, which title is known from a lithic inscription to have been borne by him (*S.I.I.* III. ii, No. 81), is indicative of royal interest in it or its author. In any case, it shows Vīrarājēndra in the light of a patron of Tamil literature. There can be little doubt of this, for, the text of the work refers to a Chōla king Vīrarājēndra as the author's patron. In the commentary, which was written by Perundēvanār, admittedly a pupil of the author himself, the first few words of the historical introduction of the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla I are quoted as an illustration of a particular kind of metre. The battle of Koppam is mentioned in a verse cited as an illustration of another kind of metre, and that of Kūdalsangamam in another quoted as an illustration of a figure of rhetoric. These references prove, in Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya's opinion, that the commentary at least could not have been composed before the time of Vīrarājēndra, who fought the battle of Kūdalsangamam. The author of the work, *Buddhamitra*, is stated in the commentary to have been a native of Ponparri, a village in Malaikkuram, identified with Malakuta, the *Mo-la-kin-cha* of Hiuen Tsiang. Dr. Burnell located it in the Cauvery delta. (*I.A.* VII, 39); Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested that as *Buddhamitra* was, according to the author of the commentary on his work, the lord of Tondi, a sea-port in Madura District. his native village of Ponparri must probably be looked for in the Pāndya country. It has perhaps to be identified with Ponpetti, about ten miles south-west of Mavarmelkudi, in the Pattukottai Taluk, which in ancient times was also in the Pāndya country.

His titles and probable relationship to Rājēndra-Chōla I.

An inscription of his 4th year attributes to Vīrarājēndra a number of titles, the first three of which—*Sakalabhuvanāsraya*, *Srīmēdinivallabha*, and *Mahārājādhirāja*—must have been taken over from his Western Chālukya enemies. Another, *Rājāsraya*, had been borne by his ancestor Rājarāja I. The next two surnames, *Vīra-Chōla* and *Karikāla-Chōla*, suggest that Vīrarājēndra may have been one of the younger brothers of Rājēndradēva; for, the latter is stated to have conferred the title *Karikāla-Chōla* on his younger brother Vīra-Chōla. (*S.I.I.* III. i. 62). If so, Vīrarājēndra should have been an younger brother of Rājādhirāja I, who was the elder brother of Rājēndradēva. In a mutilated inscription of his 5th year at Gangaikondacholāpuram (*M.E.R.* No. 826 of 1892), Vīra-rājēndra I quotes

> "the twenty-third year of (my) father, who was pleased to conquer the Eastern country, the Ganga and Kadaram."

Commenting on this Dr. Hultzsch (*S.I.I.* III. ii, 195) writes:—

> "This can refer to no other of his predecessors but Rājēndra-Chōla I, whose conquests are in the same words in an inscription at Suttūru (*E.I.* IV. 69), and who bore the surname Gangaikonda-Chōla. Consequently, Vīrarājēndra I and his two elder brothers Rājēndradēva and Rājadhirāja seem to have been the sons of Rājēndra-Chōla I. I do not consider this result as absolutely final, because the South-Indian languages employ the words of relationship in a very loose manner. Thus the words 'younger brother' (*tambi*)......... might also mean 'cousin' and the word 'father' (aiyar)...... might designate 'an elder brother.' If it is granted that Vīrarājēndra I was the son of Rājendra-Chōla I, it would follow that the story of the adoption of Kulōttunga I by the latter (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 127) is a pure invention, which was started for political reasons in order to give an apparent *locus standi* to this usurper." (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 195-196).

According to the Tanjore inscription of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, the name of Vīrarājēndra's wife was Arumoli-Nangai. (*S.I.I.* II 232.). Most of his inscriptions mention his queen by her title Ulagamuludaiyāl, *i.e.*, "the mistress of the whole world," and state that she was seated with him on the throne. His daughter was given in marriage to the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. (*S.I.I.* III (ii) 129).

Adhirājēndra-Dēva; Parakēsarivarman, 1063-1070 A.D.

Adhirājēndra-Dēva succeeded Vīrarājēndra I on the throne. He was his rightful heir. His exact relationship, however, to his predecessor is not known. If Bilhana can be trusted, we might set him down as the son of Vīrarājēndra and the brother-in-law of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. (*S.I.I.* II 231; *S.I.I.* III. (i) 115). He was styled Parakēsarivarman. His inscriptions are rarely met with. Those that have been found are situated in the Chingleput, South Arcot and Tanjore Districts. One has also been found at Polannāruva in Ceylon. One at Tiruvilakkudi, Tanjore District, is dated in his 2nd year; another at Tiruvallam, in the Chingleput District, is dated in his 3rd year; a third at Kuhur in the Tanjore District is also dated in his 3rd year; and a fourth at Panaiyavaram, in the South Arcot District is also of the same year. (*M.E.R.* 1918), Appendix B. Nos. 280 and 322 of 1917). The regnal year in which the inscription at Polannāruva is dated is not known. The Kuhur inscription above referred to registers, curiously enough, a gift of land to an individual who had daily to recite the *Tiruppadiyam* twice before the local god for, what seems to be, the recovery of the health of the king. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 280 of 1917.). Apparently Adhirājēndra did not recover from this illness. His reign was accordingly a short-lived one. It probably did not extend beyond his 3rd year though other considerations may suggest that he ruled up 1070 A.D. It is, indeed, neglected by Kulōttunga-Chōla I, who counts his period in continuation with Vīrarājēndra. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33, Page 105.). In the 2nd year of his reign, the central shrine of the Varadarāja temple at Tiruvakkarai in the South Arcot District was re-built of stone. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 21 ; No. 204 of 1904). In the 3rd year of his reign, he was in possession of the principal capital of Kānchi. (*S.I.I.* III. 117.) In the Ceylon record Polannāruva is called as Jananāthapuram. The Siva temple in which it is engraved is named in it as Vānar-vanma-dēvisvaram-udaiyār. As village names beginning with Jananātha and Vānavanmadēvi occur frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja 1, the Siva temple at Polannāruva in which Adhirājēndra's inscription has been found should have come into existence not later than the end of the 10th century A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Part I, Para 8 ; and Part II, Para 23.). How Adhirājēndra's gift came to be made at this temple is not clear. Probably he was in Ceylon on its invasion by his uncle Rājēndra-Dēva and made a grant to the temple founded in the time of his famous ancestor Rājarāja the Great. Evidently, in the days of the Imperial Chōlas, great facilities existed for a free communication between India and Ceylon and Indian influence, consequently, appears to have been strong in the Buddhist island. Ceylon, indeed, has been included in the conventional fifty-six geographical divisions into which the *Puranās* divided India. Of even greater interest is the fact that two of the more important Saiva temples referred in the Saiva hymns included in the *Dēvāram* are supposed to be situated in that island. These two temples may yet be discovered as recent researches have brought to light such other Saiva temples. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para I, Para 8). If the Tiruvallam inscription is any guide in the matter, Chōla administration continued to be as strong as ever during the days of Adhirājēndra. In that record, it is stated that two royal officers met at Kānchipuram and called for the accounts of the villages which belonged to the Bilvanāthēsvara temple at Tiruvallam. One of the two decided that the revenue from two villages named in it should be assigned to the temple for expenses not previously provided for. A larger Committee then assembled and made allotments from this revenue for various heads of the temple expenditure. This shows a praiseworthy concern for rural administration and temple worship which is in keeping with the spirit that animated the generality of Chōla kings. (*S.I.I.* III. (i) No. 57). The Tiruvilakkadi record refers to the remission of taxation by the village assembly in favour of a temple. This would seem to indicate that rural administration was running as smoothly as ever on the traditional lines.

His death.

The exact end of Adhirājēndra is not known. The *Vikramānka-dēva Charita* states that he survived his accession only for a short time. (Bülher's *Introduction.* 34-37). He seems to have lost his life in the anarchy that followed on his being placed on the throne by his brother-in-law Vikramāditya II. His Tiruvallam inscription, dated in his 3rd year, refers also to the 7th year of his father Vīrarājēndra. We are free to infer from this that the double date refers, as Dr. Hultzsch has suggested, to the same year and that Vīra-Rājēndra had appointed his son Adhirājēndra as co-regent in the 4th year of his own reign. As the usurpation of Kulōttunga was not complete before 1070 A.D., we may take it that Adhirājēndra was put out of the way, with the rest of the Chōla princes in the regular male line, by Kulōttunga I about that date. (*See* under Kulōttunga-Chōla I.).

Rājēndra-Chōla II *alias* Kulōttunga-Chōla I, Rājakēsari-varman, A.D. 1070-1120. The story of his usurpation.

Adhirājēndra as the son of Vīrarājēndra, was, as we have seen above, the rightful heir to the throne. But when exactly his reign came to a close is not clear. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 51) that Adhirājēndra, the thirteen Chōla princes mentioned in the Manimangalam inscription of Rājēndradēva (*S.I.I.* III. (i) No. 29) and "the world of relations" referred to in the Karuvur inscription of Vīrarājēndra I *Ibid.* Page 7, *f.n.* 1) must have ceased to exist before a comparative stranger like the Chālukya Kulōttunga I, whose only claim to the Chōla throne was that he was the daughter's son of Rājēndra-Chōla I, and the son-in-law of Rājēndradēva, could succeed. When it is remembered that Adhirājēndra, had the strong support of a powerful king like the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, who was his brother-in-law, it might be easily imagined how Kulōttunga I should have struggled and how many royal princes he should have killed in open battle and how many he should have secretly despatched before he could feel secure on the Chōla throne. That he effectively succeeded in putting the genuine Chōla princes out of his way is shown by the fact of his long reign extending to half a century. (*I.A.* XX. 278-283; and *S.I.I.* I. 32). Adhirājēndra apparently did not live beyond his 3rd year, as his inscriptions do not extend beyond this period. Kulōttunga I, in fact, neglects his reign and counts his own reign from that of Vīrarājēndra I. Thus in an inscription of his 43rd year, Kulōttunga is represented as the *immediate successor* of Vīrarājēndra I. The historical introduction of this inscription begins with that associated with Vīrarājēndra I. The significance of this combination seems to be that Kulōttunga I claimed to be the immediate successor of Vīrarājēndra I, ignoring thus the short reign of Adhirājēndra in the interval. This inference drawn by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri seems well founded, for the latest year of Vīrarājēndra I found from inscriptions is his 7th year, roughly corresponding to A.D. 1069-1070, which coincides with the initial date of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, *i.e.*, 1070 A.D. As we have seen, Adhirājēndra was the brother-in-law of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI and was killed by Kulōttunga I before the latter succeeded to the throne. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33; Appendix B. No. 434). Similarly, an inscription of Kulōttunga-Chola I dated in 49 + Ist year commences with the introduction generally prefixed to the records of Vīrarājēndra I and then breaks off suddenly and then begins the usual introduction of Kulōttunga I himself. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix B. No. 284 of 1923). Accordingly, we have to fix the accession of the Chālukya-Chola usurper Rājēndra-Chōla II or Kulōttunga I in 1070 A.D. Inscriptions of his 2nd year have been found at Tiruvorriyur, Tiruvālangādu and Kolar, while records of his 3rd and 4th years are found closer to Conjeeveram. A record of his dated in his 4th year has been found at Mahādanapuram in the Trichinopoly District and shows that his influence had extended into the Chōla country in that year. The war between Adhirājēndra and the usurper must have taken place subsequently and was followed by the invasion into the Chōla country of the Western Chālukyas. But the usurper was actually in possession of Conjeeveram and the Chōla country in A.D. 1074-1075, when he changed his name from Rājēndra-Chōla to Kulōttunga-Chōla. His inscriptions found at Māramangalam and Akkāsālai, which are situated on the site of ancient Korkai, establish the conquest of the Pāndya country which he claims to have effected. (*M.E.R.* 1904; Nos. 157, 161 and 162 to 165 of 1903). If, as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, Rājādhirāja, Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra I were the sons of Rājēndra-Chōla I (see above), the story of the adoption of Kulōttunga I by Rājēndra-Chōla I is pure invention started for political purposes to give an apparent *locus standi* to the usurper. This would afford the necessary explanation for the deliberate efforts made by the genealogists to connect him directly with Vīrarājēndra by combining the introductions in his epigraphs as pointed out above.

Sources for the history of his reign.

Kulōttunga-Chōla I had thus a long reign of half a century. The chief sources for his history are of course his own inscriptions which have been found from Mysore in the north to Cape Comorin in the South and on the east as far as Vizagapatam. A list of his principal inscriptions will be found in *S.I.I.* III. (ii) 125-126; *E.C.* Kolar, Bangalore and Mysore and in the *Reports of the Mysore Archæological Department* and in the *Madras Epigraphy Reports.* These range in date from the 2nd to the 50th year of his reign. His inscriptions in the Telugu country are in Sānskrit and Telugu, while in the southern districts of Madras and in Mysore, they are generally in the Tamil language. Besides his inscriptions, some valuable information regarding his reign is to be found in the *Kalingattu-Parani*, a Tamil poem of which he is the hero. (*I.A.* XIX. 329; *M.E.R.* August 1892, Paras 5-6). This poem is perhaps, the best of its kind in Tamil literature. It was composed by one Jayankondān in honour of Karunākara Tondaimān who was probably the general of Kulōttunga-Chōla I in his campaign against the Kalingas. The slaughter in this war must have been great, as the name *Parani* is not given to a poem unless its hero has killed at least one thousand elephants on the battle-field.

His inscriptions in Mysore State.

The following is a tabulated list of his inscriptions found in this State with dates arranged in the chronological order :—

Sl. No.	Regnal year of grant	*Saka* Date, if any, mentioned	Reference to place of inscription	Remarks
1	2nd year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Kolar 108 ...	Contains short historical introduction.
2	6th year	*Saka* 997	*E. C.* IX, Hoskote 101 ...	Private grant
3	7th year	*Saka* 998	*E. C.* X, Kolar 91 ...	*Virgal*
4	7th year	Nil	*E. C.* III, Nanjangud 40	
5	10th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Mulbagal 47	
6	11th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Sidlaghatta 66	*Virgal*

Sl. No.	Regnal year of grant	*Saka* Date, if any mentioned	Reference to place of inscription	Remarks
7 (a)	12th year	Nil	On the walls of Durgi temple, Agara, Yelandur, Mysore District *M. A. R.* 1917, Para 94	This grant bears the date 34th regnal year also. Apparently it was only engraved in this year. Its introduction is like Mulbagal 42 (b), 47 and 54 and Channapatna 77.
7	13th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Kolar 43 ...	
8	17th year	Nil	*E. C.* IX, Channapatna 77	Contains historical introduction.
9	18th year	Nil	*E. C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 100.	Mahāsatikal
10	20th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Kolar 149 (a)	
11	23rd year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Chikballapur 24	Private grant to temple.
12	27th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Mulbagal 42 (b)	
13	27th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Bowringpete 16	
14	29th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Mulbagal 42 (b)	
15	31st year	Nil	*E. C.* III, Nanjangud 29	
16	32nd year	Nil	*E. C.* III, T. Narasipur 7	
17	33rd year	Nil	*E. C.* III, T. Narasipur 8	
18	33rd year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Sidlaghatta 91	
19	33rd year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Mulbagal 54	
20	33rd year	Nil	*E. C.* IV, Yedatore 55	
20 (a)	33rd year	Nil	Bannur *Agrahāra* near Seringapatam, *M. A. R.* 1912, Para 81.	
21	35th year	Nil	*E. C.* X, Mulbagal 42 (c)	
22	35th year	Nil	*E. C.* III, T.-Narsipur 71	
22 (a)	35th year	Nil	At Nagarekanhalli, Chikballapur Taluk, Kolar District, *M.A.R.* 1913-14, Para 79.	
23	37th year	*Saka* 1030 Cyclic year *Vyaya.*	*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 51.	Records the erection of the Mūlasthāna temple.

Sl. No.	Regnal year of grant	*Saka* date, if any, mentioned	Reference to placc of inscription	Remarks
24	39th year	Nil	.*EC.* X, Sidlaghatta 83	
25	40th year	Nil	*E.C*, X, Sidlaghatta 30	
26	40th year	Nil	*E.C.* IV, Chamrajnagar 197.	
27	41st year	Nil	*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 3	
27 (a)	42nd year	Nil	At Doddasivara, Malur Taluk, *M.A.R.* 1913-14. Para 79.	
28	43rd year	Nil	*E.C.* X, Malur 101	
29	43rd year	*Saka* 1035 Cyclic year *Jaya.*	*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 41	
30	43rd year	*Saka* 1035	*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 38 (a).	
31	44th year	Nil	*E.C.* X, Chikballapur 25	
32	45th year	Cyclic year *Jaya*	*E.C.* IV, Krishnarajapete 34.	
33	46th year	Nil	At Annu, Hoskote Taluk, Mysore District, *M.A.R.* 1912-13, Para 70.	
34	49th year	Nil	*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 12	
35	Undated	Nil	*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 32	Refers to a Boar hunt.
36	Date lost	Nil	*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 183	
37	Undated	Nil	*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 49 (c)	
38	Undated	Nil	At Durga Temple at Agara, Yelandur Taluk, Mysore District, *M.A.R.* 1917, Para 93.	Conquest of Kērala referred to
39	Date worn out.	Nil	At Matakere, Heggaddevankote Taluk, Mysore District. *M.A.R.* 1912-13, Para 70.	Has short historical introduction.

A comparison of the above list of inscriptions found in the State with the list of those found in the Madras Presidency given by Dr. Hultzsch in *S.I.I.* III. ii. 125-26 will show that while inscriptions of the regnal years 3, 4, 5, 14, 15 and 48 are not represented in the Mysore list, those bearing the regnal years 27, 29, 33, 37 and 41 are not represented in the Madras list. In the Madras list, there are no inscriptions with *Saka* dates, whereas in the Mysore list there are four inscriptions with *Saka* dates and one with the Cyclic year mentioned in it. These latter generally record private grants. What is more important in every case, the *Saka* date and the regnal year as given in each record correctly agrees, taking 1070 A.D., as the initial year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I.

Outline of the story of his reign.

The parents of the king's father were the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya, who ascended the throne on the 10th May A.D. 1011, and Kundava or Kundavai (Kunti-Dēvi) the daughter of the Chōla king Rājarāja I (whose reign commenced between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985) and the younger sister of his successor Rājēndra-Chōla I, (whose reign commenced between the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July 1012). The parents of the king were the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I, who ascended the throne on the 16th August A.D. 1022, and Ammangadēvi or Ammangayāmba, the daughter of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla I. Thus he was a descendant of the lunar race on his father's side and of the solar race on that of his mother and grandmother. A younger sister of his, named Kundavai after her grandmother, is known from an inscription at Chidambaram. The *Kalingattu-Parani*, which usually is very averse to mentioning proper names, records curiously enough the name of Kulōttunga's maternal grandfather, Gangaikonda Chōla I, and that of his father, the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I. The verse which contains the second reference has been hitherto misunderstood and 'Rājarāja' has been considered a mistake for the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla I. Now Mr. Venkayya has found that

Mr. Kanakasabhai's translation of the verse may be modified as follows:—

> "Vishnu appeared again in the royal womb of the queen of him of the race of the Moon which dispels all darkness, Rājaraja's gracious Lakshmi (who was) of the rival race of the Sun."

Here both 'the queen' and 'Lakshmi' refer to Ammangadēvi, and her husband is the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I.

Period of his Rule.

The copper-plate grants allot to the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I a reign of 41 years, while the Pithapuram inscription of Mallappadēva gives him 40 years. Accordingly, his death and the accession of his son Kulōttunga I would *prima facie* fall in A.D. 1061-62 or 1062-63. This date is not borne out by the Telugu inscriptions of Kullōttunga I which contain both a *Saka* date and a regnal year, and according to which the accession took place in *Saka-Samvat* 991-92, *i.e.*, A.D. 1069-71. For example, an inscription at Sindhuvalli, dated in his 37th year, couples *Saka* 1030, with the cyclic year *Vyaya* or A.D. 1107-1108. (*E.I.I.* 191). The date of his accession should therefore be fixed at about 1070 A.D. Professor Kiëlhorn's calculations of the dates of Tamil and Kannada inscriptions prove that his reign commenced between the 14th March and the 18th October A.D. 1070.

Birth and parentage.

The original name of the King was Rājēndra-Chōda, and in the Tamil inscriptions of his 2nd, 3rd and 4th years he is actually called Rājakēsari-varman *alias* Rājēndra-Chōladēva (II). The account of Kulōttunga's birth and youth in the *Kalingattu-Parani* seems to imply that he was adopted by Gangaikonda-Chōla (*i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōla I), who apparently had no son of his own, and that he was nominated the heir-apparent of his grandfather. If the *Kalingattu-Parani* (XIII.

Verse 62) calls Kulōttunga's father Pandita-Chōla, this can hardly refer to his real father, the Eastern Chālukya king, but must mean his adoptive father, Rājēndra-Chōla I. That the latter had the surname Pandita-Chōla may be concluded from two of his Tanjore inscriptions, which mention a regiment entitled Pandita-Sōla-terinda-villigal, *i.e.*, 'the chosen archers of Panditachōla.' While still heir-apparent, Kulōttūnga I distinguished himself by capturing elephants at Vayirāgaram and by defeating the king of Dhāra at Sakkarakōttam. His early inscriptions of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th regnal years confirm these conquests mentioned in the *Kalingattu-Parani* (X, verse 23). Sakkarakōttam has been identified with Chakrakōtya in the modern Bastar State, (*E.I.* IX, 178) and Dhārāvarsha who has been mentioned in this connection, with the Sinda king Dhārāvarsha who was ruling in or about A.D. 1060-61. (See *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 66). These conquests should have taken place long before Kulōttunga succeeded to the Chōla throne. There is no evidence available from inscriptions to show as to when and in what capacity Kulōttunga undertook this campaign into Sakkarakōttam and Vayirāgaram. Mr. Venkayya has suggested that the latter place should be looked for somewhere in the Central Provinces.(*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 45).

His rule over Vēngai.

According to the copper-plate grants, his first charge was the country of Vēngai, which had been ruled over by his father and paternal grandfather. Instead of 'the Vēngai country,' Kulōttunga's Tamil inscriptions use the expression 'the region of the rising of the Sun,' and the Pithapuram pillar inscriptions employ the term Āndra-mandala or Āndra-vishaya, *i.e.*, the Telugu country. Kulōttunga is stated to have entrusted this province to viceroys, first to his uncle Vijayāditya VII, then to his second son Rājaraja II, next to his third son Vīra-Chōda, who assumed office on the 23rd August A.D. 1078, and finally to Chōda of Velanādu. Vijayāditya VII is said to have governed Vēngi for 15 years and Rājarāja II for one year. If we deduct the sum of these two reigns from A.D. 1078, the year of Vīra-Chōda's appointment, the result is A.D. 1062 as the date of Vijayāditya's accession. This year coincides with the end of the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I, but is 8 years prior to Kulōttunga's coronation. This discrepancy may be explained in the following manner. The Chōla king Vīrarājēndra I claims to have conquered the country of Vēngi and to have bestowed it on Vijayāditya. This expedition may have taken place just after the death of Rājarāja I who was succeeded in A.D. 1062 by his brother Vijayāditya VII. It looks as if the rightful heir Kulōttunga I had been ousted by the latter with the assistance of Vīrarājēndra I. This would explain the fact noted before, that Kulōttunga came to the throne 8 years after his father's death. As noted by Dr. Fleet, Vijayāditya VII had later on to apply to Rājarāja of Kalinganagara (A.D. 1071 to 1078) for assistance against the Chōda who threatened to absorb his dominions. This Chōla enemy was no doubt Kulōttunga I who, after Vijayāditya's death, replaced him by Rājarāja II and soon after by Vīra-Chōda.

His conquests.

The localities in which the inscriptions of Kulōttunga's 2nd year (A.D. 1071-72) are found show that he was then in possession of Tiruvorriyur, Tiruvālangādu and Kolar. An inscription of his 3rd year is found at Somangalam (near Manimangalam), and one of his 4th year at Kavantadalam (between Conjeeveram and Uttaramallur). The Chellur plates of Vīra-Chōda state that Kulōttunga I conquered the Kērala, Pāndya and Kuntala countries and was anointed to the Chōda kingdom under the name Kulōttungadēva. Instead of 'the Chōda kingdom' the Pithapuram inscription of Mallappadēva uses the expression 'the five Drāvidas.' (*E.I.* IV, P. 228). The first inscription in which he is called Kulōttunga-Chōladēva is one of the 5th year of his reign, *i.e.*, A.D. 1074-75, at Conjeeveram. It states that he defeated the king of Kuntala, that he crowned himself as king of the Chōla country, and that he decapitated an unnamed Pāndya king. In speaking of 'the prostitution of the Lakshmi of the Southern region,' and 'the loneliness of the Goddess of the country on the banks of the Kāveri,' the inscription suggests that, before Kulōttunga's arrival in the South, the Chōla country had lapsed into a state of anarchy and lost its ruler. A similar account of the condition of the Chōla country is given in the *Kalingattu-Parani*, which states besides that Kulōttunga defeated Virudarāja (Canto IV, verse 6 and canto X, verse 25) and that 'the king of kings' had met with his death. A third account of the same events is furnished by Bilhana in his *Vikramānka-dēva-charita*. (Professor Bühler's *Introduction*, pp. 34 to 37). During the reign of his elder brother Sōmēsvara II (A.D. 1069 to 1076), Vikramāditya VI married the daughter of the Chōla king. Shortly after, "the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead and that the Chōla kingdom was in a state of anarchy." He immediately started for Kānchi and Gangakundapura (*i.e.*, Gangaikondachōlapuram) and put his wife's brother on the Chōla throne. A few days after his return from this expedition, "he learnt that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord of Vēngi, had taken possession of the throne of Kānchi." Rājiga found an ally in Sōmēsvara II, but Vikramāditya VI put Rājiga to flight, took Sōmēsvara II prisoner and ascended the throne himself in A.D. 1076. Dr. Fleet was the first to recognise that Rājiga is a familiar form of Rājēndra-Chōda, the original name of Kulōttunga I. The Chōla king whose daughter became the wife of Vikramāditya VI is identical with Vīrarājēndra I, one of whose inscriptions proves that he entered into friendly relations with Vikramāditya VI. In an inscription of the 6th year of Vīrarājēndra I at Tiruvallam (No. 16 of 1890) he is stated to have deprived Sōmēsvara II of his necklace. The son and successor of Vīrarājēndra I and the brother-in-law of Vikramāditya VI was Parakēsarivarman, *alias* Adhirājēndra. He is probably 'the king of kings,' whose death, according to the *Kalingattu-Parani*, preceded Kulōttunga's arrival in the Chōla country. Finally, the Virudarāja of the *Kalingattu-Parani*, and the king of Kuntala whom Kulōttunga claims to have defeated, is Vikramāditya VI. The war between these two kings must fall before A.D. 1074-1075.

An inscription of the 11th year—A.D. 1080-1081—adds that Kulōttunga I drove Vikkalan (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI) from Nangili (in the Kolar District) by way of Manalur to the Tungabhadra river, and that he conquered the Ganga-mandalam and Singanam. A later inscription substitutes Alatti for Manalur and 'the country of Konkana' for Singanam. Neither Manalur nor Alatti can be identified. Singanam seems to refer to the dominions of Jayasimha III, Vikramāditya's younger brother, to whom he had given the office of viceroy of Banavāsi. Other inscriptions assert that Vikkalan and Singanan had to take refuge before Kulōttunga in the Western ocean. It may have been in the course of the war against the two brothers that Kulōttunga "captured a thousand elephants at Navilai which was guarded by the *Gandanāyakas*" which must be read as *Dandanāyakas*. (*Kalingattu-Parani*, XI, verse 74). For, Navilai is probably the capital of Navale-nādu, a district of Mysore, which is mentioned in inscriptions at Kattemanuganahalli and Beltūru. (*E.I.* VI, p. 69 and p. 214 f.). In the *Vikramānka-dēva-charita* we of course look in vain for an account of reverses experienced by Vikramāditya VI, but are told that he "had once more to extinguish the Chōla" before entering his capital of Kalyāna (Professor Bühler's *Introduction*, p. 38), and that after a long period of peace, he again put the Chōla to flight and took Kānchi. (*Ibid*, p. 44).

An inscription of the 14th year adds that Kulōttunga I put 'the five Pāndyas' to flight and subdued the western portion of their country, including the Gulf of Mannār, the Podiyil mountain, Cape Comorin and Kōttāru. He limited the boundary of the Pāndya country and placed garrisons in the strategically important places of the newly acquired territory, *e.g.*, at Kōttāru. Along with the Pāndya country, he conquered Kudamalai-nādu, *i.e.*, the western hill-country (Malabār), whose warriors, the ancestors of the Nāirs of the present day, perished to the last man in defending their independence. Of special places occupied on the western coast, the *Kalingattu-Parani* (XI, verse 71) mentions Vilinam (according to the late Professor P. Sundaram Pillai, Vilinam is about 10 miles to the south of Trivandrum; *I.A.*, XXIV, p. 254) and Sālai, and the *Vikkirama-Sōlan-ulā* states that at Sālai, Kulōttunga I twice destroyed the ships (of the Chēra king). (*I.A.* XXII, p. 142). The defeat of 'the five Pāndyas' and the burning of Kōttāru are referred to also in an inscription at Chidambaram (*E.I.* V, p. 104) and in the *Kalingattu-Parani.* (Canto XI, verse 69 and Canto III, verse 21). That Kulōttunga-Chōla I conquered and colonized Kōttāru, 10 miles north of Cape Comorin, is confirmed by inscriptions found near it. A Chōla temple is close to it, in the quarter called Chōlapuram. Inscriptions in it call it Kottam and Mummudi-Chōlanallūr or Mummudi-Chōōlapuram, after a surname of Rājarāja. From inscription No. 31 of 1896 (*M.E.R.* 1896, Para 14) we learn that the temple was founded during the reign of Kulōttunga I by a certain Madhurāntaka and received the designation Rājēndra-Chōlēsvara, after Rājendra-

Chōla, a name which Kulōttunga-Chōla I bore in the earlier years of his reign. Then there are several inscriptions of Ko-jatāvarma Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya, (11th, 12th and 19th years) apparently a Chōla-Pāndya, who ruled under Rājēndra-Chōla I. (32, 34, 38. 39, 43, 44 and 45 of 1896, *M.E.R.* 1896, Appendix B.). As regards the Chēras, they continued to be feudatories under the Chōlas. In the 34th and 36th years of Kulōttunga-Chōla's reign, Vīra-Kēralan Adhirājarājadēvar (also called Kērala-Kēsari Adhirājādhirājadēva) made certain gifts to the Vishnu shrine at Tirukannapuram. An inscription of the latter, dated in his 22-18th year, has been found at Palni. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 33, No. 711 of 1905, see also *M.E.R.* 1905, Para 14).

Before the 26th year of his reign, *i.e.*, A.D. 1095-1096, Kulōttunga conquered the country of Kalinga. This expedition is described in detail in the *Kalingattu-Parani*. It would fall into the reign of Anantavarman, *alias* Chōdaganga of Kalinganagara (A.D. 1078 to about 1142). According to inscriptions, this was the first expedition against Kalinga undertaken by Kulōttunga. The other one is the expedition mentioned in the *Kalingattu-Parani*, which took place about the end of his reign. It has been suggested that in his first campaign he confined his conquest to southern Kalinga in which the grandson of the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarma Chōdaganga was not directly interested and in the other, helped the latter against the rebellious chiefs of the "seven Kalingas" in the north. A record of Anantavarmadēva (*i.e.*, the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarma-Chōdaganga), who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1078, has been found at Vizagapatam in which the latter town is called Visakhāpattana *alias* Kulōttunga-Chōdapattana. There is no doubt that the town was so named after Kulōttunga-Chōla I who, in his first campaign against Kalinga, must have proceeded as far as Simhāchalam, where a record of his reign dated probably in *Saka* 1021 (1099 A.D.) still exists. The record mentions his conquest and his minister Madhurāntaka-Brahmamarāyar. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Page 22. No. 363 of 1899). Perhaps, Kulōttunga's conquest of southern Kalinga was also undertaken on behalf of his grandson Anantavarma-Chōdaganga. As, however, the record of Anantavarma at Vizagapatam is translated into Tamil (*M.E.R.* 1910, No. 90 of 1909) and as the donee mentioned is a merchant of Malamandala (*i.e.*, Malabār), it has been inferred that Kulōttunga's interest in southern Kalinga was limited to the settling of a few of his followers from the southern country in the dominions of Anantavarma-Chōdaganga. That these settlers continued even at the time of the Eastern Ganga prince Narasimha I is proved by another Tamil record at Vizagapatam, dated *Saka Samvat* 1172 and the 15th year of Vīra-Narasingadēva. The donor was a native of Padalayani Kollam, a village north of Quilandi. (*Malabar Gazetteer*, 436). The gift made by him was to the temple of Karumānikka-Ālvār at Visakapattinam *alias* Kulōttunga-sōlapattinam. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 45). The existence of these records of Kulōttunga's reign in the Kalinga country establishes beyond doubt the conquest of Kalinga, which is claimed for him both in inscriptions and in Tamil literature. Mr. Venkayya has remarked (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 52) that as Vikrama-Chōla, the son of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, ruled with his father as co-regent from 1108 A.D., there is reason to believe that the second expedition against Kalinga, which is mentioned in an inscription of Kulōttunga-Chōla I dated in his 45th year (=1114-1115 A.D.) and in an inscription of the 4th year of Vikrama-Chōla (A.D. 1112-1113) was actually undertaken by Vikrama-Chola about the end of his father's reign and that both claimed credit for it. It is for this reason that the *Kulōttunga-sōlan-ulā*, a Tamil poem composed in honour of Kulōttunga II, the son of

Akalanka (a surname of Vikrama-Chōla,) and grandson of Kulōttunga I, refers to the conquest of Kalinga as having been achieved by Vikrama-Chōla, while the *Kalingattu-Parani*, claims the same achievement for its hero, Kulōttunga I.

Three inscriptions of his found at Tripurāntakan show that Kulōttunga-Chōla's dominion extended also into the present Kurnool District. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 22).

His other names and titles.

Rājakēsarivarman, *alias* Rājēndra-Chōladēva II or Kulōttunga-Chōladēva I, had various other names. The Chellūr and Pithapuram plates mention his surname Rājanārāyana (*E.I.* V. No. 10, verse 11), from which the designation of a temple at Bhīmavaram was derived. (*E.I.* IV, p. 230). Hence certain coins with the legend *Chōlanārāyana* have perhaps to be assigned to him. (*I.A.* XXV, p. 321). The *Kalingattu-Parani* calls him Kulōttunga-Chōla, Karikāla-Chōla, Virudarājabhayamkara, (Canto VI, verse 14, and X, verse 25, where the context suggests that Virudarāja was a *biruda* of Vikramāditya VI) Abhaya and Jayadhara. (Canto XI, verse 68 and *passim*). The last name is applied to him in two inscriptions at Chidambaram and Tiruvorriyur. (*E.I.* V, p. 105 f.). An inscription at Pallavaram belongs to the 39th year of Sungandavirtta-Kulōttunga-Sōladēva, *i.e.*, 'Kulōttunga-Chōladēva who abolished tolls', and three later inscriptions (No. 5 of 1899, No. 125 of 1896 and No. 84 of 1897) mention the same name of the king. As the *Vikkirama-Sōlan-ulā* and *Rāja-Rājan-ulā* state that Kulōttunga I abolished tolls (*I,A.* XXII, p. 142), it has to be assumed that *Sungandavirtta* was another of his surnames. A list of the surnames which appear in his inscriptions in the Telugu country have been given in *E.I.* VI, p. 220 f. From his Chōla predecessors he inherited the title *Udaiyār*, 'the lord.' Later on, he assumed the titles *Chakravartin*, 'the emperor,' and

Tribhuvana-chakravartin, 'the emperor of the three worlds,' which occur first in inscriptions of the 14th, 18th and 20th years.

His Capitals.

Kulōttunga's capital was Gangapuri or Gangokondapura, *i.e.*, Gangaikonda-chōlapuram, which had been founded by his grandfather Rājēndra-Chōla I *alias* Gangaikonda-Chōla, and which had been the residence of the latter and of Vīrarājēndra I. This is confirmed by an inscription of his 49th year. (*M.E.R.* 1913, No. 200 of 1912). He is said to have issued certain of his orders in the 42nd year of his reign while occupying the seat *Vānadhirājan* in the Hall *Rājēndra-Sōlan* within the inner apartments of this Palace. (*M.E.R.* 1910). His palace was at Vikramachōlapuram. His throne under the pearl canopy is also mentioned. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No. 261). The city second in importance was Kānchi. An inscription of the 30th year of Kulōttunga's reign is dated from his palace at Kānchipuram.

His Queens.

The copper-plate grants state that Kulōttunga I married Madhurāntaki, the daughter of Rājēndradēva of the solar race, and had by her seven sons. The eldest, Vikrama-Chōda, was crowned (most probably) on the 18th July A.D. 1108. (*E.I.* IV, p. 266). The second, Rājarāja II, was viceroy of Vēngi from 1077 to 1078 A.D., and was succeeded by the third brother, Vīra-Chōda.

Kulōttunga's queen Madhurāntaki is not mentioned by name in his inscriptions. But she is probably intended by 'the mistress of the whole world' or 'the mistress of the whole earth,' to whom many of his inscriptions refer. An inscription of the 26th year gives the names of three additional queens:—Dīnachintāmani, Elisai-Vallabhi and Tyāgavalli. In the 30th year Dīnachintāmani seems to have been dead and Tyāgavalli to have taken her place. The *Kalingattu-Parani* (X, verse 55) states that Tyāgavalli exercised equal authority with the king himself. After her name was named the Tyāgavalli-valanādu. Several other queens of his are also known. Thus one is mentioned in an inscription dated in his 18th year and referred to as Solansorudaiāl *alias* Kādavan Mahādēvaiyār, apparently a princess of Pallava descent. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33, Appendix B. No. 111). Another of his queens Trailōkya-Malladēviyār is mentioned in an inscription of his 2nd year. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix. C. No. 138 of 1923). Her mother Umai-nangai is also mentioned. As the gift of these two was for the merit of Vikramakēsari-pallavaraiyar, it might be inferred that the latter was the father of Trailōkyamalladēviyār. He was apparently of Pallava descent. His queens, Ādittan Kampamadēviyār *alias* Tribhuvanamudaiyār and Ādittan Andakuttiyār *alias* Anukkiyur Sōlakulavalliyār, are described as the devotees (*adiya*) of the god Tiruvuragattālvār at Kānchi. They apparently showed leanings towards Vaishnavism, as they are also stated to have made donations to that temple for festivals and worship to be conducted therein. They also made the king to restore certain lands to the temple which had been previously granted to it but had fallen into the hands of local people. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 33, Appendix C. Nos. 39 and 45).

Duration of his rule fifty years.

Kulōttunga I is stated to have reigned for 49 years in the Chellur plates of his grandson (*I.A.* XIV, pp. 55), and for 50 years in the Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadēva. (*E.I.* IV, p. 227). This would carry us to A.D. 1118-1119 or 1119-1120. Hence he must have appointed his son Vikrama-Chōla co-regent during his life-time (in A.D. 1108). Until recently, the latest epigraphical date known of Kulōttunga I was the 49th year of his reign in two inscriptions at Gangaikondachōlapuram (*M.E.R.* No. 80 of 1892) and Achcharapākkam.

(*M.E.R.* No. 256 of 1901). An inscription of his 50th year is, however, now known. This is the highest regnal year known for him. The astronomical details furnished in this epigraph correspond approximately to April 26, 1120. (*M.E.R.* 1921; Appendix B. No. 520). Other inscriptions of his 50th year are also known. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33; Appendix B. Nos. 282 and 459 of 1912).

His conquests as described in his inscriptions.

A couple of his inscriptions may be quoted below to indicate how his conquests are described in his inscriptions. The following is from *E.C.* IX, Channapatna 77, dated in his 17th year:—

> "When still *Yuvarāja*, wedded for the first time the brilliant goddess of Victory by his heroic deeds at Sakkaragōttam, and captured troops of rutting elephants at Vayiragaram; who, having spurred his war-steed, unsheathed his sword and displayed the strength of his arm, put to flight the army of the kings of Kontala who were armed with sharp lances, and put on the garland of victory over the Northern region; who freed the goddess with the sweet and fragrant lotus flower (Lakshmi) of the Southern region from being common property, and the goddess of the good country whose garment was the Ponni (Cauvery) from being lonely, and put on by right of inheritance the pure and excellent crown of jewels, while the other kings of the ancient earth wore on their heads his two feet as a large crown: whose sceptre swayed over every region so that the river of the ancient Manu's rules swelled and the river of Kali's evil dried up, while the sacred shadow of his white umbrella shone like white moonlight everywhere over the wide earth, and his tiger banner fluttered on the matchless Mēru; before whom stood in many rows rutting elephants given as tribute by the kings of remote sea-girt islands; outside whose golden town lay the big head of the runaway king of the South (the Pāndya), pecked by kites; who made Vikkalan—his words to Kulōttunga, *viz.*, 'To-day your stain shall be like that on the crescent moon of your former family,' only proving false, so that, without even bending the bow in his hand against the

enemy, he was glad to find himself in his own dominions in the Western region, leaving his furious elephants which lay dead everywhere, from Nangili facing the mountains, as far as the Tungabattirai, with Manalur in the middle, his pride being broken, his boasted valour disappearing, the mountains he ascended bending their backs, the rivers he descended into eddying and breaching their banks in their course, and the seas he plunged into becoming troubled and agitated (who made Vikkalan) turn his back, together with his army, and seized at one and the same time the great goddess of Victory who through fear changed over from the opposite side, the goddess of Fame who was surrendered with humiliation, crowds of women left behind with indifference, troops of furious elephants irretrievably abandoned, and the two countries (*pani*) called Gangamandalam and Singanam ; who, having resolved in his mind to acquire Pāndimandalam ; along with much fame, led his great army, which, with its innumerable horses resembling the waves, with its war-elephants resembling the billows, and with its troops resembling the expanse of water, marched as though the northern ocean was about to overflow the southern ocean, and who, when the five Panjavas (Pāndyas) that approached the battlefield to fight turned their backs, fled in terror, and took refuge in jungles, completely destroyed those jungles, put them (the Panjavas) to shame, drove them to hot jungles near hills where treacherous people roamed about, and planted pillars of victory in every direction ; who was pleased to take possession of the pearl fisheries, the Podiyal (mountain) where the three forms of Tamil flourished, the middle Sayyam (Sahya) where furious rutting elephants were captured, Kanni and Gangai ; who was pleased to establish settlements of people on all sides (in the conquered country) including Kōttāra in order that the enemies might be scattered ; who was pleased to occupy the throne just for receiving tribute ; and who was graciously seated on the throne of heroes along with his queen, Puvani-mulud-udaiyāl, while his enemies prostrated themselves on the earth."

Later inscriptions, down to those dated in his 49th and 50th years, describe him as universal emperor. Thus *E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 12, dated in his 49th year records :—

> "While the goddess of Fame became conspicuous, while the goddess of Victory desired him, while the goddess of the Earth became bright, and while the goddess of Fortune wedded him, he rightfully wore the excellent crown of jewels; caused the wheel of his authority to roll over all regions, so that the Mīnavar (Pāndyas) lost their position, the Villavar (Chēras) became disconcerted, and the other kings retreated with disgrace; performed the anointment of victory; and was graciously seated on the throne of heroes along with his queen Avani-mulud-udaiyāl."

Expulsion of the Chōlas from Mysore, 1116 A.D.

But neither the above nor the other inscriptions of Kulōttunga reflect the reverses he appears to have sustained in Mysore about the close of his reign. By the 46th year of his reign (*i.e.*, 1116 A.D.), Talkād, the old Ganga capital, had been re-taken by the Hoysalas and the Chōla dominion in the Mysore country brought to an end. This important capture was effected by Ganga-Rāja, a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, and probably a descendant of the old Ganga-Rāja, being (as *Sravana Belgola* 45 puts it) a hundred times more fortunate than the former Rāja of the Gangas, under whom Talkād and the kingdom were lost. Further point is given to the event by his original name Rājēndra-Chōla being given to the Chōla king, though he was then in the 46th year of his reign, in *E.C.* V, Belur 58, which sets out in grand style the conquests of Vishnuvardhana. This inscription referring to the incident suggests that the battle which preceded the fall of Talkād was a most sanguinary one. It states that god Vishnu so helped Vishnuvardhana's cause that by the power of his arm, he threw all the corpses of Vishnuvardhana's adversary into the stream of the river, so much so that "Rājēndra-Chōla, disgusted at the water of the Cauvery suddenly becoming polluted" was "driven to the use of water from wells in the vicinity." (*E.C.* V, Belur 58). A spirited account is contained in *Sravana Belgola* 90

(New Edition) and Malavalli 31, (*E.C.* III) of how Ganga-Rāja summoned the fort to surrender, and how the Chōla governor Adiyama returned a defiant answer, saying "Fight and take it (if you can)." This, Ganga-Rāja did, driving out the Chōla chiefs who were present, and followed up his success by bringing under one umbrella all the districts which had become Chōla-nāds. Putting to flight the Tigulas(*i e.*, the Tamil Chōlas) of Gangavādi, he caused Vīra-Ganga (the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana) to stand erect, *i.e.*, assert his independence). After this expulsion of the Chōlas from Talkād, the Chōla dominion in Mysore was restricted to the north-east of the Kolar District, where we have inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla down to his 12th year. (*E.C.* X, Chintāmani 70; see below).

The date of Chōla-expulsion from Mysore.

The approximate date of the expulsion of the Chōlas from Talkād is determined by Yedatore 6 (*E.C.* III), which is the first to give Vishnuvardhana the title of *Talakādu-gonda*, dated in *Saka* 1038 (expired), Cyclic year *Durmukhi*, and Chamarājnagar 83 (*E.C.* IV), which describes him as in the same year ruling in Talkād and Kōlāla (Kolar) over the whole of Gangavādi as far as Kongu. Moreover, a village which Ganga-Rāja received as a reward for his great exploit he made over to a Jain priest in 1117 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Malvalli 31).

Features of his administration.

Kulōttunga-Chōla I conducted a land survey in the 16th year of his reign (1086 A.D.) and ordered the remission of certain taxes which earned for him the title of *Sungandavirta-Chōla*, by which he came to be well known for many generations afterwards. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Nos. 377 and 379 of 1907). The levy of this tax appears to have weighed heavily on temples. Though temples were exempt from the tax known as *antarāya-pattam*, it had been levied on some of them. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33) These were swept away by him and the relief obtained from the remission seem to have really great. It appears to have been one of those vexatious taxes which seems to have given as much trouble to the assessee as to the collector. Ulagalandān Tiruvaranga Dēvan of Kulattur, one of the officers engaged in the revenue survey referred to above, is referred to in an inscription dated in his 7th year. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix B. No. 340). In this survey, Kulottunga-Chōla's royal foot (*Srīpāda*) was taken as the unit. (*M.E.R.* 1900. Para 26). This statement is confirmed by inscriptions found at Tiruvālangādu (*M.E.R.* 1906, Nos. 466 and 455 of 1906) and Tiruvidamarudur. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Nos. 305 and 487 of 1907). There was, besides, a revenue settlement in the 38th year of his reign (1107-1108 A.D.). Though Kulōttunga-Chōla I remitted taxes, he was not lax in the collection of what was actually levied. There is reason to believe, on the other hand, that he was rigorous in collecting the State revenue. Thus, we are told, that he ordered the confiscation by the village assemblies of the lands of defaulting tenants. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Nos. 620 and 647 of 1910). This power, however, the village assemblies had possessed already, (*S.I.I.* III, (i) 14) but its exercise had apparently fallen into desuetude. There is no reason to believe that he introduced any change in the civil and criminal administration of the country. The punishments for the different offences appear to have continued the same. Thus, a man having killed accidentally another, gave 128 cows to a temple for maintaining 4 lamps in it, in order to expiate the sin incurred. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 115 of 1918). This punishment does not differ from what was inflicted in similar cases a hundred years prior to Kulōttunga-Chōla I. There is reason to believe the village assembly was functioning during Kulōttunga's reign. There is reference to an irrigation committee as well during his time. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 17).

Temple construction and administration.

During the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, many of the temples in South India were rebuilt in stone or repaired, the old inscriptions in them being copied in books and then re-engraved after the renovation or repair was over. Among these were the Siva temple at Siddhalingamadam, the Chandēsvara shrine in the Umamahēsvara temple at Konērirājapuram, and the central shrine at the Agastēsvara temple at Olakkur, in the South Arcot District. The temple at Melappalavūr was similarly rebuilt in his reign, for the prosperity of his reign, by a subordinate chief and dedicated to Kulōttunga-Sōlēsvara after the king. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Nos. 390 and 393 of 1924). The *mandapa* in front of Karkātakēsvara temple near Veppattūr was named *Kulōttunga-Sōlan*, after the king, in whose time probably it came into existence. (*M.E.R.* 1910, No. 53 of 1910). This supposition is confirmed by the exsistence of an inscription of Kulōttunga-Chōla I which is engraved on its north wall. He founded the Vishnu temple of Kulōttunga-Chōla-Vinnagaram (now Rājagōpāla Perumāl) at Mannārgudi in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1897, Para 11). His grants and gifts appear to have been evenly distributed between the Siva and Vishnu shrines. The gifts made to Vishnu temples were placed under the protection of the *Srīvaishnavas of the Eighteen nādus.* The gifts made to deities in the Siva temples were placed "under the protection of all Mahēsvaras." They are referred to as guardians of grants made to temples. Their permission appears to have been sought by the temple authorities for receiving gifts or entering into any transaction with the donors regarding their management. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. No. 51 of 1922; and Appendix C. No. 168 of 1923). As adjuncts to the temples, Siva and Vishnu, there were *maths*, where pilgrims and others were fed. Thus at Tiruvādutturai, there were a number of *maths*, where pilgrims and the destitute were fed. A feeding house was established in the 31st year of his reign, in front of the eastern gate-way of the temple at the place and in it a number of *Sivayōgins* well versed in the *Vēdas* were fed for the welfare of the king. It was called the *Tirunīlakantan.* It was brought into existence by his *sēnāpati* Ādittan Tiruchittambalam Udaiyār *alias* Kādavarāyan. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. No. 144 of 1925 and Nos. 43 and 44 of 1903). Similarly, a Vaishnava *math* called *Kalichchingan-madam* appears to have been established at Tiruvadandai by the residents of that village, who provided for the feeding of Brāhmans at it. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 26). In the temples there were places directly connected with the king. Thus there were *mandapas* or halls in them from where the ruling king issued his orders, *e.g.*, the *Chēdirājan* at Chidambaram and the *Rājadhīrājan* in the northern portion of the palace called Jayangondasōlan in the temple at Kānchipuram. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 33). In what formed the Chōla province in Mysore, there was the same tendency exhibited in regard to the construction of temples during this reign. Thus an inscription dated in his 37th year, refers to the building of the temple of Mūlasthānam Udaiyār and a sluice in the tank bund, another well known form that charity took in olden days. (*E.C.* IV, Nanjangud 51). An inscription dated in Kulōttunga's 40th regnal year refers to the building of a temple "to the great god Rāmēsvara Udaiyār" and records a grant of land to it. It was apparently built by the Udaiyār of the local *matha* and his four brothers, who are described as the sons of Dēvasiva Pandita. (*E.C.* IV, Chamarajanagar 197). The grant in favour of the temple builders included the tax on grazing, the tax on digging and other taxes. Another inscription dated in his 45th year, records the construction of two temples of Kannēsvara by one Madiyanna of Vadaguvile. This was probably the Kannēsvara at Kannambādi, where was a great *agrahāra.* (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpet 35).

Among the gods worshipped during this period are mentioned some which should have been popular in the 11th century, though they have long ceased to be so. Thus in an inscription at Kolar (*S.I.I.* III. ii. No. 66) we are told that there were in the Pidāri temple there, shrines for the following gods, for allotments were made for them in the 2nd year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I:—Vīrabhadra, Brāhmani, Īsvari, Vaishnavi, Indrāni, Ganapati, Chāmundesvari (of the chief shrine or *mūlasthāna*), Kshētrapāladēva, Mahāsasta, Sūryadēva, Yōgini and Yōgīsvara. At the worship of the two last deities intoxicating drinks (*madya-pāna*) were consumed. This interesting detail is referred to thus:—"One *kalam* of paddy for two *kalam* of intoxicating drinks for the worship of Yōgini and Yōgīsvara." To Brāhmaniyār, at each of the three times of the day, "four *nali* of rice, two dishes of vegetables, two areca-nuts and four betel-leaves," were allotted. The details of the provision made for Īsvariyār seem to have been similar, though the details are lost. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. No. 67, page 139; see also *E.C.* X, Kolar 110, dated in 1071 A.D). Instances of the dedication of women for service and devotion to gods are known from the inscriptions of this period. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B No. 230 and Appendix C. No. 141). These later degenerated into the modern dancing girls, but at the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, they were specifically devoted for a spiritual life of divine service. Even the royal household which had impressed a few of them into its service, was made to revert them to temple service. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix C. No. 141).

His ministers.

Kulōttunga-Chōla seems to have had the usual complement of eight ministers. His chief minister seems to have been a Brāhman. He is described in one of his inscriptions as Tirupputtūr Bhāradvājan Māranārāyanan *alias* Vīra Santōsha Brahma-chakravarti. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 33 Appendix B. No. 519 of 1922). Another was Madhurāntaka-Brahmarāyar, who appears in the Simhāchalam inscription. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 12).

Social life.

During Kulōttunga-Chōla's reign, Hindu society appears to have been still in a state of flux. Intermarriages between the different castes seem to have been common. Thus, in an inscription of the 48th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, we hear of Brāhman assemblies being convened for settling the status and occupation of different mixed castes. They laid down also the ceremonials these mixed castes should follow and suggested the manner in which they could earn not only an honest living but also prove themselves useful members of society. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 45). *Sati* was commonly practised during this period. We read in an inscription dated in the 18th year of Kulōttunga I, that when Navalādhi-Rāja, son of Alagiya-Chōla, the *nādgavunda* of Navalenād, died, "his young wife Tapare Kammāri leaped (into the flames) and died." The father made a grant on the occasion for the maintenance of a flower garden of 1,000 *ghattas* of land under one tank, and 100 *kolaga* of dry and wet land under another. (*E.C.* IV, Heggadadevankote 100). The affecting idyl of Dēkabbe narrated in Heggadadevankote 18, dated in 1057 A.D., in the reign of Rājēndra Chōla, is perhaps not surpassed by this tale of Kammari. (See *E. C.* IV).

Boar and other similar hunts appear to have been popular. An inscription dated in the 6th year of Kulōttunga refers to one such hunt and records a grant made on the occasion of the killing of an old boar. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 32).

Literary activities during his reign.

During the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, there appears to have been considerable literary activity in the Tamil country. The *Periyapurānam*, which gives the history of the 63 Saiva saints, was composed during this reign. It is a quaint and valuable work whose subject matter is much more ancient than the time of Rājarāja I, whose inscriptions record that he set up images in honour of a number of these 63 saints in the great temple he founded at Tanjore. The Chōla king Anapāya mentioned in this *Purānam* is none other than Kulōttunga-Chōla I himself. The hymns of the *Dēvāram* and the *Tiruvāimozhi* were highly popular during his time. An inscription of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, found in the Srīrangam temple, makes provision for offerings on three nights during which certain hymns of Kulasēkhara Ālvār, one of the 12 Ālvārs, was to be recited. This shows that Kulasēkhara's hymns were already well-known at about the close of the 12th century A.D. In the 27th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, a royal order was issued convening the village assembly of Tribhuvanamahādēvi-chaturvēdimangalam to adjudge the merit of a work called *Kulōttungasōlan-charitai*, named after the king (Perumāl). It was composed by a poet named Tirunārāyanabhattan *alias* Kavikumuda-chandrapandita, of Mānakulāsanichchēri. The work was heard and the author was given a grant of land to be enjoyed in perpetuity. It has not so far been discovered and as a historical work, it would, if discovered, throw much light on the king and his times. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 20, page 98). The poem *Kalingattu-Parani*, which throws considerable light on the Chōla history, celebrates the exploits of this king. It is, perhaps, the best war-song known in the Tamil language. (M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, 221).

Influence in Indonesia.

A Tamil inscription dated in *Saka* 1010 (A.D. 1088), falling in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, has been found at Lobve Tœna, Baros, Sumatra. It records a gift by a body of persons who are styled "the one thousand five-hundred." (*M.E.R.* 1892, Para 11). This is an unique instance of the Tamil language being used in Tamil documents of the 11th century even in distant Sumatra. Unless there was a large resident Tamil colony to use and understand the Tamil language, there would have been little use in recording the contents of this inscription in that particular language.

Coinage and currency.

There is no doubt that the coinage established by Rājarāja I continued current in the reigns of his successors. There is reason to believe that the Greek *drachma* also circulated in the Chōla country during the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla I and his successor Vikrama-Chōla, which indicates contact with the West through growth of foreign commerce. It is seen from an inscription dated in the 49th+1st year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I that a *Kāsu* was equal in his time to 7 *tiramam* (*dirāman*), *i.e.*, the Greecian coin *drachma*. The average value of the Attic *drachma* is said to have been 9¾ d. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 16; Appendix B. No. 284 of 1923). The *dramma* continued to circulate in the reign of Vikrama-Chōla as well. There are references to it in inscriptions of his 5th and 14th regnal years. That these were used in making money gifts to temples for maintaining perpetual lamps, etc., shows their popular use. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Appendix B. No. 578). This coin is also mentioned in a record of the Pāndyan king Māravarman Parākrama Pāndya found at Tirupattur in the Madura District. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 29). This record mentions the presentation by a local chief of 360 *drammas*, at the rate of one *dramma* each day, for the sandal paste to be prepared for the god. What relation the *dramma* bore to the current indigenous coinage may be inferred from an inscription dated in the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla I, which makes one gold *kāsu* equal in value to three *Kalanju*. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 176). But an inscription of his successor Vijayarājēndradēva (*i.e.*, Rājādhirāja I) dated in his 35th regnal year, states that a *Kalanju* was equal to two *Kāsu*. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Appendix B No. 226 of 1923). We may take it that the rate of exchange did not much differ during the days of Kulōttunga-Chōla I or his successor. From an inscription dated in the 15th year of Vikrama-Chōla, we learn that one *kāsu* weighed three-fourths of a *Kalanju* of gold. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 34; Appendix B. No. 509 of 1912). This term *Kalanju*, which often occurs in inscriptions, has however, to be interpreted sometimes as coin and sometimes as gold weight of the proper standard and fineness. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 21; *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 8). In an early Pāndya inscription, it appears as the equivalent of the Sānskrit *Krishna-Kacha*. (*M.E.R.* 1908, No. 690 of 1908). In Ceylon, it appears that a coin of the *Kalanju* weight was called *Kahāpana*. An inscription of the 13th year of Pārthivēndrādhipati gives *Kalanju* as the equivalent of *nishka*. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 8).

According to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri, *Madurāntakandēvan-mādai* weighed exactly one *Kalanju* of gold. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 22). *Rājarājan-kāsu* referred to in certain inscriptions (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 141) appears to have been a gold issue of Rājarāja I, which must have been in weight and in value half of the *Madurāntakandēvan-mādai*. This coin may have been an issue of Rājēndra-Chōla I, who was called Madhurāntaka, or may be identical with the coins which bear the legend *Uttama-Chōla* in Grantha and Nāgari characters and belong to the time of Uttama-Chōla Madhurāntaka, the immediate predecessor of Rājarāja I. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 22; see also *M.E.R.* 1903-4, Para 11.) The coin *Madurāntakadēvan-mādai* appears to have set the standard of fineness and purity in gold. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 252 and Appendix C. No. 157.). Thirty-seven *Kāsu* were equal to 10 *Kalanju* and nine *manjadi* of gold, whose fineness was equal to that of *Madurāntakadēvan-mādai.* (*M.E.R.* 1916, No. 157). The *Madurāntakanmādai* was being circulated in the Chōla province in Mysore. Thus, an inscription dated in the 23rd year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, refers to the grant to the Tirunandīsvara Udaiya Mahādēvar, of "one plate weighing by the standard weight of the City, eight *Kalanjus* and one *Kunri* of gold which was superior in fineness to the gold coin named after *Madurāntakan.*" (*E.C.* X, Chikballapur 24). Another inscription dated in his 44th year refers to a grant to the same god at Nandi of a *Kalanju* of gold "of the fineness of the gold coin named after Madurāntakan." (*E.C.* X, Chikballapur 25.) Īlam, (*i.e., Ilamkāsu*) is stated to have been of the same fineness. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 15, No. 252.). This brings us to the coinage of Ceylon and the relation it bore to the coinage of the Chōla country. An inscription of Parāntaka I at Tillasthānam dated in his 3rd year states that a son of his deposited for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp 40 Ceylon *Karanju* which were reckoned as equivalent to 20 current *Karanju.* This shows that the Ceylon *Karanju* was equal to 10 *Manjadi,* while the Chōla *Karanju* was equal to 20 *Manjadi.* (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B. No. 25 of 1895). The same relation between the gold weights of Ceylon and the Chōla country is implied by an inscription registered in 1895. (See *M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B. No. 156). Village assemblies took care to see that they received gold coins of the proper weight and fineness in their transactions. The standard gold was called *Ūrkkalsemmaippon.* (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. No. 50 of 1925). It was also called *Tīppōkkuch-chempon.* (*S.I.I.* III. iii. 229). The phraseology used (*palankāsinōdun oppadu*) shows that the coin tendered was to correspond or agree with the old coin, which had been tested with fire. The current coins seem to have varied in weight and fineness, which necessitated the detailed definition in inscriptions of the coins which the assemblies would accept. (See *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 10). Dr. Hultzsch attributed to Kulōttunga-Chōla I coins struck in *repousse* on very thin gold, like those of the Eastern Chālukyas, Chālukyachandra and Rājarāja II. (*I.A*, 1896, 321, Plate II, 26, 27).

Death of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, 1120 A.D.

Kulōttunga-Chōla I probably died in the 50th year of his rule. No inscriptions of his reign beyond his 50th regnal year are known. He might be taken to have died in or about 1120 A.D. An inscription of the 7th year of Vikrama-Chōla (=A.D. 1125) at Tiruvidaimarudur, refers to the temple of Kulōttunga-Chōlēsvara at Mangalakkudi, near to that place, which had been built in memory of Kulōttunga-Chōla I. It would seem to follow from this that he might have died at this village and that the temple in his name was erected there to mark the place of his death. (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B. No. 139 of 1895).

Vikrama-Chōla Tyāgasamudra, Akalanka, etc., A.D. 1118-1135.

Kulōttunga-Chōla was succeeded on the throne by his son Vikrama-Chōla. His Tamil inscriptions have been found mostly in the Madras, Chingleput, North Arcot and Tanjore Districts. A couple of Telugu inscriptions and a Sānskrit inscription of his are also known. They come from the Godāvari District. (*M.E.R.* 1891 (June), Para 3; *M.E.R.* 1894, No. 165 of 1894; *S.I.I.* III. ii. 178-179; *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 27; *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 35). In the Tamil inscriptions he is indifferently styled Parakēsarivarman and Rājakēsarivarman. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 27; *M.E.*R. 1918, Para 35). In the Telugu inscriptions he is mentioned as Vikrama-Chōla. According to the Pithapuram inscriptions of Mallapadēva, he bore the surname of *Tyāgasamudra* (the ocean of liberality). (*E.I.* IV. 228). A variant of this title *Tyāgararakara* is mentioned in another inscription. (*M.E.R.* 1900, No. 43). He was also known by the name of *Akalanka* (the spotless one). (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 52; *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 23). This title is mentioned in connection with him in the *Kulōttunga-Sōlan-ulā*. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 180). He is called in his Telugu and Tamil inscriptions *Tribhuvana-chakravartin*, though in a couple of inscriptions he is referred to merely as *Chakravartin* and in one as *Udaiyār*. He appears to have been co-regent with his father at least for a few years. The Pithapuram plates suggest that he was originally the ruler of Vēngi country and that he went to govern the Chōla country, on which the Vēngi country became devoid of its ruler. On the strength of these statements, Vikrama-Chōda of the Pithapuram inscription has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the hero of the *Vikramasōlan-ulā*, in which his surname *Tyāgasamudra* occurs and with the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Vikramachōladēva, whose inscriptions state that he originally resided in the Vēngi country and that he left it to ascend the Chōla throne. (*S.I.I.* II, 308). The Tēki plates show that Vikrama-Chōla was not the eldest son of Kulōttunga but the younger brother of his third son, Vīra-Chōda. (*E.I.* VI. 335). It is not known whether he was the son of Madhurāntaki, one of the queens of Kulōttunga, and if so, whether he was the immediate younger brother of Vīra-Chōda or only one of the four younger sons of that queen. (*S.I.I.* I. No. 39; *E.I.* V. No. 10; and *S.I.I.* III. ii. 179).

Period and extent of his rule.

His Tamil inscriptions state that Vikrama-Chōla left the north for the south and was crowned a Chōla king. (*S.I.I.* II. 308; and *S.I.I.* III. No. 179). The Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadēva states that "he went to protect the Chōlamandala." Other inscriptions say that he went from the northern to the southern region, adopted the crest of the tiger (the Chōla crest) and put on the hereditary crown. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. No. 79).

Dr. Kiëlhorn has worked out from his Tamil and Telugu inscriptions that his coronation took place on approximately the 29th June 1118 A.D. (*E.I.* VII. 5). If Kulōttunga I ruled for fifty years from 1170 A.D., and the coronation of Vikrama-Chōla took place in 1115 A.D., it should have preceded Kulōttunga's death by a year or two. According to the inscriptions found in this State, mainly in the Kolar, Chintāmani and Srīnivaspur taluks of the Kolar District, his rule should have been confined solely to that part of the State and that he should have begun to rule from about 1118 A.D. As in the Telugu inscriptions at Chēbrōlu and Nidubrōlu, the inscriptions found in this State give in some instances not only the regnal years but also the *Saka* dates. The following is a list of his inscriptions found in this State:—

No.	*Saka* date	Regnal year	Reference
1	*Saka* 1042 (A.D. 1120.)	2nd year ...	*E.C.* IX, Sidlaghatta 8 b.
2	*Saka* 1042 (A.D. 1120.)	2nd year ...	*E.C.* IX, Sidlaghatta 9.
3	Nil ...	3rd year (A.D. 1121.)	*E.C.* IX, Chintāmani 78.
4	Nil ...	5th year (A.D. 1123.)	*E.C.* IX, Chintāmani 160.
5	*Saka* 1049 (A.D. 1127)	10th year ...	*E.C.* IX, Srinivaspur 61.
6	Nil ...	10th year (A.D. 1127.)	*E.C.* IX, Kolar 186.
7	Nil ...	12th year (A.D. 1129.)	*E.C.* IX, Chintāmani 70.

In Sidlaghatta 81, Vikrama-Chōla is given the title of *Srī Rājarāja*, while in Sidlaghatta 9 he is given the alternative name of *Rājayār*. It is possible *Srī Rājarāja* was one of his surnames. In Chintāmani 160, he is styled *Kō-Rājakēsarivanmar*, while in Srinivaspur 61 and Chintāmani 70 he is called *Kō-Parakēsarivanmar*. In Chintāmani 160, Srinivaspur 61, Chintāmani 60 and Chintāmani 70, his queen Mukkōkilan-adigal is represented as sitting with him on his throne. Though the latest inscription of his found in this State is one of his 12th regnal year, Tamil inscriptions found at Pallavaram, Uttaramallur and Tirumalavādi go up to his 14th and 15th years. While his Sānskrit record at Sevilimēdu is dated in his 16th year (*E.I.* VII. 5), his Nidubrōlu inscription has been calculated to fall in 1135 A.D., or in his 17th year. (*E.I.* VI. 281; VII. 5). Though the Chellur plates of Kulōttunga-Chōla II assign a reign of only 15 years to Vikrama-Chōla, it is clear he ruled two years longer than that period. (*I.A.* XIV. 55).

His conquest of Kalinga, about A.D. 1095-1096.

His expedition against the Kalinga country is one of the exploits mentioned in his Tamil inscriptions. Thus Chintāmani 160, dated in his 5th year, refers to his destruction of Kalingam and Kadal-malai. This war is also referred to in the *Vikrama-Sōlan-ulā*, which specifically states that the army of Vikrama-Sōlan effected the conquest of the seven Kalingas. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 180. f. n. 4). With the conquest of Kalinga, is associated in some records (at Tanjore, Tirumalavādi, etc., *S.I.I.* II. No. 68; III. ii. No. 79), his inflicting a defeat on Telunga Bhīma at Kulam. The *Kulōttunga-Sōlan-ulā*, a poem in honour of Kulōttunga II, states that Vikrama-Chōla accepted (from the author) "the great poem (*parani*) about Kalinga." (*Ibid* f. n. 6). This is undoubtedly a reference to the historical poem *Kalingattu-Parani*, which describes the conquest of Kalinga by Kulōttunga I. As Vikrama-Chōla's inscriptions place the Kalinga war not only before his coronation in A.D. 1118, but also before his stay in Vēngi, Dr. Hultzsch suggests that it must have taken place before the end of the reign of his father Kulōttunga I and is perhaps identical with that expedition into Kalinga, which is ascribed to Kulōttunga I himself in his inscriptions and in the *Kalingattu-Parani*. As already stated, Vikrama-Chōla probably effected the conquest, which is mentioned in only one inscription of the 45th year of Kulōttunga's reign (1114-1115 A.D.) and in an inscription of the 4th year of Vikrama-Chōla. (1111-1112 A.D.) The expedition seems to have taken place before the 26th year of the reign of Kulōttunga I *i.e.*, A.D. 1095-96. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 130; *I.A.* XIX. 338). Vikrama-Chōla seems to have undertaken it at the end of his father's reign and that both father and son claimed credit for it. Similarly, *Kulōttunga-Sōlan-ulā* composed in honour of Kulōttunga II, son of Vikrama-Chōla, refers to this conquest and states that it was achieved by Vikrama-Chōla, while the *Kalingattu-Parani*, composed in honour of Kulōttunga I, claims it for Kulōttunga I. Similarly, *Rājarājan-ulā*, composed in honour of Rājarāja II, son of Kulōttunga II, also claims for Vikrama-Chōla, his grandfather, the covering of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram with gold. This is also mentioned in two inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla dated in his 11th and 15th years respectively. (*M.E.R.* 1895, No. 165 of 1894 and 82 of 1895). Perhaps the feat was accomplished by Vikrama-Chōla during the life-time of his father. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 52).

Viceroy of Vēngi, A.D. 1092-1093 to 1118.

The Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadēva shows that Vikrama-Chōla, before he came down south, was ruling over the Vēngi country. He seems to have succeeded his brother Vīra-Chōda in the office of Viceroy of Vēngi. As the latest date known for Vīra-Chōda is 1092-1093 A.D., Vikrama-Chōla cannot have commenced his Viceroyalty before that year. As he is said to have left the country without a ruler when he left Vēngi, he should have continued in the office of Viceroy till 1118 A.D., the year of his coronation. The Pithapuram inscription of Prithvīsvara states that Kulōttunga appointed his "adopted son" Chōda of Velanandu to the Vēngi 16,000. (*S.I.* IV. 50). He was apparently a vassal of the

Western Chālukya king Vikrāmaditya VI. (*E.I.* IV. 37). As the latter's inscriptions have been found in Drākshārāma, it has been inferred, he took advantage of the absence first of Vikrama-Chōla and then of the death of Kulōttunga I, and conquered the Vēngi country. (See under *Western Chālukyas*). His inscriptions range from A.D. 1120-1121 to 1123-1124. Shortly afterwards, Vikrama-Chōla must have re-conquered his northern territories as his inscriptions (at Chēbrōlu and Nidubrōlu) dated in A.D. 1127 and 1135 have been found in them. It is probably for this reason that Vikrama-Chōla appears to have been as *Satyāsraya Kula Kāla*, *i.e.*, death to the family of Satyāsraya or the Western Chālukyas. A village named after this surname of his is referred to in one of his inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 27).

His religious faith.

Vikrama-Chōla appears to have been a devout follower of the Saiva faith. He is said to have covered with gold the shrine and the *gōpura* at Chidambaram. (See above; also *M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix C, No. 16). In his reign, the ancient temple of Parasurāmēsvara at Gudimallam, near Renugunta, was re-built. Though it is mentioned in *M.E.R.* 1904, No. 212 of 1903, that it was built during Vikrama-Chōla's reign, it can only be understood to have been *re-built* as the temple is found mentioned already in Pallava and Early Chōla records. (See *M.E,R.* 1904, Para 21). Vikrama-Chōla built the first *prākāra* round the central shrine of the Magalēsvara temple at Tiruvalam. The temple of Akalankēsvara at Madhurāntakam, Chingleput District, which is named after his surname, appears to have been built during his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 35; *M.E.R.* (August) 1896, Appendix B, No. 127). At Chidambaram, besides covering with gold the shrine and the *gōpura*, as above mentioned, he is known to have built a wall round the Kanaka Sabha (including the famous shrine ot

Natarāja) and the *Rahasya.* His inscription dated in his 3rd year is the earliest in this temple. Three inscriptions on this wall call it Vikramasōlan-tirumāligai. Four others, however, refer to it as the Kulōttungasōlan-tirumāligai. Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri suggests that the pious act of building or rebuilding this enclosure was the work of Vikrama-Chōla, who might have called it after his father Kulōttunga I. Vikrama-Chōla is also referred to as having built the second enclosure as well. It is called by the same name of *Vikrama-sōlan-tirumāligai.* He also appears to have re-built the *mūlasthāna* shrine. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 13). The gate-way over the south wall of the Tanjore temple was called as *Vikrama-sōlan-tiruvāsal* apparently after him. As an inscription found over it mentions this fact, it may have been built by him or in his honour. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 17; Appendix C, No. 414). He seems to have favoured, as his predecessors did, Vaishnava shrines as well. An inscription of his dated in his 9th year, found at the Arulāla Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram, provides for the expenses of the annual celebration of the birthday of the two Vaishnava saints Pudattālvār and Poygaiyālvār and mentions six of the ancient Vaishnava temples of Kānchi by name. (*M.E.R.* 1893 (August), Para 13). Similarly, mention is made of the erection of a temple for Tirumangai-Ālvār, another of the more famous Vaishnava saints, with provision for worship in it. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. Nos. 510 and 511 of 1922). The popularity at about this time of the Saiva Saints and the Vaishnava Ālvārs seems to have reached its high water-mark.

Rural Administration.

During Vikrama-Chōla's reign, rural administration continued to be entirely in the hands of the village assemblies. An inscription of his 10th year states that the Mahāsabha of Tirakannapura (Tanjore District) consisted of 350 (? 750) members. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. No. 508 of 1923). This record is interesting, besides, as showing the interest which rural assemblies took in encouraging industries. Thus the local assembly of this village exempted from all taxes the weavers who were to be transplanted into it by the merchants of the five towns near about, in order that they might do service in the temple. In return for supplying the cloth for the sacred banners and other services on festival occasions, including the feeding of Srī-Vaishnava Brāhmans in a special *Sālai* of their own, they were exempted from all taxes. Similarly, another village assembly consisted of 324 members and ran a feeding house in its name (called *Munnūrirubattunālvān*) where Brāhmans, *tapasvins* and the destitute were entertained. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 18 No. 158 of 1925). This throws some light on the interest taken in the work of the assembly and its highly democratic constitution. In his 3rd regnal year, a severe drought was experienced in parts of the Chōla kingdom and some of the temple jewels were sold by a village assembly to meet the cost of artificial irrigation. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 35). According to an inscription found at Kōviladi, near Kumbakonam, dated in his 11th year, the conditions became so bad, it would appear, that "the village was ruined and the ryots fled." (*M.E.R.* 1901, No. 276). It is not clear, however, whether the distress referred to was a purely local one or one of a widespread character. That no remission of land revenue was ordered even in the case of destruction of crops due to *vis major*, may be inferred from certain records. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 24).

Re-survey of Land, A.D. 1134.

Towards the close of his reign, Vikrama-Chōla seems to have carried out a land survey. The circumstances under which this survey was carried out are not known, but it is possible that it was not a general one. (*M.E.R.* 1925, No. 183 of 1925).

Social Conditions.

There is nothing to show that during Vikrama-Chōla's reign the even tenor of social life was disturbed. His wars were few and there seems to have been general peace throughout the empire. In the rural areas, organised hunts appear to have been common, especially of the wild boar. Thus in Chintāmani 78 (*E.C.* X), dated in the 3rd year of Vikrama-Chōla, we have one mentioned. The boar died and a memorial stone was set up for it. The festivals connected with the numerous temples that were dotted over the country afforded the necessary diversion to the people. We have an interesting account of the consecration ceremony of the newly erected Sōmēsvara temple at Sugattur, in Sidlaghatta 9 (*E.C.* IX), which indicates the popular interest that such events should have enrolled. Udayamārtānda-Brahma-mārayan, the person to whose liberality it owed its origin, is described as a resident of Arumolidēva-chaturvēdimangalam. He was the chief of Nallūr, a town praised by many. His father is stated to have been "well versed in pure Tamil," in what is now a Kannada district. He was the head of the Atrēyas (*i.e.*, of the *gōtra* of Atrēya Rishi). He was doubtless a high-placed Brāhman official and a rich man. He is said to have been highly generous; in fact, as liberal as a rain-cloud to mendicants, who, it is added, came to him from all quarters. He erected the temple in honour of his brother, who apparently had died sometime before. Sugattur itself is described to us as a place "where damsels learn dancing" and Pagattur is spoken of as abounding in "halls, palaces, *mandapas*, lofty pinnacles, and ? gilded gates." The consecration of the new temple was, it is added, "conducted to the sound of musical instruments." To mark the occasion, Udayamārtānda presented a sacred foot-stool made of pure gold and caused to be set up (*i.e.*, consecrated) the image of Siva with Pārvati so that it might be worshipped by all the world. He also got a flower-garden planted—the record gives a list of the flower-plants planted—and built a pond as well to the west of the temple for the use of the priests, after having fetched water and earth from the Ganges (*cf.* Rājēndra-Chōla's consecration of a well at Gangaikonda-sōlapuram, see above). He also made, we are told, "to the joy of the Tamil people," grants of land as well, for the maintenance of the gods he set up. These included, besides Siva, Ganapati and Sūrya-Dēvar, which shows that the worship of Sūrya was in greater favour in the 12th century than now. (See *E.C.* X, Sidlaghatta 9, dated in A.D. 1120).

Sale of women to temples.

We have seen above that Sugatūr was famous for its dancing schools. Apparently, about this period, the sale of women to temples for purposes of service in them seems to have become quite common. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Nos. 216-19 of 1925). Generally speaking, women appear to have volunteered their services to the temples in perpetuity. One record (No. 76 of 1925) gives a list of such servants attached to the *matha* of the god at Kilaiyur. In another (No. 218 of 1925), we have the example of a lady selling herself along with six of her sons and grand-children to the local god. In another record (No. 219 of 1925), we have another instance of nearly the same kind. Such sales of persons to temples must not be taken to mean that they sold themselves from the sordid motive of making a little money for themselves; rather, they appear to have dedicated their entire services to the temple for a small consideration. This is evident from one of the records where it is stated that fifteen persons were sold to a temple for the low sum of 30 *kāsu*. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 18). From an inscription of Vikrama-Chōla, dated in his 15th year, we gather that one *Kāsu*, during his time, weighed 3 *Kalanju* of gold, and that 4 *vēlis* of land were sold for 90 such *Kāsu*. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 34; Appendix B, No. 509).

Thirty *Kāsu* for which fifteen persons are said to have sold themselves could, taking the value of the *Kāsu* was fairly steady during the period, have fetched only 1½ *vēli* of land.

Administration of Justice.

There appears to have been little or no change in the traditional mode of administering justice. A few records show how closely the local temple was connected with this phase of Chōla rule. The fines, if any, never went to the treasury but benefited the temple, which shows that no profits were made by the State as such from the administration of justice. Thus, in a case of accidental homicide, the culprit was ordered, in the absence of adequate confirmation, to burn at his expense a lamp in the local Siva temple for the merit of the deceased boy. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 20 ; Appdx. B. No. 554.). Burning lamps in the temples were resorted to for other purposes as well. Thus, a servant of a captain in the army having died, his sister put up a metal likeness of his in the temple at Kālahasti with a lamp stand attached to it for burning a lamp before the god. (*Ibid* Para 21 ; Appendix C. No. 95).

Domestic life.

Vikrama-Chōla had at least three queens, all referred to in his inscriptions. Inscriptions dated from his 5th to 12th regnal years make mention of his queen Mukkōkilān-adigal. She is said in these records to have shared his throne. Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that she should have died in the course of the 9th regnal year (A.D. 1126-27), as she is not mentioned in any records beyond the 9th year. (*S.I.I.* III, ii, 181). This does not appear to be correct. We have mention of her in Chintāmani 70 (*E.C.* X), which is dated in the 12th regnal year. In his inscriptions from the 4th to the 8th years, his favourite queen Tyāgapatāka, surnamed Tribhuvanamuludaiyāl, is mentioned. She seems to have shared the throne from about the 11th to the

15th years, while another queen Dharanimulududaiyāl appears to have taken her place. (*S.I.I.* III, ii, 182). In the Tirumalavādi inscription, Tyāgapatāka is described as "the ornament of women, who had curly hair, who possessed the gait of a female elephant, a lady of pure virtues," etc. In the same record, Dharanimaluduḍaiyāl is spoken of as "the peacock among women, an Arundhati on earth, a wife adorned with chastity," etc. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 185). A son of Vikrama-Chōla called Vēlān Tiruchittambalam-udaiyār *alias* Vadanāttaraiyan, described as *nam-maganār* (*i.e.*, our son) is mentioned in one record. He appears to have been the headman of a place called Manalūr. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 34, Appdx. B. No. 622.). Another son of his was Anapāya, surnamed Kulōttunga-Chōla II, who succeeded him on the Chōla throne. A third son of his was Rājarāja II, who succeeded Kulōttunga-Chōla II on the Chōla throne. (See below).

Kulōttunga-Chōla II, Anapāya, A.D. 1133-1145.

Vikrama-Chōla was succeded by his son Kulōttunga-Chōla II, surnamed Anapāya. His Chellūr plates, dated in *Saka* 1065 (A.D. 1143), leave no doubt that he was the son of Vikrama-Chōla. (*I.A.* XIV, 55). It is now settled that he began to rule as co-regent with his father from 1133 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 27). He had, besides, the distinctive title of *Tirunīrrusōlan* (the Chōla of the sacred ashes), whose significance is not quite clear. Probably he was a devout Saiva in his religious faith. (*M.E.R.* 1901, No, 196 of 1901.). He was also known by the names of Vīra-sēkhara (*M.E.R.* 1923. Para 36; Appdx. C. No. 156 of 1923) and Kalikadini-Sōla. A record of his dated in his 8th year terms him *Tribhuvana-Chakravartin*. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. No. 34). His queen Bhuvanamulududaiyāl is mentioned in most of his inscriptions (*Ibid*). His inscriptions, ranging from his 2nd to the 10th year, are known. If the inscriptions dated in the 12th year of Kōnērinmaikondān, identified with this king, are rightly attributed to him, then his reign should have extended to twelve years. An inscription of his 13th year has also been found. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 35, Appdx. B. No. 531.). As in the case of Vikrama-Chōla, the titles of *Rājakēsari* and *Parakēsari* are found applied to him in an indifferent manner. Thus Kulōttunga-Chōla II is called three times by the one and four times by the other. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 26). In Telugu records, he is described by both the titles. (*E.I.* VI 224). His capital was Vikrama-Chōlapura and his throne is spoken of as having been of gold with a canopy of pearls over it.

His peaceful reign.

The reign of Kulōttunga II appears to have been, on the whole, a peaceful one. He bore a quiet rule of some thirteen years, which was destitute of any political events of note. The Chōla power had so far declined in Mysore that hardly a single inscription of his has been found even in the Kolar District, where Chōla rule lasted the longest time. (It should be noted here that *E.C.* X. Mulbagal 44 (*b*) dated in *Saka* 1112, Cyclic year *Saumya*, which corresponds to A.D. 1189, and *E.C.* IX. Anekal 74, assigned by Mr. Rice to about A.D. 1200, fall in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III and not Kulōttunga-Chōla II, as mentioned by him. See *E.C.* IX. Introd. 18 and *E.C.* X Introd. XXX.) Probably assignable to his period are the inscriptions registered as *E.C.* X, Kolar 218, dated in the Cyclic year *Īsvara*, corresponding to 1140 A.D., which mentions the Mahāmandalēsvara Timmaya-Dēva-Chōla-Mahārāja, who makes a grant of land to a temple, without acknowledging the Chōla suzerainty. He has been identified by Mr. Rice with the Nala-Tirumalarasa, whose son Tirumalarasa-Dēva has engraved his crest, the Gajasimha, on the Nandi hill. (Under the inscription is drawn a lion with the proboscis of an elephant.). Apparently, Tirumalarasa pretended independence of the Chōla sovereign, whose authority had practically ceased to exist over him. Hence his new crest, combining the elephant and the lion, so totally different from the Chōla tiger crest.

His religious faith.

As mentioned above, his title *Tirunīru-sōlan* is indicative of his devout faith in the Saiva tenets. Sekkilār, who states he compiled the famous *Periyapurānam* under the patronage of Anapāya, must have done so under Kulōttunga Chōla II, Anapāya being as already set out, one of his surnames. The date of this work, long in dispute, may now be definitely taken to be about 1145 A.D., or the middle of the 12th century A.D. Compilation of this work, perhaps the most popular in the whole range of Tamil Saiva literature, shows that in the reign of Kulōttunga II, the Saiva creed reached its most pre-eminent position. This work, largely based on Nambiyāndar Nambi's *Tiruttondar Tiruvandadi*, was laid under contribution in later times by Vīrasaiva writers for popularising their own faith.

Srī-Vaishnavism: Rāmānuja and his activities.

Meanwhile, the Vaishnava faith, which had co-existed and flourished with the Saiva, received a fresh impetus from the activities of Rāmānuja, the great religious reformer. Rāmānuja's traditional date is 1017 to 1137 A.D. Historically, he is closely connected with the Hoysala king Bitti-Dēva, later called Vishnuvardhana, who ruled from 1111 to 1141 A.D. The period 1111 to 1141 A.D., is covered by the reigns of the three Chōla kings: Kulōttunga-Chōla I, 1070 to 1120 A.D.; Vikrama-Chōla, 1118 to 1135 A.D.; and Kulōttunga-Chōla II, 1133 to 1145 A.D. The popular story of Rāmānuja's persecution by a Chōla king named Karikāla-Chōla, in whose dominions Srīrangam, the centre of his activities, lay, seems from a careful examination devoid of any real foundation. The account goes that Karikāla-Chōla was an uncompromising Saiva and that on the return home of Rāmānuja from his signal successes abroad, he was asked in common with other Brāhmans, to subscribe to a declaration of faith in Siva. To escape persecution, he fled, it is said, to the Hoysala kingdom in Mysore. Here, he converted the ruling king from the Jaina faith, an event which has been assigned to 1117 A.D. Having put down the Jains by the severest measures, he settled, it would appear, under the royal favour and protection at Mēlkōte, and there established his seat. After twelve years, on the death of Karikāla-Chōla, he is said to have returned to Srīrangam, where he ended his days. There are at least three insuperable objections to the acceptance of this story. First, there is nothing on record in any inscription of the whole period ranging from Kulōttunga-Chōla I to Kulōttunga-Chōla II, a period of seventy-five years, to substantiate this story. Secondly, there is no hint in any of the thousands of inscriptions known of the Imperial Chōla kings that they were ever intolerant of religious faith. On the other hand, they uniformly patronised Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and Vaishnavism. They were too ardent *believers* to be intolerant towards any religion. Moreover, the kings of this time appear to have professed now this faith and now the other, and even when they preferred the one to the other, they were—as shown in the detailed accounts given above—equally interested in the other and did much for those professing it. Thirdly and finally, apart from the inherent improbability of the story, there is nothing to show that persecution was called for at the time to which it has been assigned.

Rāmānuja, a contemporary of Kulōttunga Chōla II.

It is probable that Rāmānuja actually lived during the life-time of Kulōttunga-Chōla II. A disciple of Rāmānuja, Tiruvarangattamudanār, is mentioned in an epigraph dated in the 3rd regnal year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, or about 1180 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appdx. B. No. 315). It records a gift in his favour. The local chief mentioned in this inscription is also referred to in two other records, in one of Kulōttunga III (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appdx. B. No. 341 dated in the 5th regnal year) and in another of Rājarāja III. (*Ibid*, Appdx. B. No. 318 dated in the 2nd regnal year). Apparently, Tiruvarangattamudanār survived his *guru* for over forty years. So, Rāmānuja's last period of life should have fallen in the reigns of Vikrama-Chōla and Kulōttunga-Chōla II, in whose reigns there is no suggestion whatever that there was either religious persecution or political warfare of any kind.

Death of Kulōttunga-Chōla II, 1145 A.D.

Kulōttunga-Chōla II probably died in or about the 13th year of his reign. His last known record is dated in his 13th regnal year and the 12th day. It is found engraved on a temple dedicated to Kulōttunga-Sōla Īsvara at Ūttattūr near Trichinopoly. This temple is now known by the name of Chōlīsvara and was built in this king's 13th year by a certain Bāna-Vidyādhara Nādālvār. He is described as the brother of one Brahmamārāya Muttaraiyar. The income from a village named in it was assigned for its maintenance. The Royal Secretary, Anapāya Mūvendavēlan, drafted the order and the charter which made the lands of the village tax-free, was signed by five officers of the *Puravaris* (*i.e.*, Revenue Department) and the three chiefs, Singalarāyan, Iladattaraiyan and Villavarāyan. It would seem as though the king had died during the time the temple was in construction. He probably died leaving no sons, as the succession devolved on his brother Rājarāja II.

Rājarāja II, A.D. 1146-1172.

Kulōttunga-Chōla II was succeeded by his younger brother Rājarāja II. The latter was probably a son of

Vikrama-Chōla. Vikrama-Chōla is styled *Periyadēvar* in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājarāja II. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 418). This term might be taken to indicate, as suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri, that Vikrama-Chōla was Rājarāja's father. The fact that Rājarāja II was styled Rājakēsari-varman, while Vikrama-Chōla was entitled Parakēsarivarman, lends some support to this view, though it must be admitted that both the surnames are given to Vikrama-Chōla in his inscriptions. Rājaraja II had probably the title of *Rājagambhīra.* (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 36.). The latest inscription discovered so far is in his 27th year, which corresponds to A.D. 1172. (*Ibid* Appendix B. No. 123). He must, therefore, have ruled at least 26 years. (*Ibid*. Para 36). This is confirmed from another source. Dr. Hultzsch quotes a record of his successor Rājādhirāja, from which it might be gathered that Rājarāja ruled from at least this period. (*S.I.I.* III. 207). His queen's name appears under the name or rather surname of Mukkokilānadigal, apparently named after the more famous queen of Vikrama-Chōla. She is said to have belonged to the Malada family. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 20.). The Royal Secretary during his time was Rājāsraya Pallavaraiyar. (*Ibid* Appendix B. No. 530.). This Pallavaraiyar was the same as the Pallavarayar of Korigaikullattur, where he built the temple of Rājarājēsvaram-udaiyār. He was, both from his position and otherwise, an important personage of the time. He played a great part in the affairs of the State, especially during the war of the Pāndyan succession. (See below). He was the general who commanded the Chōla forces against the Ceylonese general Lankāpuri Dandanāyaka. The village where the temple named after Rājarāja II stands is called after him Pallavarāyanpēttai near Rāyavaram. The large number of inscriptions of Rājarāja II found at this temple shows the high patronage it enjoyed in his time. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 20).

An eulogy of his reign.

An inscription dated in the 14th year of this king (A.D. 1160) is interesting for its long passages resembling those in Bāna's *Kādambari* and replete with different *alankāras*. The king is eulogised in them as "the very life of the people, the face of the *āgama*, the foremost in the three worlds and the head of the three Tamils." He is also spoken of as having received homage at the hands of several kings such as the Kannadar, Kalingar, Tennavar, Singalar, Kaikayar, Konganar, Kupakar, Kālikar, Kambōdar, Kōsalar, Kondalar, Pappalar, Pānchalar, Poppalar, (Pūluvar), Maddirar, Mārattar, Rattavar and Māgadar. It is obviously impossible to take this boast literally. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 20; Appendix B. No. 257 of 1925.). As a matter of fact, the Chōla Empire, at the time this panegyric was being composed, had already begun to decline, and had lost ground in different directions. (See below.)

Political decline reflected in social life.

This political decline was reflected in the social and religious life of the people. Thus, in an inscription dated in the 14th year of this king, there is mention made of the assembly of Tirrukkādaiyur meeting in its Assembly Hall, called *Kulōttungasōlan Tiruvedattukatti*, in the temple of Kālakāladēvar, and censuring the conduct of the Mahēsvaras, who, it is said, besides wearing and distributing among themselves the red lilies, distinctly exhibited, it would appear, their leanings towards Vaishnavism. The assembly seeing this outrage resolved to confiscate their lands in favour of the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 20; Appendix B. No. 257 of 1925). Religious feeling apparently was crystallizing into rank sectarianism, almost the first sign we have of it in the Chōla period. This intolerance of Vaishnavism is the more inexplicable as the Kālāmukha form of Saivism, which was more catholic in its tendencies of belief, deities and worship, was still in high favour, both royal and popular.

Several teachers of this school are mentioned in the inscriptions of this reign and the figure of one of these, Paranjōti Pandita, engraved on the north wall of the Tiruvānakoil temple, still attests to the influence they wielded among the masses during the period. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 28). The temple at Tiruvōrriyūr continued to be one of their chief centres. Its fame, indeed, at the time was so great, that it still continued to attract attention from distant Kāshmīr. An inscription, dated in the 9th year of Rājarāja II, mentions a gift of 96 sheep for maintaining a perpetual lamp in it by Ariyan Padamāran Kattimān of Kāshmīrapuram. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 22; Appendix C. No. 146). In the 17th regnal year, he made a gift of 12 buffaloes to the same temple. (*M.E.R.* 1911, No. 369 of 1911). He was evidently devotedly attached to this temple.

Rājādhirāja II, A.D. 1168-1191.

Rājādhirāja II succeeded Rājarāja II. Hitherto the exact relationship he bore to Rājarāja II and the circumstances under which he came to succeed him were not definitely known. It was so far thought that both Rājādhirāja and his successor Kulōttunga-Chōla III were probably sons of Rājarāja II, more especially as the historical introductions of the two kings are identical with some of Rājarāja II. As regards Kulōttunga-Chōla III, it was suggested that he was probably the person referred to as Komāran-Kulōttungadēva, who is referred to in an inscription dated in the 2nd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rāja-Rājadēva, who has been identified with Rājarāja II. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 48; Appendix B. No. 419 of 1908). This identification seems impossible of acceptance, for if he was *Komāran* already in the 2nd year of Rājarāja II, he should have been at the time of the death of Rājarāja II, 28 years and cannot have been put by on the score of infancy by Pallavarāyar in favour of Rājādhirāja II, as the sequel will show. If, however, the identification is proved by future research to be correct, then the *Komāran* Kulōttunga should have been a different son, who died prematurely and in whose name the village of Komāran-Kulōttungasōla-chaturvēdimangalam was founded in the 2nd year of Rājarāja II. Rājādhirāja seems to have adopted the historical introduction of Rājarāja II simply as his successor and *not* as his *son*, though Kulōttunga-Chōla III did so as his son. It is now definitely proved that Rājādhirāja was not the son of Rājarāja II but a grown-up grandson of Vikrama-Chōla, the grandfather of Rājarāja II as well. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 19, Appendix C. No. 433 of 1924). Rājādhirāja accordingly was the cousin of Rājarāja II. Apparently, Rājādhirāja was the son of an unnamed daughter of Vikrama-Chōla, who married one Neriyudaiya Perumāl, of whom nothing is known. Rājādhirāja's original name was Edirilipperumāl and he was raised to the throne, on Rājarāja's death, by Pallavarāyar, the chief minister of the time. That Vikrama-Chōla had a daughter is independently proved by an inscription, dated in the 16th year of Vikrama-Chōla's reign, found at Punjai in the Tanjore District, which records the gift of a piece of tax-free land, at her instance, for growing betel-leaves for the use of the goddess at Rājarājanattūr and for the maintenance of two gardeners for maintaining the same. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. No. 181 of 1925). As her name is not mentioned, it is not possible to state whether the donor in this record is identical with the mother of Rājādhirāja.

Pallavarāyar's Revolution.

How Pallavarāyar came to effect a silent revolution is detailed at length in the above-quoted record, which comes from Pallavarayānpēttai and is dated in the 8th year of Rājādhirāja (A.D. 1180). At the time of the death of Rājārāja II, Pallavarāyar, the chief minister, was, it would appear, at the head of affairs. He was in charge of the Palace staff and had been markedly honoured by high office, honours and preferments. He thus seems to have enjoyed the confidence of Rājarāja II. When he was in the height of his power, Rājarāja II passed away leaving behind him two children, aged one and two years, respectively. Since the times were troublous, the minister was obliged to save and guard from danger the ladies of the palace and the children, whom he lodged in a place of safety. Seeing that there was no grown up heir, Pallavarāyar raised to the throne Edirilipperumāl, the late king's cousin and a grandson of king Vikrama-Chōla. This Edirilipperumāl was crowned under the royal name of Rājādhirāja in his 4th regnal year with the unanimous consent of Pallavarāyar's party and of the whole *nādu* (*i.e.*, country). There seems to have been great opposition, both open and secret, to the coronation from many quarters, against which Pallavarāyar carefully guarded the newly raised king and firmly established him on the throne, imprisoning all the suspected enemies. It would seem as though Rājādhirāja had already been marked out as the successor of Rājarāja II, for he was, we are told, already four years co-regent. The fourth year of Rājādhirāja, in that case, would be 1168 A.D., when Rājarāja II was still ruling. (Rājarāja II ruled for 26 years and died in 1172 A.D., and *not* in 1162 A.D., as mentioned by a slip in *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 20). Pallavarāyar had evidently to place a member of a different family on the throne because the children of Rājarāja II were mere infants at the time of his death. This is, perhaps, the reason why Kulōttunga III, the son of Rājarāja, did not immediately succeed his father on his death. At the time of Rājarāja's death, he was about one or two years old and when he actually came to the throne in 1178 A.D., (this date has been definitely fixed for his accession), he should have been only 6 or 7 years. Accordingly, it must be understood he was only appointed in that year co-regent with Rājādhirāja, who ruled, we know, for 19 years. As Rājādhirāja was crowned in his 4th regnal year, in 1172 A.D., he should have begun his own co-regency with his predecessor in or about 1168 A.D., and ended his rule in or about 1187 A.D., when Kulōttunga-Chōla III should have begun his rule by himself. It would seem to follow from this that when Rājādhirāja was made co-regent in 1168 A.D., there was no immediate prospect of any son being born to Rājarāja II. The subsequent birth of two sons, apparently in 1170 and 1171 A.D., upset these calculations and necessitated, in view of the critical times, to supersede them for the time being and appoint Rājādhirāja to the throne. There appears also no doubt whatever, that Kulōttunga-Chōla III himself was co-regent with Rājādhirāja from 1178 A.D., when he ascended the throne, to 1187 A.D., when he actually began his rule, on the death of Rājādhirāja.

Justification of his policy.

The policy adopted by Pallavarāyar seems justified both by the circumstances of the hour and by the events which followed his revolution. The Pāndyan war had broken out and the times were not apparently propitious for the rule of an infant king. The success that attended the efforts of Pallavarāyar in driving out the Ceylonese forces indicates that the steps he took were both neccessary and effective. At the same time, it must be remarked that Pallavarāyar, though he appears to have taken strong measures in suppressing the incipient revolt that broke out against his policy, even going to the extent of imprisoning his opponents and thus silencing all adverse criticism of it, did not do any injury to the late king's wife and infant sons. On the other hand, he wisely took steps to safeguard their personal safety and eventually secured, when the Pāndyan war was over, the succession to the elder son, the co-regency with Rājādhirāja and eventually the throne itself. The very inscription which furnishes all the particulars of the revolution mentions the fact that Rājādhirāja—of course, at the instance of Pallavarāyar—made provision in the 8th year of his reign (=1176 A.D.) for the queen and children of Rājarāja II and his mother, sister and the latter's children. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 21). This shows that Pallavarāyar, if tyrant he was, was a tyrant of the kindly and judicious type.

Period of Rājādhirāja's rule.

In view of the confusion prevailing about Rājādhirāja's reign, it may be useful to set down the length of his rule. As above stated, he became co-regent in 1168 A.D., actual ruler in 1172 A.D., (in his 4th regnal year), and ruled in all, so far as at present made out, for 19 years. There are records referring to his 6th, 9th, 12th,13th, 14th and 19th years. (See *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 39. Appendix B. No. 490 of 1922 where there is a reference to the land survey carried out in his 9th year ; *M.E.R.* 1910, Para 28; No. 731 of 1909 ; *M.E.R.* 1925, Appendix B. No. 261 of 1925 ; *M.E.R.* 1911 ; No. 231 of 1910 ; and *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 21 ; Apendix B. No. 188 of 1925). There is thus no doubt that he should have reigned for 19 years from the date of his accession, *i.e.*, from 1168 up to 1187 A.D. It is equally certain that he was crowned in 1172 A.D. An inscription at Conjeeveram states that the 8th year of Rājādhirāja was about 15 years later than the 19th year of Rājarāja. As it is definitely known that Rājarāja II ascended the throne in 1146 A.D., 15 years after the 19th year would be 1180 A.D., as he was already, according to the inscription, 8 years past in that year, the date of his crowning should have been about 1172 A.D. (See *S.I.I.* III. 207 ; *M.E.R.* 1904, Para 21).

Chief events of his reign.

Rājādhirāja's rule was disturbed by a devastating war, which concerned the succession to the Pāndyan throne.

This war, as will be seen below, proved one of the contributory causes to the break-up of the Chōla Empire.

Pāndyan War of succession, 1171-2 A.D.

The war against the Pāndya country arose through Rājādhirājā offering help to Kulasēkhara, the fugitive Pāndya king, against his rival Parākrama-Pāndya, whose cause was taken up by the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu the Great. The Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* (Chapters 76 and 77) gives an account of the expedition led by Lankāpura Dandanātha, the Ceylon general, against Kulasēkhara. The account contained in the *Mahāvamsa* has been proved to be an one-sided one, attributing as it does all the victories to Lankāpura Dandāntha and all the defeats to Kulasēkhara. (See *M.E.R.* 1899, Para 36). A stone inscription found at Arpākkam, 8 miles off Conjeeveram, refers to this war and while it confirms the main incidents, it is more just to Kulasēkhara and his attempts at driving the foreign invaders away from the mainland of India. As the inscription recording this fact is dated in Rājādhirāja's 5th regnal year, the war should have ended about that time, *i.e.*, about 1173 A.D. The date of the expedition may therefore be set down to about 1171-2 A.D., when the war of the Pāndyan succession, as surmised by Mr. V. Venkayya, began. (*M.E.R.* 1899 Para 37). As the earliest record in which Rājādhirāja is described as "who was pleased to take Madurai and Īlam" (*i.e.* Ceylon) is dated in his 12th regnal year (A.D. 1180), it might be inferred that he took it because of the victory that his troops achieved in assisting the claimants to the Pāndyan throne against their rivals and their Ceylonese confederates. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 23 No. 474 of 1910; *M.E.R.* 1910, Appendix B. No. 731 of 1909 and *M.E.*R. 1912. Appendix B, No. 300).

Cause of the War.

The cause of this war, in which the Chōlas became embroiled, may be briefly told. Owing apparently to a dispute as regards the succession to the Pāndyan throne, Parākrama-Pāndya, one of the claimants, was besieged in Madura by his rival Kulasēkhara. Parākrama-Pāndya appealed for help to Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, for help. The latter ordered—according to the *Mahāvamsa*—his general Lankāpura Dandanātha to proceed to Southern India, and re-establish Parākrama on the throne. Before Lankāpura could reach the nearest Ceylonese port of embarkation, Kulasēkhara had succeeded in putting his rival to death with his queen and children and in capturing the city of Madura. The Ceylon king, however, ordered his general to proceed and conquer the Pāndyan kingdom and bestow it on one of the sons of the murdered claimant.

Progress of the war.

Lankāpura accordingly sailed with his army and began his campaign, with the conquest of Rāmēsvaram. His advance was disputed at every successive stage by the Maravar and Kallar chiefs, who were the adherents of Kulasēkhara. The march on Madura proved apparently a tedious and hotly disputed progress to Lankāpura, though he did considerable damage by laying waste the villages by fire and sword. The details of these encounters need not be gone into here, more especially as they may be read in Mr. Venkayya's narrative of the war. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Paras 23 to 31). Lankāpura was aided by the forces of Pāndya and by contingents sent by his maternal uncles who were chiefs of the Kongu country and by certain of his followers in Tinnevelly. With these forces, several battles were fought by Lankāpura, who, as he advanced, sent word to Virā-Pāndya, the son of Parākrama, who had meanwhile escaped into the Malaya (*i.e.*, Kērala) country, to return. Vīra Pāndya, thus encouraged, returned and was welcomed by Lankāpura, who duly made over to him the presents sent by Parākramabāhu, the Ceylon king. The march proceeded, Lankāpura taking more places, some of them putting up, on behalf of Kulasēkhara, a good fight. A few of these were taken and re-taken more than once, which indicates to some extent the resistance offered. Kulasēkhara was not all this time idle. He had brought up forces from Tinnevelly and other parts of his kingdom. Certain of the Tamil chiefs, who had submitted to Lankāpura, also revolted and went over to him. Apparently, even according to the *Mahāvamsa*, the tide turned in favour of Kulasēkhara. Parākrama-Bāhu accordingly despatched another contingent from Ceylon, under his general Jagad Vijaya, to help Lankāpura. Thus reinforced, Lankāpura resumed his advance on the Pāndyan capital, himself and Jagad Vijaya proceeding in different directions, taking the places *en route*. Jagad Vijaya captured, among other places Sirivala, where he burnt down the two-storeyed palace and razed to the ground the fortress. He then joined Lankāpura at Tirupalli, which was taken with great loss to Kulasēkhara. Next the Ceylon forces once again separated, Lankāpura marching on Rājina, where Kulasēkhara offered battle. Lankāpura, apparently caught unawares, sent a message to Jagad Vijaya to join him. In the meanwhile, the fight proceeded with dire consequences to Kulasēkhara. Being defeated, he took refuge in the fort, which was next attacked. Kulasēkhara, leaving behind him even the clothes he wore, fled to Tondamana. It is evident he fled in disguise, his life being in danger. Lankāpura and Jagad Vijaya now continued their march unopposed and took Madura, which they made over to Vīra-Pāndya. After rewarding the friendly chiefs with presents, Lankāpura next endeavoured to put down the malcontents who had gathered strength at Tirupattur (in the present Madura District). Here Kulasēkhara's forces, augmented by certain Chōla chiefs, offered resistance. The battle of Pon-Amarāvati was fought, in which the victory was on the Singhalese side. The slaughter was, it would appear, so great that a space of three leagues was all one heap of corpses! The three-storeyed palace of Pon-Amarāvati was also burnt down to ashes and the country round about suffered waste. Agreeably to the commands of his sovereign, Lankāpura next returned to Madura and there celebrated the festival of the coronation of Vīra-Pāndya. Meanwhile, Kulasēkhara contrived to secure further help and with these reinforcements attacked and took Mangala, which had submitted to the enemy. Lankāpura met the advance of Kulasēkhara and wrested Vellinaba from the hands of Kulasēkhara's allies and then took Srīvilliputtūr. Not to be outwitted, Kulasēkhara, gathering a large army from his Tinnevelly and Kongu allies, waited for the enemy at Santaveri. Lankāpura joining forces with Jagad Vijaya advanced against him but Kulasēkhara breached the bund of a tank *en route*. This, however, did not avail him. Lankāpura, intrepid as he was, made good his way and took the fortress. Two other places next fell, one of them Kattala, being burnt to ashes, as it was there that Parākrama Pāndya had been slain. Kulasēkhara next encamped at Chōlakulāntaka. Kulasēkhara, meanwhile, marched to Pālaiyam-kōttai and there gathered together fresh forces. Certain Chōla chiefs joined him here with their troops, among them being Pallavarāyar. A battle ensued at Pālaiyam-kōttai but Kulasēkhara lost the day. He had to flee for life and the town was captured by the combined forces of Lankāpura and Jagad Vijaya. The two Singhalese generals next advanced towards Madura, whither Kulasēkhara was reported to have repaired. On the way up, however, Lankāpura changed his plans, and advanced to Tirukkanapper while Jagad Vijaya encamped at Pattannallur, a place apparently on the road to Madura. Meanwhile, Kulasēkhara had repaired to the court of the Chōla king and had sought fresh aid from him. The latter helped him with a large army consisting of the forces of various chiefs, among whom were Pallavarāyar and the brave Narasiha (Narasimha) Padmarayar. These troops marched on to Tondi and Passa. Learning of this movement, Lankāpura stationed Jagad Vijaya at Madura, and himself advanced on Kulasēkhara. A battle was fought at Kilenilaya, on the borders of the Pāndyan kingdom, and Kulasēkhara was badly beaten. The slaughter was so great that the dead covered four leagues. Lankāpura, as usual, burnt several of the adjoining places and turning back halted at Velankudi. A second battle was fought at Pon-Amarāvati against what remained of Kulasēkhara's forces and those of his allies. Kulasēkhara was again put to flight. This ended the campaign. Lankāpura, satisfied that he had taken the country of the enemy, made it over to Vīra-Pāndya, and returned to his island home.

Criticism of the *Mahāvamsa* narrative.

The *Mahāvamsa* accouut above summarized has been justly criticised by Mr. V. Venkayya as a one-sided one. Though the victory is always claimed to the Singhalese generals, yet Kulasēkhara was not so utterly routed as to be incapable of further resistance. The presents offered to those who submitted to his authority by so able a general as Lankāpura, who never sustained a single defeat in the whole campaign, have a suspicious look about them. They were more probably bribes intended to win them over to his side. That Lankāpura should have thought of going back to his country after the second battle of Pon-Amarāvati, while Kulasēkhara was still at large and able to continue the fight shows that he was exhausted by the harrying nature of the campaign he was engaged in. This is indicative of the tactics played by Kulasēkhara, whose object seems to have been to prolong the struggle and tire out his adversary. After the final help he received from the Chōla king, Kulasēkhara probably made an impression on Lankāpura, who was obliged to beat a retreat, leaving Vīra-Pāndya to his fate.

Epigraphical references to this war.

The epigraphical references to this war so far traced confirm the above suspicion more completely than might be imagined. These are at least five in number, of which four directly refer to it, while one refers to it indirectly. The first of these is the Arpākkam inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājādhirāja and found at the village of Arpākkam, near Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 34; Table B. No. 20 of 1899). This gives a fairly full contemporary account of the war which supplies a much needed corrective to the one furnished by the *Mahāvamsa*. The second is the Tiruvālangādu inscription dated in the 12th year of Rājādhirāja, which refers to this war of succession and mentions the part played in it by a traitor named Srīvallabha. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 23, Table B. No. 465 of 1905). The third is the Pallavarayanpēttai inscription dated in the 6th year of Rājādhirāja, which materially adds to the information supplied by the Arpākkam record. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 20-21, Appendix C. No. 403 of 1924). The fourth is the Tirumayanam (Tanjore District) inscription dated in the 12th year of Rājādhirāja which refers to certain incidents in this war and records a tax-free gift of land to a person who distinguished himself in the campaign. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 21; Appendix B. No. 261). The 5th and last is a record from Sāmbanārkōyil (Tanjore District) dated in the 51st year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III (the successor of Rājādhirāja II) which refers to a perturbation caused in the 11th year of his predecessor's (Rājādhirāja's) reign which necessitated the removal of certain images to a place of safety. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 21; Appendix B. No. 171 of 1925). The reference in this inscription is, perhaps, to the confusion caused by the war of the Pāndyan succession in which Rājādhirāja took an active part.

The story of the war as told in inscriptions.

The story told in these inscriptions may be pieced together for comparing it with the narrative of *Mahāvamsa.* The Arpākkam inscription sets forth that "the army of Ceylon having taken possession of the Pāndyan country, drove away king Kulasēkhara, who was in Madura, and then began (?) to fight in battle with the feudatories of the great king Rājādhirājādēva. The danger consequent upon the war spreading in the districts of Tondi and Pasi, combined with the (? easy) way in which the army of Ceylon gained victories, struck terror into (the hearts of) the people both in the Chōla country and in other districts. Having been informed of this, I, Edirili-Sōla-Sāmbuvarayan (the donor of the grant mentioned in the inscriptions), felt anxious as to how this may end, went near the sacred feet of Svāmidēvar (a great Saiva devotee of the time) and said: 'This army of Ceylon, which has thus entered (the country), (consists) of men (who are given to) very vicious deeds. If they enter the boundaries of the Chōla country, it will be a misfortune to the temples of the gods, including those of Srī-Mahādēva, to the Brāhmans and to the whole country.' I (further) requested that, in order to avoid this (calamity), he should, by prayers, oblations and worship and in all (possible) ways, be pleased to make their faces unseen (?by us). Whereupon His Holiness was pleased to declare: 'This, the army of Ceylon, which consists of very vicious and wicked men, removed the sacred door of the temple of the god at the holy Rāmēsvaram, obstructed the worship and carried away all the treasures of the temple. We also learn that they are all sinners against Siva. We shall make the necessary attempts for the flight and disappearance after being completely defeated in battle and after being chased!' Accordingly, he was pleased to worship (Siva) for twenty-eight days continually. Subsequently messengers arrived from my son Pallavarāyar bringing a letter to me reporting that Jayadratha Dandanāyaka and Lankāpuri-Dandanāyaka and the other generals and troops fled, having been defeated." The inscription then records that Edirili-Sōla-Sāmbuvarayan went to the priest, communicated the glad tidings of the flight of the Singhalese army and offered to make a gift to him. The priest, Umāpatidēva *alias* Jnānasivadēva, a native of Dakshina Lāta (or Dakshina Radha, or Lower Bengal), apparently an immigrant, who had been patronized by Sāmbuvarayan, at first declined any remuneration for his service, remarking that he had received many gifts in the past from the donor. But the importunity of Sāmbuvarayan was irresistible and he ultimately chose Alapākkam (the ancient name of Arpākkam) as a suitable gift, and he distributed the income derived from it among his various relations, (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 34).

The Pallavarayanpēttai inscription, which is one year later than the Arpākkam record, furnishes direct inscriptional evidence about the help given by the Chōla king to the Pāndyan king Kulasēkhara. When the king of Ceylon sent his army and generals to conquer and annex the Pāndyan country, the Pāndyan king Kulasēkhara, we are told, fled from his kingdom and sought refuge with the Chōla king and entreated him to recover his kingdom for him. Thereupon the latter was pleased to direct that Kulasēkhara be installed on his throne after killing the Ceylonese commander and his lieutenants who had entered the Pāndya country and nailing up their heads over the gates of Madura. In accordance with this direction of the Chōla king, Kulasēkharadēva, during his stay in the Chōla country, was entertained with deserving liberality. With enough forces, funds and zeal, the Pāndyan country was re-conquered by the Chōlas, Lankāpuri-Dandanāyaka and his generals being put to death and their heads nailed on to the gateway of Madura. Arrangements were then made against the future annexation of the Pāndyan country to Īlam (Ceylon). All this was, we are told, done by Pallavarāyar, the minister of Rājādhirāja, who, it is added, died later of some disease. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 21). The Tirumayanam inscription, which is six years later than the Pallavarayanpēttai record, confirms the fact of the Chōla part in the Pāndyan war during the reign of Rājādhirāja. It mentions Kulasēkhara's rival Vīra-Pāndya and suggests that there was a Chōla invasion of Ceylon. It records a gift in favour of a person who distinguished himself in the campaign. Owing to the fragmentary character of the record, the details cannot be made out. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 21). The Sāmbanārkōyil record, which refers to incidents in the 11th year of Rājādhirāja, adds the notable fact that there was so much confusion in the Chōla country, as the result of this Ceylonese invasion, that the images of the Nāyanmārs. (*i.e.*, the sixty-three Saiva devotees referred to in the *Periya Purānam*) had to be removed to a place of safety, apparently to avoid their being outraged by the invaders, who apparently were expected to press northwards inland into the Chōla country. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 21). The Tiruvālangādu record, which is dated in the same year as the Tirumayanam inscription, describes the part played in the war by a traitor named Srīvallabha. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 23). He was evidently one of those who had been won over by a bribe—in the guise of a present—by the Singhalese general, Lankāpuri-Dandanāyaka.

The *Mahāvamsa* and the inscriptions refer to the same war.

That the war mentioned in the inscriptions above quoted and in the narrative as given in the *Mahāvamsa* refer to one and the same event, there can be no question whatever. In both, the following facts are mentioned :—

(1) The defeat of Kulasēkhara and his flight to the Chōla court,

(2) the capture of Rāmēsvaram and later of Tondi and Pasa by the Singhalese,

(3) the Singhalese generals Jayadratha-Dandanāyaka and Lankāpuri Dandanāyaka, the former of whom appears in the *Mahāvamsa* as Jagad Vijaya and the latter as Lankāpura Dandanātha,

(4) the Chōla general Pallavarāyar as leading the Chōla forces,

(5) Vīra-Pāndya as the opponent of Kulasēkhara and as the ally of the Ceylonese generals,

(6) the commission of atrocities by the Ceylonese generals, which led to the sacred images in the temples being secreted in places of safety ; and

(7) the methods of warfare adopted by the Singhalese generals in winning over to their side the local chiefs by means of presents, which led to treachery of the kind that Srīvallabha was guilty of as mentioned in one of the inscriptions referred to above,

The combined version.

The inscriptions read with the *Mahāvamsa* narrative render plain certain facts, which may be thus summarized :—

(1) That the war was about a disputed succession to the Pāndyan throne, in which the Ceylon and Chōla kings took opposite sides ;

(2) that Parākrama Pāndya and his son Vīra-Pāndya had the active aid and support of the Ceylon king ;

(3) that Kulasēkhara, the rival claimant, had the support of the Chōla king ;

(4) that the Ceylonese generals commenced the war by committing atrocities at the sacred temple of Rāmēsvaram, which they appear to have plundered and even desecrated by breaking open the doors of the inner sanctuary and preventing worship in it ;

(5) that the foreign forces consisted of men who were

given to "very vicious deeds," apparently referring to the terror-striking methods of pillage and plunder, and burning to ashes and razing to the ground towns and villages they adopted in the course of their march inland,'

(6) that Kulasēkhara was assisted by the Chōla and Kongu chiefs, the former from the Tinnevelly area, where the Chōla-Pāndyas appear to have held sway as viceroys and local rulers. (See *Chōla-Pāndyas* below);

(7) that Kulasēkhara was not so badly beaten as the *Mahāvamsa* would have us believe, for though worsted again and again, he admittedly made good, on every occasion, his escape and re-appeared with fresh forces to give battle to the enemy;

(8) that ultimately his resistance was nearly broken by the Singhalese generals and had to flee to the Chōla king Rājādhirāja and seek his aid for driving out the foreign foes;

(9) that the Chōla king treated him as becoming his royal position and sent adequate forces under Pallavarāyar to reinstate him on the Pāndyan throne;

(10) that the Chōla king was induced to do this as much in his own interests as in those of Kulasēkhara, as the enemy had advanced far into the inland and, apart of the terroristic methods adopted by them, had reached as far as Kānchi, one of the provincial capitals of the Chōla kingdom and there was a general unsettlement of the peaceful conditions prevailing in it;

(11) that the Chōla king was desirous of not only driving out the Ceylonese from the mainland but also of preventing them for annexing the Pāndyan kingdom to Ceylon;

(12) that Pallavarāyar, the Chōla minister who was responsible for putting Rājādhirāja on the Chōla throne, was the general in charge of the Chōla forces;

(13) that the final scene in the campaign was enacted in Madura City, the Pāndyan capital, where the Ceylonese generals were put to death and their heads nailed on to the gates of the City; and

(14) that Kulasēkhara entered the City with due pomp and ceremony, effective precautions having been taken by Pallavarāyar against the annexation of the Pāndyan country to Ceylon.

The Inscriptional narrative entitled to greater weight.

The narrative contained in the inscriptions is entitled to greater weight than that incorporated in the *Mahāvamsa* because it is of contemporaneous origin and is, where it departs from the *Mahāvamsa*, more natural. While the *Mahāvamsa* attributes to the Singhaḷese general all the victories and none at all to Kulasēkhara, the inscriptions (the Alapākkam one in particular) while speaking in terms expressive of contempt and abhorrence of their terroristic acts and modes of behaviour, gives the Ceylonese generals credit for the "victories" gained by them. "It is, therefore, very probable," as Mr. Venkayya has remarked, "that the Singhalese army did not, as stated in the *Mahāvamsa*, go back to Ceylon of its own accord, but as recorded in the (Alapākkam) inscription, actually defeated and *compelled* to leave India." If the Pallavarayanpēttai inscription is to be believed, the Ceylonese generals did not live to go back to their native island, for they were beheaded by Pallavarāyar and their heads put up on the gates of the Pāndyan capital, apparently as an example to like foreign intruders. Only the remnants of their forces could have sailed back to Ceylon.

Country affected by the war.

The part of Southern India affected by this war extended from Rāmēsvaram to Madura in the north-west; to Pon-Amarāvati, not far away from modern Pudukōttai, near Trichinopoly, westwards as far as Srīvilliputtūr, in the present Tinnevelly District; while its echoes were heard as far north as Kānchi in the Chingleput District, where Pallavarāyar's father, Edirili-Sōla-Sāmbuvarāyan, asked Svāmidēvar to offer prayers to effectuate the defeat of the invaders. In actuality, the campaigns of the two Ceylonese generals and Kulasēkhara's attacks and counter-attacks were mainly confined to parts of the present Ramnād and Madura Districts, and to small parts of the Tinnevelly and Trichinopoly Districts as well. The more important places mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* have been identified by Mr. Venkayya, (See *M.E.R.* 1899, Para 32) while a few others have also been identified by Mr. S. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangār. (*South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, 2—11).

Date of the War, A.D. 1169-1173.

With the materials now available, it is possible to fix the date of the Ceylonese expedition to India with greater approximation than it was possible for Mr. Venkayya, when he first wrote on this subject in 1899. As we have seen, inscriptions dated in the 5th, 6th and 12th regnal years of Rājādhirāja II refer directly to this war. Besides these, an inscription of the 6th year of Kulōttunga III refers to the disturbances which occurred in the 11th year of the reign of his predecessor Rājādhirāja II. In other words, we have definite references to the war in inscriptions bearing dates, A.D. 1173, 1174 and 1180 and a reference to what took place in A.D. 1179 as well as the result of the war which was then on. As the Arpākkam record of A.D. 1173 states that the Ceylonese generals had been defeated and compelled to retreat after the time it was composed, the war should have been going on for some time, say, from about 1171-1172 or so. It is more probable that it was already in progress in A.D. 1172, the year of the coronation of Rājādhirāja II, who, the Pallavarayanpēttai inscription states, was chosen king because of the troublous times. This date is confirmed from a consideration of Ceylonese history. The king who helped Parākrama Pāndya against Kulasēkhara Pāndya was Parākrama Bāhu the Great, who ruled from A.D. 1153-1186. He ordered an expedition against the king of Rāmanna (Pegu) in his 12th regnal year. After this expedition was despatched in A.D. 1165 and before A.D. 1167-1168, Parākrama Pāndya, being besieged by Kulasēkhara, sent for help to Ceylon. The Singhalese king despatched an army under his general Lankāpura, but before it could sail, Parākrama Pāndya had been slain and his capital taken. The expedition was, however, ordered to proceed, and duly landed on the Indian coast. This was in the 16th year of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1169. The war in aid of Vīra-Pāndya, son of Parākrama Pāndya, thus began in or about A.D. 1169 and ended about A.D. 1173, so far as Lankāpura and his co-adjutor Jagad Vijaya are concerned.

Continuation of the War, A.D. 1179-1181.

The war, as might be expected, did not end with the departure of the Ceylonese forces from Madura. According to inscriptions, it seems to have continued much longer than the *Mahāvamsa* would admit. According to an inscription at Alangudi, Tanjore District, dated in his 11th regnal year (A.D. 1179), Rājādhirāja II is described as he "who conquered Madura and Ceylon." (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 38. No. 3 of 1899). In another inscription found at Alambākkam and dated in his 13th regnal year (=1181 A.D.), he is given the same title. In this inscription, it is mentioned that some of the Brāhmans deserted their homes and the lands were neglected and the rents accumulated. The desertion was probably due to the terror caused by the war. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 28; No. 731 of 1909). The title, "he who conquered Madura and Ceylon" found in inscriptions of the 11th and 13th years, should be based on the victories achieved by the Chōlas during Rājādhirāja's rule in a later campaign against Vīra-Pāndya and his Singhalese allies. Kulasēkhara, who fought against Lankāpura, appears to have died some time after his restoration mentioned in the Pallavarayanpēttai inscription and to have been succeeded by Vikrama-Pāndya. The war thus continued between Vikrama-Pāndya and Vīra-Pāndya. The former, as the successor of Kulasēkhara, naturally became allied to the Chōlas, while the latter depended upon the Singhalese to whom he owed his throne. Vikrama-Pāndya appealed to the Chōlas for help and Vīra-Pāndya to his own allies. During this campaign, some of the details of which are recorded in an inscription of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, the son or sons of Vīra-Pāndya were defeated by the Chōla army. The Singhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea to escape from the Chōla troops. Vīra-Pāndya himself was attacked by the Chōlas and compelled to retreat. The city of Madura was captured and a pillar of victory was planted in it. The Chōla army took possession of the Pāndyan throne and made it over with the kingdom and the city to Vikrama-Pāndya. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 38; No. 1 of 1899). According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the Singhalese hold on Rāmēsvaram continued for some time, as Nissanka Malla claims to have built the Nissankēsvara temple there. He was of the Kalinga dynasty and was a nephew of Parākrama Bāhu I. He claims to have invaded the Pāndyan country thrice.

Did Kulōttunga-Chōla III take part in this war?

The disturbances referred to in an inscription of the 6th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III as having occurred in the 11th year of Rājādhirāja (*i.e.*, in 1179 A.D.) should accordingly be referred to the second part of the war, which was fought after the capture of Madura City by Pallavarāya, the Chōla general. It has been suggested by Mr. V. Venkayya that Kulōttunga III "distinguished himself" in this part of the war and in consequence assumed a surname similar to that of Rājādhirāja. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 38, quoting *S.I.I.* III. i. No. 36). But since he wrote, the Pallavarayanpēttai inscription has been found. According to this record, as we have seen, Kulōttunga III was only a year or two at the time of the crowning of Rājādhirāja, *i.e.*, in 1172 A.D. He could, accordingly, have been only about 9 or 10 years about the time the second part of the Pāndyan war was fought. In these circumstances, we have to infer that Kulōttunga III when he styles himself "conqueror of

Madura and Ceylon" in his inscriptions of the 5th and 6th regnal years, simply assumed Rājādhirāja's title of "who conquered Madura and Ceylon," more as an inherited than as an acquired one. He had some reason to do so, as the war had been fought during the time he was co-regent (his formal accession having taken place in 1178 A.D.) with Rājādhirāja. There is no evidence, however, that either Rājādhirāja or Kulōttunga III ever invaded Ceylon during their reigns or conquered it. The title of "Conqueror of Ceylon" is based solely on the conquest of the Ceylonese forces.

Pallavarāyar probably a near relation of Rājādhirāja II.

The Chōla general Pallavarāyar, who led the Chōla forces to success in the first part of the war, was the minister of Rājādhirāja. As mentioned above, he had been the chief minister of Rājarāja II as well and was the person who effected the silent revolution which ended in the crowning of Rājādhirāja as king in 1172 A.D. According to the Pallavarayanpēttai record, his full name was Kulattulan Tiruchittambalam-udaiyan-Perumanambiyār. This inscription, which is dated in the 6th regnal year of Rājādhirāja (A.D. 1174), states that after the entry of Kulasēkhara Pāndyan into Madura City and the expulsion of the Ceylonese forces from it, minister Pallavarāyan died of some disease and that, apparently in recognition of his services to the State, king Rājādhirāja made a grant of tax-free lands to his relations and set up an inscribed slab recounting his exploits. The minister's name, as has been mentioned, appears in the *Mahāvamsa* and in the Arpākkām and Pallavarayanpēttai grants. In the Arpākkam grant he is described as the son of Edirili-sōla-Sāmbuvarayan, who prayed for his safety at the sacred feet of Svāmidēvar. Apparently, Sāmbuvarayar was alive in the 5th regnal year of Rājādhirāja, though we do not know what became of him after that year. From the Pallavarayanpēttai grant, which is dated in the 6th regnal year, his son Pallavarāyar had died by then, (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1175). Sāmbuvarayar was apparently resident in the Chōla province of which Kānchi was the capital, whereas his son, Pallavarāyar, was the chief minister of Rājarāja II and then the king-maker of Rājādhirāja II. According to the Pallavarayanpēttai grant, the original name of Rājādhirāja was Edirilipperumāl and his father's name Neri-udaiya-Perumāl. The name of Pallavarāyar was Edirili-Sōla-Sāmbuvarayan. Looking at the name of the king and of the minister and remembering the opposition he met with in raising Edirilipperaumāl to the throne, it is not altogether impossible that Rājādhirāja and his minister Pallavarāyar were related to each other in some manner which, in the present state of our knowledge, is not quite clear. That Saint Svāmidēvar to whom Sāmbuvarayar went in this hour of distress was not only known near Kānchi, but also nearer the chief royal capital is also presumable. An inscription dated in *Saka* 1104 (=1181-1182 A.D.), found at Achyutamangalam, in the Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District, refers to his consecrating the god Sōmanātha in the temple newly built at that place, probably by himself. He was the royal preceptor of the time and is described as the brother of a certain Gōsvāmi-Misra and as belonging to the Rādha country, (*i.e.*, Bengal). His real name appears in this inscription as Srīkanta-Sāmbhu. He was undoubtedly a Brāhman, as he is described as having belonged to the Sāndilya-gōtra and a great devotee of Siva. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 23; Appendix B. No. 402 of 1925). His sons are mentioned in another inscription in the same temple. (*Ibid* No. 403).

Effects of the Pāndyan succession war. Weakening and decay of Chōla power.

The Thirteen Years' War of Pāndyan succession which ended about 1181 A.D., seems to have brought considerable misery to the people. One result of it was the great confusion and unsettlement it created throughout the country between Cape Comorin and Kānchi. It so weakened the Chōla power that its decay as a ruling dynasty may be said to date from about its close. The rise of feudatories, like the Sāmbuvarayas, some of whom are mentioned in Rājādhirāja's inscriptions of the 10th and 11th years, marks the beginning of the weakening of the Chōlas as a central power. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 21, Appendix C. Nos. 52, 71, 252). One of these (No. 252, dated in the 11th regnal year) refers to a political compact between different members of this (Sāmbavaraya) family and to an engagement made by them that they would keep to its terms. Compacts of this nature, intended or made to secure the *personal* ends of the parties to it rather than protect the State, are repeated in the next reign (see below). Another indication of the spirit of lawlessness that had come to prevail is to be seen in a record of the 14th regnal year. This comes from Punjai, in the Tanjore District, and details how four persons in a village had misappropriated temple land, how the trustees of the temple and the Mahēsvaras had claimed it as a *dēvadāna* and planted four boundary stones, to indicate their possession of it, and how the *āndārs* (devotees) of the temple in the village rose in a body and charged the four unruly people with having removed the boundary stones. The inscription then states that the *Āndār Tiruchchula-Vēlaikkārar*, (*i.e.*, the Vēlaikkārar of the Holy Trident Order) who were apparently the guardians of the temple, entered fire and lost their lives. On this, the Mūlaparuishaiyār decreed the land in dispute to the temple and the village assembly ordered the four delinquents to make a gift of 200 *Kāsu* to set up metallic images in the temple in honour of the Tiruchchūlavēlaikkārar, who had sacrificed their lives to prove the ownership of the land. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 21; Appendix B. No. 186 of 1925). Stray straws of this kind show which way the wind was blowing at about the time we are writing of. The spirit of defiance of authority it betrays is indicative of the loosening of the bonds of even social and religious ties. The political fabric, however, still held fast for the time being, but the greatness of the Chōlas as a dynasty was fast running away, despite what Rājādhirāja could do to postpone the evil day. The war should have absorbed so much of the man power of the kingdom that there appears to have been a paucity of cultivators. Land accordingly went out of cultivation. Labour being scarce, classes hitherto unused to cultivating land, apparently had to take to it. There is also reason to believe that the cultivators had been subjected to harassment by officials and had had to bear the burden of heavy customary obligations imposed by landlords. These had to be relaxed. Social regulations, which had slowly grown up, had also been felt to be more or less deleterious in their effects and they had to be relaxed a little to make them less irksome.

Break-up of society, Rājādhirāja's Reforms.

Society was, as it were, breaking-up. Rājādhirāja II, though he lost his right-hand man in Pallavarāyan in or about the 6th year of his reign, was wise enough to discern the signs of the times. In the 14th year of his reign (=A.D. 1182), according to two inscriptions (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 19; Appendix B. Nos. 429 and 438), he appears to have taken action to give some relief to his subjects. The reforms he appears to have introduced, in at least a part of his kingdom, included reform of Land Law, recognition of the rights of women to hold property and relaxation of certain unfavourable Caste regulations.

Land Law Reform.

First among the measures taken was reform of the Land Law. A general reduction of rents was ordered, under which those holding lands on leases, under the local assemblies, were shown some concessions. The rents payable on *Vari-Sai-pattu* and *Varapattu* lands were reduced on a graduated scale. Though the reduction appears small, it should have meant much to the tenants, considering the purchasing power of money in those days. Tenants who did not come under either of these two classes, but fell under *Vellanpattu*, *Dēvadāna* and *Purattu* were allowed to take 2/5th of the yield. For lands cultivated with water baled from a source, the cultivator was allowed half the produce, the other moiety being reserved to the owner. For lands cultivated with dry crops and for lands which had hitherto to pay a *Kadamai* of 20 *Kāsu*, only 17 *Kāsu* was henceforth to be collected. Those that had been paying from 18 to 10 *Kāsu* got a reduction of 2 *Kāsu* and from the *Kadamai* of lands ranging from 10 to 5 *Kāsu*, two *Kāsu* was remitted. It was further decreed that at the time of realising the *Kadamai* thus settled, the State officials were prohibited from entering dwelling houses and from levying fines. At the same time, tenants who refused to agree to the above rates were ordered to be removed, their places being taken by others who agreed to them.

Rights of married women to property.

It was also decreed that from the 14th regnal year, it should be lawful for a married woman to become, on the death of her husband, the owner of his lands, slaves, jewels and other valuables, and cattle. If, before his death, he had made default and his lands had been sold, the purchaser was to possess the right over the lands and slaves that belonged to him.

Social reform.

It was further declared unlawful for Brāhmans to till lands with bulls yoked to the plough. Those classes that were engaged as labourers were debarred from becoming *vel* and *arasu*. Kavadis (carriers), potters, drummers, weavers and barbers were disallowed—

apparently to distinguish them from the agricultural classes—from keeping locks of hair. They were also prohibited from keeping any slaves.

Minor Rural Regulations.

Among minor Rural Regulations were the following :—

Bullocks grazing in village channels were ordered to be impounded in pens erected for the purpose. The conversion of cattle-stands and village house-sites into paddy fields was prohibited.

Moral and religious life.

The pre-occupation of the war should have left little or no time for building activities. We have accordingly no record during this reign of construction of new temples in the Chōla kingdom. Almost the sole exception was the renewal, apparently, in stone, in the 12th regnal year, of a shrine at Ilabayangottur (Chingleput District) by a private devotee who delighted in the name Sivapādasēkharan-Muvēndavēlan *alias* Sivacharanālayan, the former name being highly reminiscent of one of the titles of Rājarāja the Great. Rājādhirāja, as a devout worshipper of Siva, visited the famous temple at Tiruvorriyur, which was still a place of great religious attraction, in his 9th regnal year (=A.D. 1177). This visit should have come off shortly after the success over the Ceylonese generals and the restoration of Kulasēkhara Pāndya to his throne. An inscription of that year at Tiruvorriyur (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 29; Appdx. B. No. 371 of 1911) which records this visit gives some details of it, which shows that despite the suppression by Sankarāchārya of the evil practices indulged in by the Kāpālikas at this temple in the 8th century, they still flourished at it in the 12th century. In the temple, Chaturānana-Pandita, apparently the disciple of the day of the original Chaturānana, had a *matha* of his own. There was, besides, another Saiva teacher, named Vagīsvara-Pandita, who, it is said, expounded the

Sōmasiddhānta i.e., the doctrine of the Kāpālika Saivas in the temple. In the company of these great teachers, the king was also pleased to hear the story (*Srīpurāna*) of Aludaiya-Nambi. We have a good portrayal of the *Sōma-Siddhānta* in the well-known philosophic drama *Prabhōdachandrōdaya* written by Krishna-misra, about the middle of the 11th century, approximately when the Chōla kings Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndra-Dēva bore rule in the South. In this work, a character is introduced in the form of *Sōma-Siddhānta*, which is depicted as a horrible figure wearing garlands of human bones, living in burial grounds, eating from skulls and practising the use of sorceric collyriums to realise the true relation existing between the seen and the unseen. The followers of this cult are further represented to have offered human sacrifices to please their special deity Bhairava (one of the more terrible manifestations of Siva) and his consort and to have practically revelled in drinking and other vices. They believed, it is stated, in attaining Sivahood even while enjoying the sensual pleasures of life but condemned as hindrances to progress the practice of forbidden powers (*Siddhis*) such as:—

> (1) bringing one under psychic control, (2) attracting a body from a distance, (3) mesmerizing, (4) causing death without bodily injury, (5) creating craziness, and (6) transporting a body away to distant countries—by power of spells.

These were evidently forms of religion which the Brāhmans condemned as left-handed (*Vāmāchāra*). That the great Siva temple at Tiruvorriyur, so popular at the time as to attract Royal visits (besides Rājādhirāja II, his successor Kulōttunga III is recorded to have visited it in an inscription dated in his 19th year, *M.E.R.* 1912, Appdx. B. No. 368 of 1911), had an institution to propagate and a teacher to expound such a highly debased and materialistic form of religion shows, perhaps, the retrocession of society from the ideals placed before it a few centuries back by Sankarāchārya. (See *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 29).

Death of Rājādhirāja.

There are no records to show when Rājādhirāja died. But as no inscriptions have been so far found beyond his 19th regnal year, he probably died about that year (A.D. 1187). Taking a fair view of all the circumstances of his reign, it has to be remarked that his life was cast in difficult times. Though an usurper, he should be held to have made good his choice. He not only fought and won through an exhausting war which lasted over thirteen years and involved practically the whole country from Rāmēsvaram to Conjeeveram, but also tried to repair, to some extent, its after-effects. His reforms, especially those in favour of agriculturists and the rural people generally, should have endeared him to the masses. He was apparently a firm, bold and withal a tactful ruler, who, despite the odds against him, endeavoured to make the lives of his people happy after an unprecedented war, the like of which the country had probably never known.

Kulōttunga-Chōla III. Tribhuvana-vīra, Vīrarājēndra, II. A.D. 1178-1218 (1223).

Rājādhirāja II was succeeded by Kulōttunga-Chōla III, son of Rājarāja II. The succession thus reverted to the regular male line from Kulōttunga-Chōla I. What became of the sons, if he had any, of Rājādhirāja II, it is not known. Nor are any queens of his mentioned in his inscriptions. That he was succeeded directly by Kulōttunga-Chōla III, there is no doubt whatever; and that his direct successor was Rājarājadēva III, is fully confirmed from his inscriptions. It is thus clear that the descendants, if any, of Rājādhirāja II got no chance to succeed him or his successor. An inscription of Kulōttunga III at Nellore settles his probable date, as it couples *Saka-samvat* 1119, Cyclic year *Pingala*, expired, with the 19th year of his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1894; No. 197 of 1894). Thus, his initial year should have fallen in 1178 A.D., which is confirmed by Dr. Kiëlhorn's calculations of the dates of twenty inscriptions of his reign. It has been ascertained that Kulōttunga-Chōla III should have actually ascended the throne between the 8th June and 8th July 1178. That this date is correct beyond all doubt is proved by a number of Tamil inscriptions found in Nandalur in the Cuddapah District, which couple his regnal year with the corresponding cyclic year. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 63; Nos. 574, 576, 578, 581, 582, 601 and 602 of 1907). We have seen from the Pallavarayanpēttai record that at the time of his father's death, in 1172 A.D., he was only a year or two old; so when he ascended the throne, he should have been but 6 or 7 years of age. As Rājādhirāja II ruled for 19 years till 1187 A.D., he should have been co-regent with Rājādhirāja till that year, and began to rule actually in or about his 16th year. Equally certain is the fact that his *direct* successor was Rājarāja III. An inscription at Tiruvidaimarudur, dated in the 2nd year of Rājarāja III, who is known to have ascended the throne in *Saka* 1138, or A.D. 1216, (*S.I.I.* I. 86), refers to the 37th year of the great king Tribhuvanavīra-Dēva, *i.e.*, Kulōttunga III. (See below). As Kulōttunga III ascended the throne about *Saka* 1100 (=A.D. 1178), his 37th year would be *Saka* 1137 (=A.D. 1215-1216), which would be very near to the date of the accession of Rājarāja III. It thus becomes probable that Rājarāja was the direct successor of Kulōttunga III and as the many inscriptions of the latter do not mention any other co-regent ruling in association with him, it may be taken as settled that none of his own children ever succeeded him on the throne. (See *M.E.R.* 1895, Para 14; also Appdx. No. 143 of 1895).

Records of his Reign.

The records relating to the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III are many and they include, besides numerous lithic inscriptions, a copper-plate grant of his dated in his 26th year, which comes from Tirukkalur. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Para 17),

Period of his Rule.

Inscriptions dated from his 3rd to his 40th year have been traced. (See *S.I.I.* III. ii. 204-5 for inscriptions from 3rd to 34th years; *M.E.R.* 1923, No. 99 of 1923, for one of his 22nd year; *M.E.R.* 1903, No. 516 of 1902, for one of his 27th year; *M.E.R.* 1924, No. 396 of 1923, for one of his 37th year; *M.E.R.* 1910, No. 274 of 1909, for another in the same (37th) year; *M.E.R.* 1908, Para 63 No. 386 of 1907, for one of his 39th year; *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 39, for one of his 38th year; *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 29, for one of his 23rd year; *M.E.R.* 1923, Appdx. C. No. 172 of 1923, for an inscription dated in his 38th year; *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 28, for records dated in his 15th and 24th years and *M.E.R.* 1913, Appdx. B. No. 489 of 1912 for one of his 40th year). There is some evidence from the inscriptions of the Pāndyan king Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya that Kulōttunga III lived to at least the 7th year of that king as *he* is mentioned in his inscriptions dated in his regnal years 6 and 7, his date of accession being 1216 A.D. (See below). This is not reflected in Chōla inscriptions of the period so far found.

His other names and surnames.

In the majority of his inscriptions, Kulōttunga III is called Parakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvana-Chakravartin Kulōttunga-Chōladēva. Some substitute Vīrarājēndradēva (II) and others have instead Konērimaikondān and Tribhuvanavīradēva. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 205; *M.E.R.* 1911, No. 82 of 1911). In one inscription he is called Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājēndradēva or Vīra-Rājēndradēva. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appdx. B. Nos. 393, 399 and 403 of 1925). In another record he is styled Parakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvana-chakravartin Ulaguyyānda-Perumāl, "who captured all countries that he saw (but) gave back none that he (once) conquered." (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 39). Among his other titles were *Neriyudaichchōla* and *Ulaguyya-Nāyanār.* (*Ibid*). In inscriptions which bear no historical introductions, he is called either Kulōttunga-Chōladēva or Tribhuvanavīradēva. The latter occurs in inscriptions dating from his 27th year. In many inscriptions he bears the name Vīrarājēndra. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Appdx. B. No. 265, 318, 323, 413 of 1911. See also *S.I.I.* III. ii, 205 ; *M.E.R.* 1911, Nos. 2 and 25). The reason for his assuming the name of Tribhuvanavīradēva in the latter part of his reign is not known. Probably it was a triumphant declaration of his success over his chief enemies, the Pāndyas and Kēralas. (See below). He should probably be identified with the *Tribhuvanachakravartin-sōla-kērala-dēva* of certain inscriptions and the mere *Sōla-kērala-dēva* of certain others. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Appdx. B. No. 75 of 1925, dated in A.D. 1200 ; also Nos. 126 and 127 of 1900 and 133 of 1906 ; see also *S.I.I.* III. i. 62, and *M.E.R.* 1900, Para 21, where he has been identified with prince Sōla-kēraladēva of the Manimangalam inscription of Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndradēva as his son). As Kulōttunga-Chōla III is said to have taken Kongu (conqueror of Karuvar appears as a title of his) and as it was called Sōla-kērala-mandalam (*S.I.I.* III. i. 44), this identification seems justifiable. (See *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 22). A still another name of his was Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhirāja *alias* Karikala-Chōladēva. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 17, Appd. B. No. 363 of 1913). If the inscription in which this name occurs is one of Kulōttunga III—as seems likely—then we have in this record, an order of his dated in his 2nd year, which is the date of another record. (*Ibid*, No. 262 of 1913). Thus, we have for him the titles of Vīrārājēndra-dēva, Vijayarājēndra, Tribhuvanavīradēva and Rājādhirāja Karikāla-Chōladēva. (*Ibid*, Para 17 and inscriptions quoted therein). Since he is said to have been ruling even in his 38th year, though his successor is definitely known to have ascended the throne in 1216 A.D., we should set down his rule, so far as it is at present known, to 1216 A.D. His successor Rājarāja III began his rule, as we have seen, in the same year. A couple of inscriptions of the Pāndyan king Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya, (one dated in his 15th—1st year and another in his 15th year (1232 and 1231 A.D.) however suggest that Kulōttunga III was living even in 1231 A.D., probably as nominal co-regent, the government being in the hands of Rājarāja III. These two inscriptions specifically mention his name and state that Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya was pleased to restore the Chōla country to *him*. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 32; Appdx. C. No. 9 of 1926 and *M.E.R.* 1924, No. 72 of 1924, where the inscription is wrongly attributed to Kulōttunga III, which statement is corrected in *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 32). The conquest of the Chōla country is referred to in Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya's inscriptions dated from his 5th to 6th years and its restoration in his inscriptions dated from 7th to 14th years. The restoration thus should have taken place in or about his 7th regnal year (=A.D. 1222-23), of which time we have no inscriptions in the name of Kulōttunga III himself. But as Kulōttunga III is specifically mentioned in inscriptions dated in Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya's 15th and 16th years as the king to whom the Chōla country was actually restored, it has to be presumed that he was living at about the time of the alleged restoration (*i.e.*, 1222-23 A.D.). As above suggested, Rājarāja III was probably co-regent with Kulōttunga-Chōla III from 1216 A.D., onwards to the death of Kulōttunga III, whenever that event occurred. (See below).

Re-conquest of Madura; continuation of the Pāndyan War of Succession, *Circa* 1187 A.D.

In Kulōttunga's reign, the Pāndyan War of Succession took another form. The new phase it entered on was the enthronement by Kulōttunga III of Kulasēkhara's son Vikrama on the Pāndyan throne; his dethronement with the aid of fresh Ceylonese forces by the Pāndyans, the dethronement and death of Vīra-Pāndya in turn at the hands of Kulōttunga III; and finally the conquest of the Chōla country, by Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya and its restoration by him to Kulōttunga-Chōla III. As we have seen, when Kulōttunga III styles himself "conqueror of Madura and Ceylon" in his inscriptions of the 5th and 6th years, he was only assuming the title as co-regent with Rājādhirāja II, in whose reign the Chōla forces invaded Madura and defeated the combined Pāndyan and Ceylonese forces and restored Kulasēkhara Pāndya to his ancestral throne. It is even conceivably possible that Kulōttunga III, though a boy of only 14 or so at the time, actually served in Pallavarāyar's campaign which ended in the death of Lankāpura, the Ceylonese general, and so was entitled to the title of "Conqueror of Madura and Ceylon." It would seem as though that after Pallavarāyar's conquest of Madura, on behalf of Kulasēkhara Pāndya, Kulasēkhara himself died and that Vīra-Pāndya, the son of Parākrama-Pāndya, revolted against his son Vikrama-Pāndya, and created disturbances in the kingdom which ended in his displacing Vikrama-Pāndya on the throne. He appears to have been assisted by certain of the Marava chieftains of Madura and by the Ceylonese forces under the orders of Nissanka Malla, the successor of Parākrama-Bāhu the Great, who is said to have invaded the Pāndyan country thrice. An inscription dated in the 9th year (*S.I.I.* III, ii. No. 86) confirms this inference when it relates that Kulōttunga III assisted Vikrama-Pāndya against the son of Vīra-Pāndya, defeated the Mara (*i.e.*, the Marava) army, drove the Simhala (*i.e.*, Ceylonese) forces into the sea, took

Madurai (*i.e.*, Madura) from Vīra-Pāndya and bestowed it on (Vikrama) Pāndya. Another inscription dated in his 11th year (*S.I.I.* III. ii. No. 87) also refers to the defeat of the son of Vīra-Pāndya and to the bestowal of Kūdal (*i.e.*, Madura) on Vikrama-Pāndya, and adds that Vīra-Pāndya again revolted, but that Kulōttunga "took his crowned head," *i.e.*, that while seated on the throne he placed his feet on the crown of the Pāndya king. An inscription of the 19th year (*S.I.I.* III. ii, No. 88) confirms these facts in detail and furnishes the further information that after once again revolting against Kulōttunga III, Vīra-Pāndya gave him battle at Nettur, apparently the village of the same name, 5 miles west of Ilaiyangudi, in the present Sivaganga Zemindāri. This place figures in the *Mahāvamsa* as well, as one of the places taken by the Ceylonese forces in the earlier part of the war. (Chapter 76, verses 192, 216, 222, 289, 298, 299, 307 and 313). The same inscription (*S.I.I.* III. ii. No. 88) further adds that Kulōttunga III pardoned the Pāndyan king, *i.e.*, apparently Vīra-Pāndya, and the Chēra king, who is probably identical, as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, with the Vīrakērala, mentioned subsequently in the same record. (*Ibid*, page 206). Finally, we are told of an unnamed Pāndya king, who bore the surname "Chief of the family of the Sun," who was honoured with valuable presents. He was probably an ally of Kulasēkhara III in his fight against Vīra-Pāndya. In this war, Kulasēkhara's general, according to certain inscriptions (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 39, Nos. 167 and 176 of 1918) was a chief named Ammaiyappan *alias* Rājarāja Sāmbavarayan. He is described in these records as the capturer of Madura. As he describes himself as the "capturer of the Pāndya country" in the 4th year of Kulōttunga III (A.D. 1182), he must have lived through the reign of Rājādhirāja II as well and taken part in the campaign that ended in the restoration of Kulasēkhara-Pāndya. The title *Rājarāja* which he assumed shows that he should have lived and distinguished himself in the reign of Rājarāja II, the father of Kulōttunga III. As he is alluded to in a record dated in the 5th year of Rājarāja III (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 39; Appdx. B. No. 342 of 1917), he should be presumed to have lived till then at least. From all these references, it might be inferred that he rendered signal service in the expedition against the Pāndyas sent by Kulōttunga III. A record of the 14th year of Kulōttunga III (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 39; Appdx. B. No. 94 of 1918), whose historical introduction is similar to that of the record of his 9th year quoted above (*S.I.I.* III. ii. No. 86) confirms what has been stated above about Kulōttunga's campaign against Madura in favour of Vikrama-Pāndya and states that after inflicting defeat on the combined Pāndyan and Ceylonese forces, the latter of whom were compelled to show their backs (*i.e.*, retreat) and enter the sea (*i.e.*, sail back to Ceylon), he planted a pillar of victory in Madura and conferred the Pāndyan kingdom on his protegē Vikrama-Pāndya. This part of the War should have occurred prior to the 9th year, but as no details of it are furnished in his inscriptions dated from the 3rd to the 8th regnal year (beyond some of the 5th year claiming the title of "Conqueror of Madura"), this campaign must have been undertaken between the 8th and 9th regnal years (A.D. 1186-1187). That Kulōttunga III was *present in person* at Madura in connection with this campaign might be inferred from two of his records. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Appdx. B. Nos. 273 and 339 of 1914; see also *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 22; Appdx. B. No. 396 of 1923). These inscriptions state that having taken Madura, Ceylon, Karuvur and the crowned head of the Pāndya, he *performed the anointment of heroes and victors at Madura.* This latter statement is interesting as it proves beyond doubt that Kulōttunga had actually overrun the Pāndyan country and was *in Madura* for the ceremony of anointment of hereos. In one of his historical introductions, appearing in an inscription dated in his 4th year, he is stated to have attacked his opponent Vīra-Pāndya and compelled him to re-treat. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 38; No. 1 of 1899). Whether this statement is to be taken *literally* and whether this does not refer to the campaign that occurred in the reign of Rājādhirāja II are moot points. As one inscription distinctly states that Kulōttunga III cut off the head of Vīra-Pāndya (*M.E.R.* 1915, Appdx. B. No. 370), it might be presumed that he was actually killed in war by Kulōttunga III in person.

Conquest of Ceylon, A. D. *Circa* 1190.

The suggestion contained in his inscriptions dated the 12th to 29th years (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 205. f.n. 10), that he took Ceylon as well is one to be understood as meaning that he drove out the Ceylon troops from Madura. An inscription of his 21st year adds that Kulōttunga III placed his foot on the crown of the king of Īlam, *i.e.*, Ceylon. (*M.E.R.* 1902, No. 170 of 1902; *S.II.*. III. ii. 218, f.n. 8). This seems an exaggeration, as, taking that the war continued between the 9th and 12th regnal years (1187 to 1190 A.D.), Nissanka Malla, the ruling Singhalese king, though he is said to have invaded the Pāndyan country thrice, never was in India.

Several inscriptions of Kulōttunga III, dated in his regnal years ranging from the 20th to the 31st, mention that he was pleased to take Karuvur as well. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 205; *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 28; Appendix C. No. 91, dated in the 20th regnal year). As we find him appearing in his inscriptions as *Tribhuvana-vīra-dēva* from his 27th year, he must have assumed it after the capture of Karuvur which probably occurred in or about his 20th regnal year (=A.D. 1198). By the conquest of Karuvur, the Kongu kingdom passed under his yoke. With this conquest, further, Kulōttunga III became the suzerain of the three kingdoms of Madura, Ceylon and Kongu, and thus was entitled to assume the grand title of *Tribhuvana-vīra-dēva*, the hero who had taken the three worlds (*i.e.*, kingdoms) of Madura, Ceylon and Kongu. The conquest of Kongu thus apparently led to the assumption of this title. We have a few particulars of this conquest of Karuvur in an inscription of his dated in his 26th year, found at Korakkur, Trichinopoly District. It is referred to in this record as the conquest of "Kongu *alias* Vīra-chōlamandalam." Karuvur was obviously the chief capital of the Kongu country. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 40; Appendix B. No. 227 of 1917). Its conquest must have been held to be an important one as the boast relating to it is mentioned repeatedly in all his later inscriptions.

Expedition against the North, *Circa* 1198 A.D.

An inscription dated in his 19th year states that Kulōttunga sent an expedition into the North and entered Conjeeveram. He claims therein that he "despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the North, entered Kanchi (Kānchi) when (his) anger abated, and levied tribute from the whole (Northern region)." What necessitated this expedition is not clear, though the reference to his "anger" and its "abating" would indicate that the chiefs in this area had rebelled against his authority. This is the more probable because they were quite friendly and owned allegiance to the Chōla king Rājādhirāja during the first period of the Pāndyan War. Apparently there were some forces at work in the ancient, Pallava land which, taking advantage of the growing weakening of the central authority at the Chōla capital, were trying to attain to some sort of independence. This, for the time, did not succeed, though it eventually culminated in the famous attempt of Kōpperunjinga to imprison his own sovereign Rājarāja III. Hoysala Ballāla II, who ruled about this period, is described as having "shaken Kānchi," which shows from which side the trouble should have originated. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 30; Appendix B. 460). That the re-conquest of the north, including Kānchi, is not a mere boast is proved by the fact that three inscriptions of his reign have been found at Conjeeveram and five others as far north as Nellore and Nandalur in Cuddapah District. (*E.I.* IV, 281, No. 16, which furnishes the date for one of these records; see also *M.E.R.* 1908, Para 63; No. 32 of 1908).

Fight against Rebellious Vassals, *Circa* A.D. 1205.

The vassal chiefs were apparently growing impatient of control. Fired by the prevailing war spirit, they seem to have tried to break off from the supreme power. There are indications that these chiefs made compacts among themselves to support one another by sending their subordinates, army and horses, in case of need. Thus, in a record from Aragal in the Salem District, dated in the 13th regnal year (=1191 A.D.), we have the chief of that place and another of Tirukkoilur (South Arcot District) entering into an agreement by which they divided the adjoining country between themselves and engaged to behave in a friendly spirit towards each other to the end of their lives and that in time of trouble the one should help the other with troops and heroes. A similar political compact was entered into between Edirili Sāmbuvarayan and three others, of whom one was a certain Kādavarāyan, the king's brother-in-law, in the 35th regnal year (=1213 A.D.). The parties agreed to be friends with each other and not to give shelter to offenders against each other or set up new offenders. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 17, Appendix B, No. 440 and No. 435). Other compacts of this nature are referred to in the inscriptions of the next reign. This shows a tangible weakening in the authority of the ruling king. In these circumstances, Kulōttunga III, either out of policy or otherwise, thought it best to support himself by patching up a marital alliance with a powerful neighbour. Hoysala Ballāla II, a contemporary of Kulōttunga III, was such a powerful neighbour. An inscription dated in the 12th year of Kulōttunga III (=A.D. 1190) mentions the influence he wielded at the time. He was married to a Chōla princess called Chōlamahādēvi (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 30, Appendix B. 460), who was either a daughter of Rājādhirāja or a sister of Kulōttunga III, whom the genealogists do not mention. This converted a potential enemy, who had made no secret of his designs on Kānchi, into a friendly, though independent, neighbour. That some such step was necessary on Kulōttunga's part to support his failing power among his own subordinates, is indicated from different sources. Thus the rebellious proclivities of some of his dependent chiefs is well brought out by a record from Tiruvannāmalai, South Arcot District, dated in his 27th regnal year (A.D. 1205). These eventually submitted and promised not to act against the interests of the king and to obey the orders of Chēdiyarāyadēva, who was apparently Kulōttunga's prime minister. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Para 9; Appendix A. No. 516 of 1902). A similar tendency was evidently exhibited by another set of traitors (*rājadrōhin*) in Tondaimandalam (*i.e.*, in the same old Pallava country). King Kulōttunga III was then (in his 26th regnal year =1204-1205 A.D.) in the Pāndya country. He despatched from there a chief named Kuruvili Pugalvanāyan and ordered him to accept the chiefship of Ponmaru in that Province. He accepted the offer and going over to the place, traced out the seditionaries and doubtless meted out just punishment to them. The record is unfinished and so we do not know the details. The significance of sending a native of the Pāndya country to rule over a part of the Tondaimandalam province will be evident when it is remembered that the rebels should have caused serious disturbances impossible of quelling otherwise than by drastic measures. (See *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 40; Appendix B. No. 120). There are other inscriptions to show that the spirit of insubordination should have been more general than is inferable from the inscriptions which have come down to us. Though Kulōttunga III, the last powerful king of the Chōla dynasty, did his best to stem the torrent against him, he was, it is to be feared, only partially successful in his attempt at regaining for his royal house the restoration of power and prestige which he seems to have so ardently desired.

Pāndyan usurpation of Chōla kingdom, A.D. 1922.

The times accordingly seem to have been propitious for a *coup de main* on the part of the ruling Pāndyan king. Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya, the king in question, was probably the son or younger brother of Vikrama-Pāndya, whom Kulōttunga III had, at such cost of men and money, restored to his throne against the combined forces of Vīra-Pandya, his rival, and Nissanka Malla, the king of Ceylon. (See above; also *M.E.R.* 1926, Appendix C. No. 47 of 1927). He was apparently an ambitious and perhaps even an unscrupulous prince who, at an opportune moment, turned without any moral rectitude, against his own protector. He evidently seized the Chōla kingdom in or about 1222 A.D., when Kulōttunga III was nominally still king, though the actual sovereignty had passed to Rājarāja III. According to an inscription of his dated in his 6th regnal year (=1222 A.D.), he calls himself "who took the Chōla country." (*M.E.R.* 1926, Nos. 17 and 18). The actual circumstances which led up to this event still remain to be cleared up. But Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya was not so wholly devoid of gratitude as to keep the conquered kingdom to himself. He returned the compliment of Kulōttunga III and his predecessor Rājādhirāja II by making it over to the reigning Chōla king. Accordingly, in his later inscriptions, dating from his 7th to 14th regnal year (A.D. 1223 to 1230), Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya styles himself "who presented the Chōla country." In still later inscriptions, ranging from the 15th to 17th regnal years, he boasts of having "performed the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victory at Mudikondasōlapuram, after taking the Chōla country." (*Ibid*, Appendix C. Nos. 26 aan 50). To these achievements he added in the historical introductions prefixed to some of his records the conquests over the Kongus, Īlam (*i.e.*, Ceylon) and Karuvur.

Restoration of the Chōla kingdom, A.D. 1223.

If the restoration of the Chōla country to its king was an event of his 7th year, it will have to be placed, as already stated, in A.D. 1222-23, since the date of Māravarman's accession has been fixed at 1216 A.D. The Chōla king at the time was, according to Māravarman's inscriptions, Kulōttunga-Chōla III, (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 32; Appendix C. No. 9, dated in his 15th year; *M.E.R.* 1924, No. 72 of 1924 dated in his 16th year), though there are no inscriptions mentioning him beyond his 40th year, corresponding to 1218 A.D. The inference to be drawn from these inscriptions is that Kulōttunga III was still living and was nominal king, though the actual ruler was his successor Rājarāja III. (See *ante*). What contributed to Māravarman's restoring the Chōla kingdom to Kulōttunga III, from whom his own father (or elder brother, who is called *Periyadēvanār* in his inscription) had his throne is not clear. A powerful and ambitious ruler, Māravarman took advantage of the weakness of the Chōlas of the time and extended his own territories at their expense, and in the height of his glory, he showed his gratitude towards the old benefactor of his family by returning to him his crown and kingdom.

Political and Civil Administration.

The form of Government continued the same during the time of Kulōttunga III. The system of Government had been so firmly established that the wars left no mark on it. The Pāndyan conquest of the Chōla kingdom coming as it did at the very end of Kulottunga's reign—in fact after the heyday of his rule was over—did not affect the established order of things. Judging from the active character of his rule—building temples, carrying on war and introducing a revenue survey in his 38th regnal year (*M.E.R.* 1909, Appendix B, No. 216 of 1908)—his administration cannot be pronounced a failure. The traditional number of eight ministers seem to have formed his cabinet; of these, a few are known from his inscriptions. Though they are usually spoken of as Royal Secretaries, they should have been his ministers. One Royal Secretary, Mīnavan Muvēndavēlar is mentioned in two of his records. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 39; Appendix C. No. 198 of 1923; *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 40; Appendix B. No. 209). Two other officers of his were Rājēndrasinga-Muvēndavēlan (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 40; Appendix B. No. 476 and Appendix C. No. 70), and Neriyudaichchōla-Muvēndavēlan (*M.E.*R. 1913, Appendix B. No. 201). Like his predecessors, he had a palace at Vikramasōlapuram, from where he issued his grants, seated in his coronation hall, on his golden throne, under a canopy of pearls. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix C. No. 198 of 1923; see also *S.I.I.* III ii. No. 85). His queen Bhuvanamuludaiyāl is represented as being seated with him on the "throne of heroes" when he made grants. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. Nos. 85 and 88). Among the cities mentioned in his inscriptions is Pundamalli (modern Poonamalli near Madras) which is described as a city. (*M.E.R.* 1902, Para 5; No. 192 of 1894 and No. 311 of

1901, dated in A.D. 1208 and 1214). But the effects of the war were seen in other directions. If they did not affect the routine of administration, they unsettled the life of the people and affected *their* prosperity and well-being. There appears to have been a general break-down of credit and mutual trust. This is well brought out by a curious provision made in a record of his 17th year. (*M.E.R.* 1914 Appendix B. No. 264 of 1913). It is mentioned in this inscription that the persons with whom capital was invested for interest were to produce the capital at the end of every five years before the managers and trustees of the temple for obtaining its renewal. A landlord class had apparently come into being and had ever encroached on the privileges of the cultivators. A record of the 40th year of Kulōttunga III, which sets out the mythological origin of the 98 Idangai castes, incidentally throws light on the disabilities they suffered by the disunion that prevailed amongst themselves. In that year, they took an oath that they would behave like brothers—or as the record puts it, "as the sons of the same parents"—and jointly assert their rights till they established them. "What good or evil may befall any one of us," they say, "will be shared by all." A later record—whose exact date is not certain—suggests that the Brāhmans and Vellālans who held proprietary rights in the land, backed by Government servants, created trouble to the 98 castes forming the Valangai and 98 castes forming the Idangai. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 39; Appendix C. No. 35 of 1913). Apparently land was passing out rapidly into the hands of non-cultivators and there was grumbling at the changed situation. Oppression from one side was, as usual, met by combination on the other. No wonder the collection of taxes became difficult. But the Government of the day was not averse to forcible collection of the dues. Thus, we are told in a couple of inscriptions, dated in the 35th and 38th regnal years, that prince (*pillaiyār*) Yādavarāyar adopted coercive process to collect the rents on land. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 39, Appendix C. No. 201 and 202). Yādavarāya, we are told in a record dated in the 34th year, imposed, rather arbitrarily, the tax called *ponvari* (gold levy) uniformly on all lands in the country *without exempting* as usual the uncultivated waste in villages. In certain villages, they could not impose such an illegal demand with impunity. But the tax-collectors, whose names are given, collected the utmost they could exact and for the balance, the members of the village assembly were arrested and imprisoned. On this, some Brāhmans, who were members of the village assembly, sold by public auction some land for 200 *Kāsu* and paid up the arrears. The purchaser—one Durgiyāndi-Nāyakan—was apparently a man of catholic sympathies. After assigning portions of the land to the Vishnu temple, the Jain *palli*, (*i.e.*, shrine), a Pidāri shrine, the Bhattas, etc., dedicated the rest ($\frac{3}{4}$ of the extent bought) for the maintenance of Vyakāranadāna-Vyākhyānamandapa in the Tiruvorriyur temple, for the upkeep of the teachers and pupils who studied grammar there. (See *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 39; Appendix B. No. 201 of 1912). This rigorous collection of revenue is confirmed by another record dated in the 37th regnal year, according to which no remission of taxes was allowed to the cultivators, though there was a failure of crops. (*M.E.R.* 1910. Nos. 274 and 279 of 1909). There could thus be no staying power in the people and a famine reduced them to desperate straits. Thus, we are told, in a record of the 23rd regnal year, a Vellālan of a village (in the Tanjore District) sold himself and his two daughters as slaves (*adimai*) to the local temple. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 23; Appendix C. No. 86 of 1911). It is stated in this inscription that the "time was very bad, that paddy was sold at 3 *nali* for one *Kāsu*, that his children were dying for want of food and that consequently himself and his two daughters borrowed" 100 *Kāsu* from the temple treasury and sold themselves. The famine must have been a severe one, when a man could bargain away his personal liberty for want of food. It must, however, be remarked that slavery of the predial type was common in those days and the idea of selling one's liberty during times of calamity was nothing extraordinary. Thus, in this very reign, we have a couple of records (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 28; Appendix C. Nos. 90 and 91) dated in the 30th and 20th regnal years, in which we have references to gifts by way of purchase of men and women as servants (*mada adimai*) for cultivating the lands of a *matha*. That the slaves *passed with the lands* on which they worked seems inferable from the expressions used in the grants (such as *Kudiningadēvadānam*, *Kudininga iraili*, etc.). But there is nothing to show that agricultural serfs were subjected to ill-treatment of any kind.

Re-engraving of public records.

Despite the misery created by the war and the famine, there appears to have been no dislocation of routine work. The administrative machine apparently ran smooth. Even the re-engraving of temple records on its walls, on the occasion of renovation or rebuilding, was attended to as a matter of course. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 41; Appendix C. No. 47 of 1913 dated in the 19th regnal year). This would seem to indicate that about the middle of the reign there was peace in the land and the Government and people had time enough to attend to the daily routine of their work.

Criminal justice.

The administration of criminal justice ran on the traditional lines. A record of the 6th regnal year (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 30; Appendix B. No. 257 of 1909) suggests the punishment that was generally meted out in the case of accidental killing, *i.e.*, culpable homicide not amounting to murder. Two individuals in a village, it is said, went out on a hunting excursion and the arrow which one of them aimed at the game, hit, it would appear, the other and killed him. How the case ended, it is not possible to say as the record is mutilated. But it might be gathered from certain records (see above) that the punishment for accidental killing of this kind was a fine which was utilized for burning a perpetual lamp in the local temple for the merit of the man who was killed. Thus, in a record dated in the 4th year of Rājādhirāja, we are told, that the Brāhmans of the local village assembly, the residents of the main division in which the village was situated and the people of the sub-districts met together and settled that the offender should gift to the local temple 32 cows and 1 bull for maintaining the lamp he was ordered to present to the local temple. The idea underlying the order seems to have been as much to secure the peaceful repose of the spirit of the dead man as to obtain religious expiation for the guilty man, for we are told that this punishment was decided upon " in order that the (the culprit) may escape the possible mischief of the revengeful soul of the victim." As we have seen above, the same kind of punishment was meted out in two similar cases which occurred in the reign of Kulōttunga I, over a century ago. (See *ante* ; *M.E.R.* 1900, Paras 26-27). Two other cases of the same kind definitely referring themselves to the reign of Kulōttunga-Chola III confirm the view that this was the traditional mode of dealing with cases of killing where *the intention* to kill was wholly absent on the part of the culprit. Thus, a record of his 11th year mentions a case where a man shot his own uncle thinking it was an animal he was shooting. The people of several districts assembled together in the *mandapa* of the local temple and decided that a lamp should be maintained by him in it. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 22) Appendix C. No. 106

of 1919). Another record, dated in the 16th regnal year, refers to a case in which a man, out hunting, killed a man by an arrow, mistaking him for an animal. The man was laid up for some days and then died. The Brāhmans and the *nāttai* (residents of the nād) assembled together and decided that as the two were not on inimical terms before the death of the man, the death was only accidental, and that on behalf of the deceased, the accused should provide for a lamp in the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 22; Appendix C. No. 33 of 1919). It will be seen that the punishment provided for—many cows and a bull usually, it seems to have been—was not worse than the minimum punishment prescribed by the I.P.C. under Section 304 to cover analogous cases in modern days. A point to note is that there was an open adjudication by all the people of the locality, literate and illiterate, who may be presumed to have had a voice in the well-being of the community as a whole in and about the place where the offence was committed. They apparently were both judges and jury in the case. The milder punishment was of course restricted to cases in which "intention" on the part of the accused was proved to be wholly absent. The Criminal Code of the 12th and 13th centuries in South India seems to have been on the whole a fairly civilized one. In its working, however, no relaxation appears to have been shown to delinquents who deserved severe punishment. Thus, in a record of probably the 20th regnal year of Kulōttunga III, the royal order is proclaimed that mischievous people who were a source of trouble to the Brāhmans, Vellālas and the local temple (of Vishnu) would be levied heavy fines which might extend up to 20,000 *Kāsu* and in case of default would be liable for forfeiture of their lands to realize the fines imposed. In pursuance of this decree, two persons who were charged with having caused a riot (*Kalaham*) and set fire to the house of a

Brāhman were both fined 1,000 *Kāsu.* As they could not pay the fines imposed, or rather nobody would come forward to help them to pay them, and since the fine had perforce to be paid, agreeably to the royal order, their lands were sold to the temple by the village assembly for 1,060 *Kāsu,* including the 60 *Kāsu* for default made in the payment of fines imposed. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 22 ; Appendix B. No. 80 of 1925).

Feudatories.

Some of the feudatories of Kulōttunga III are known from the epigraphical records of the period. Among these were the following :—

(1) Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōla *alias* Tammusiddi-araisan, whose inscriptions have been found at Kānchi, Tiruvālangādu and Nellore. He made a grant to the Vishnu temple at the last of these places in the 26th year of Kulōttunga III (A.D. 1203-1204). Another inscription of his at the same place is dated in the 31st regnal year of his suzerain. His other inscriptions are dated in *Saka* 1127 and 1129 or A.D. 1205-1206, and 1207-1208. According to an inscription at Kānchi (*M.E.R.* 1893, No. 35 of 1893), he was crowned at Nellore. He claims descent from the Chōlas.

(2) Sīyaganga Amarābharana *alias* Tiruvegambam-Udaiyān was another. An inscription of his dated in the 34th year of Kulottunga, (A.D. 1212) is in the Tiruvallam temple. Another inscription of his dated in A.D. 1205 is in the Ēkamranātha temple at Kānchi. He was a Ganga chief.

(3) Edirili-Chōla Sāmbavarāyan was a third one. He was also known as Chōla-Pillai and Alagiya-Chōla. He was a feudatory of Rājarāja III as well. He is mentioned in two inscriptions dated in the 27th and 33rd years of Kulōttunga III (=A.D. 1205 and 1211). He was probably the son of Sengeni Ammaiyappan *alias* Vikrama-Chōla-Sāmbavarāyan. Another member of this family was Sengeni Mindan Attimallan Sāmbavarāyan. (*M.E.R.* 1893, No. 36 of 1893 ; *S.I.I.* I. 87 ; *Ibid* No. 132 ; III. No. 61 ; III No. 120 ; *S.I.I.* III. ii. 208).

(4) Two other chiefs, Vidagadalagiya-Perumāl of Dharmapuri in the Salem District and Malaiyan-Vinaiyaivenrān, are mentioned in two inscriptions of Kulōttunga III dated in his 20th and 21st years. (*S.I.I.* III. ii. 208).

(5) Finally, we have a certain Yādavarāya, referred to in an inscription of Kulōttunga's 21st year.

There were two chiefs of this last mentioned name; one was Tirukkalattidēva, and another his son Vīra-Narasimhadēva. The former is mentioned in Kulōttunga's records dated in his 16th and 17th years and the latter in his inscriptions dated in 36th and 37th years. Vīra-Narasimha is also referred to in an inscription of Rājarāja III, dated in his 8th year. In an inscription dated in the 15th year of Rājarāja III, he calls himself "prince Simha *alias* Vīrarākshāsa-Yādavarāja, the son of Yādavarāja *alias* Tirukkalattidēva." Both father and son claim descent from the Eastern Chālukya family; for they both bore the birudas *Vēngivallabha* and *Sasikula-Chalukki*. An inscription of the 34th year of Vīra-Narasimha is in the Venkatēsa-Perumāl temple on the Tirupati Hill. This temple was re-built in his 40th year. (*E.I.* VII. 25). Another inscription dated in the 8th year of Tiruvēngadanātha Yādavarāya is also to be seen on the Tirupati temple. This Yādavaraya is styled *Tribhuvanachakravartin.* Dr. Hultzsch thinks he may have belonged to the same family. (*M.E.R.* 1888-1889, No. 58; also *S.I.I*, II, ii, 209). A still another member of the same family was Salukki-Nārāyana-Yādavarāyan, who was governor of Pularkōttam in the 9th year of Rājarāja III. (*M.E.R.*. 1919, Para 30; Appendix B. No. 218 of 1910).

Building activities of the period.

There appears to have been a renewal of building activities during the period of Kulōttunga's long reign of nearly forty years. Indeed, it might be said with justice that Kulōttunga's interest in building or renovating temples in the home province appears to have continued unabated throughout his reign. An inscription in the Kampaharēsvara temple at Tribhuvanam near Tiruvidaimaradūr in the Tanjore District, registers the building operations of Kulōttunga III, about which we have no information in his other records. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 64; No. 190 of 1907 and Nos. 191 and 192 of 1907 which are duplicates of 190 of 1907).

Kulōttunga III, a great temple-builder.

He built the *mukhamandapa* of Sabhāpati and the *gōpura* of the shrine of the goddess Girindrāja and the enclosing verandah (*prākāra-harmya*). These two refer evidently to the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram, where the king must have built the *mukhamandapa*, the *gōpura* of the shrine of the goddess Sivakāmi-Amman and the verandah enclosing the central shrine. Kulōttunga is described as an unequalled devotee (*ēkabhakta*) of the god at Chidambaram. The king built the beautiful temple of Ēkāmrēsvara (at Conjeeveram); the temple of Hālāhalāsya at Madura; the temple of Madhyārjuna (*i.e.*, Tiruvidaimarudur); the temple of Srī Rājārājēsvara; the temple of Vālmikēsvara at Tiruvarūr (in the Tanjore District); the *sabha* (*mandapa*) and the big *gōpura* of Vālmikādhipati (*i.e.*, the temple of Tiruvarur). Finally, the king built the "Tribhuvanavīrēsvara" temple at Tribhuvanam whose "brilliant, tall and excellent *vimāna* interrupts the Sun (in his course)." Further, the king had the consecration ceremony of Siva and Pārvati in this temple performed by his *guru* Sōmēsvara, who was the son of Srīkantha-Sāmbhu and bore the surname Īsvarasiva. The king's *guru* was well versed in the *Saiva-Darsana* and the 18 *Vidyas* and had expounded the greatness of Siva taught in the Upanishads. He was also the author of a work called *Siddhāntaratnākara*. Īsvarasiva is probably synonymous with Īsānasiva, the name of a Saiva teacher who wrote the *Siddhāntasāra*. In the same line of teachers there was also a Srīkantha. Both Īsānasiva and Srīkantha are mentioned by the Saiva teacher Vēdajnāna in his *Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*. An apparently different Īsānasiva belonged to the Āmardamatha and wrote a work called *Kripākramadyōtika*. (Dr. Hultzsch's *Second Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts p. XVII*). It is not impossible that Srīkantha-Sambu, father of Sōmēsvara, is identical with Svāmidēvar Srīkanthasiva, who was a contemporary of Vikrama-Chōla. (*M.E.R.* 1907, No. 301 of 1907). Īsvarasiva's name occurs in another inscription of the time of Kulōttunga III. (*M.E.R.* 1911 Para 29, No. 82 of 1911). He got a grant in favour of the temple of Nangālisvaran-Udaiyūr at Ottainundi (at present known as Kulikkarai in the Tanjore District) registered on stone. This grant was made by Kulōttunga III in his 5th regnal year.

We need entertain no doubt that the Kampaharēsvara temple at Tribhuvanam where the inscription above mentioned is engraved was built by him. He thus appears to have repaired or renovated the following ancient Siva temples in his dominions, *viz.*, the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram; the Ēkāmrēsvara temple at Conjeeveram; the Sundarēsvara temple at Madura; the Mahālingasvāmin temple at Tiruvidaimarudūr and the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārur. In all these temples, except one, we have inscriptions of Kulōttunga III. But none of them speaks about his building operations. At Madura, too, there must have been records of Kulōttunga III, which were probably destroyed at some later renovation of the temple. By 'Srī-Rājarājēsvara' may be meant the Brihadīsvara temple at Tanjore, which in ancient times was called Sri-Rājarājēsvaramudaiyār. As Srī-Rājarājēsvara is mentioned along with other ancient temples which Kulōttunga III could only have renovated (not built afresh), it is very likely that the Brihadīsvara temple at Tanjore benefited at the hands of

Kulōttunga III. But as the location of Srī-Rājarājēsvara is not given, and as the Tanjore temple built by the Chōla king Rājarāja I does not bear any traces of having been repaired in later times, it is not impossible, as Mr. Venkayya has suggested, that the Airāvatēsvara temple at Dārāsuram near Kumbhakonam is meant. The latter is called Srī-Rājarājēsvara in its inscriptions. In fact, it is the name Rājarājēsvara that appears to have been corrupted into Dārāsuram. The former name was in later times written with two abbreviations for *rāja* side by side and the syllables *suram* affixed. Accordingly, the name became *Dārāsuram*, which occurs in some of the inscriptions of the place. This form is evidently responsible for the modern Dārāsuram. The Airāvatēsvara temple at Dārāsuram is built in the style of the Kampaharēsvara temple at Tribhuvanam and both of them seem to have been copied from the Tanjore temple. It is thus not impossible that the Airāvatēsvara temple at Dārāsuram near Kumbhakonam, which is called Srī-Rājarājēsvara in its inscriptions, was either renovated or built by the Chōla king Kulōttunga III.

Apart from the date of its construction, the Airāvatēsvara temple possesses a unique interest to the student of Tamil literature. The north, west and south walls of the central shrine contain a belt of sculptures representing scenes from the lives of the devotees of Siva as related in the *Periya-purānam*. A large number of these sculptures bear labels in characters belonging roughly to the 13th century A.D. The following are the labels:—

(1) Avināsiyāndār mu(da)laivāyppil(lai).
(2) Tirumuruganpūndiyil perapadi.
(3) (U)daiyanambiyai vēdar valiparittav=idam.
(4) Udaiyanambikku ollenrarulinapadi.
(5) Udaiyana(mbi)yai āndukondarulinapadi.
(6) Āvana-ōlai kāttinapadi.
(7) Udaiyanambi elundarulugirār.
(8) Isaināniyār.
(9) Sadaiyanār.
(10) Tirunīlagandapperumbānanār.
(11) Kō-Singaperumāl.
(12) Nesāndār.
(13) Pāndimāde(vi).
(14) Appālum adichchānda adiyār.
(15) Mulunīru pūsiya munivar.
(16) Mukkālam tirumēni tīnduvār.

(17) Tiruvārūrpirandār.
(18) Paramanaiye pāduvār.
(19) Pattarāyppanivār.
(20) Kōlppuliyāndār.
(21) Pugalttunaiy(ar).
(22) Seruttunaiyāndā(r).
(23) Idangaliyāndār.
(24) Kalarchinganār.
(25) Munaiyaduvār.
(26) Vāyilār.
(27) Nedumāranār.
(28) Kāriyār.
(29) Kōyil(?).
(30) Kanambulāndār.
(31) Aiyyadigal Kādavarkōnār.
(32) Sattiyān(d)ār.
(33) Kali(ya)nār.
(34) Kālikkambāndār kadai.
(35) Adibattar kadai.
(36) Narasingamunaiyaraiyar.
(37) (Pu)galchchōlanār.
(38) Poyyadimaiy illāda pulavar.
(39) Kūrruvanār.
(40) (Ka)nanādānda(r)kadai.
(41) Sērāmān-purumāl kadai.
(42) Sirutto(nda)ndār kadai.
(43) Sakkiyanār.

Besides these, there are a number of other labels which are only painted with red paint but not cut. The alphabet of these labels is nearly the same as that of the foregoing.

On the lower portion of the outer *gōpura* of the same temple are a number of niches—mostly empty at present—which must have contained images of gods. At the top of each of the niches is a label describing the image in it. The alphabet of these labels is almost the same as those on the central shrine. Subjoined is a list of the labels which shows the names of the deities commonly worshipped in the 13th century :—

North Side.

(1) Ādi-Chandēsvaradēvar.
(2) Gangādēvi.
(3) Dumbru Nāradar.
(4) Vaisrava(nan).
(5) Chandran.
(6) Mahāsāsta.
(7) Nāgarāja.
(8) Vāyu.
(9) Hrillēkhādēvi.
(10) Rudra(ni).
(11) Vaishnavi.
(12) B(ra)h(m)āni.
(13) Varunan
(14) Srī-Nandikēsvara(dēvar).
(15) Periyadēvar.
(16) Sāntyatita-sakti.
(17) Sānti-sakti.
(18) Vidyā-sakti.
(19) Pārtishtha-sakti.
(20) Nivritti-sakti.

South Side.

(21) Dakshaprajāpati.
(22) Yamunādēvi.
(23) Rati.
(24) Kāmdēvan.

East Side.

(25) Agnidēvar.
(26) Agastyadēvar.
(27) Srīdēvi.
(28) Durgadēvi.
(29) Dēvēndran.
(30) Patma(dma)nidhi.
(31) Sūryadēvar.
(32) Subrahmaṅyadēvar.
(33) Kshētrapālar.
(34) Sarasvati.
(35) Visvakarma.
(36) Īsānadēvar.

Sketches of these scenic representations have been reproduced by the Madras Epigraphical Office in *M.E.R.* 1920, Plates facing page 98 *et seq*, to which reference is invited. Though somewhat crude, the sculptural representation is not by any means inexpressive. In places, it is strikingly original in its portraiture and is fully deserving of closer attention. As affording valuable specimens of 13th century figure sculpture in the Chōla country, it merits study.

The temple of Manikanthēsvara at Kālahasti, North Arcot District, was built during this reign. Its original name, according to an epigraph found in it, was Tirumānikkengaiyudaiya-Nāyanār. (*M.E.R.* 1904, Para 21; Appendix A. No. 197). It appears to have been completed—the temple, the *mandapa* and the flight of steps—about the 11th year of Kulōttunga III (=A.D. 1189).

His feudatories as builders.

Following the king's example, his subordinate chiefs also undertook the construction of temples. One of them, named Iranan Ponparappinān *alias* Rājarājakōvalarāyan, built the temple of Srīkailāsam at Kūgaiyūr in the South Arcot District, with its pavilions, *mandapas*, enclosure walls and towers. He also constructed a tank called Vīrabhayankaram and gave extensive lands for its upkeep. The endowments to the temple were largely augmented by the gifts of another chief of the family to which he belonged. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 40; No. 93 of 1918 and 94 of 1918). Vīra-Narasimhadēva Yādavarāya, another feudatory of this king, re-built the Venkatēsa Perumāl temple on the Tirupati Hill, in the 40th year of his chieftainship. He is mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 37th and 38th regnal years of this king. (See above.) Sīya-Ganga, son of Chōlēndrasimha, who is described as the lord of Kuvalālapura (Kolar), another feudatory of this king, built the temple of Anantālvār at

Kānchi, in the 35th regnal year, corresponding to *Saka* 1134 or A.D. 1212-13. (*M.E.R.* 1920. Para 21; Appdx. B. No. 589 of 1919). Whether this Yādavaraya had anything to do with the Pillaiyār Yādavaraya mentioned above as resorting to methods of coercion for collecting the revenue due by cultivators, it is not possible to say.

Suppression of unpopular monasteries, 1200 A.D.

As a devout worshipper of Siva, Kulōttunga III appears, in his 22nd year, to have taken steps to suppress some monasteries of an unpopular kind. Among those suppressed was one at Tirutturaipundi, whose chief died two years after its destruction. What actually led to such suppression is not clear. The suggestion that such suppression was indulged in by the king at the instance of Brāhmans seems not well founded. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42; Appendix B, No. 471 of 1912). The crusade against these monasteries seems to have been a general one, as it is styled *Kuhai-idi-kalaham* (literally, the fight for the destruction of caves, *i.e.*, monasteries). Their property, on their suppression, was confiscated to the State. It is possible that those connected with these monasteries preached or inculcated doctrines of a kind not favoured by the vast majority of the people. A deeply religious king like Kulōttunga III would not have gone the lengths he appears to have in this connection, if it was not found politically necessary to suppress the new religious orders that were cropping into existence apparently to public detriment.

Was Kulōttunga III a religious bigot?

The question whether Kulōttunga III was a Saiva bigot is raised not only by the above mentioned suppression of a kind of Saiva monasteries but also by another incident which has been assigned to a Kulōttunga, who, it is suggested, may have been this king. The *Nālāyīraprabandham* refers to the Gōvindarāja temple within the famous Siva temple at Chidambaram, where worship was going on apparently for a long time. In the reign of a certain Kulōttunga, so popular tradition goes, the image of this god was thrown into the sea and the temple fell into disrepair. The Vijayanagar king Rāmarāja is said to have restored the temple and the worship in it. According to an inscription found in it (*M.E.R.* 1914, Appendix B, No. 272, dated in *Saka* 1461=A.D. 1539), the restoration seems to have been actually effected by Achyutarāya and not by Rāmarāja. This apart, there is no evidence whatever to connect the desecration of the temple with the name of Kulōttunga III. A pious temple renovator and builder like him should have been the last to think of an irreligious act of this kind. In the suppression of the monasteries, we see more a desire to purge Saivism of what was considered at the time an undesirable accretion. The suppression seems to have been popularly justified at the time, whereas in the case of the Gōvindarāja shrine the act would have been set down as that of a vandal which Kulōttunga III was certainly not. The popular tradition attributing it to a Kulōttunga seems as erroneous as the attribution of the restoration of the image and worship in its honour to Rāmarāja instead of Achyuta. The Vaishnavas at about this time were a quiet and peaceful folk and both kings and people had uniformly patronised their temples with those of the followers of Siva. Even in the reign of Kulōttunga III, we have instances of such patronage, even from distant Ceylon, in favour of Vaishnava shrines. Thus we learn from an inscription dated in his 11th year that the Valanjiyar of Southern Ceylon (they call themselves Karunākara Vīrar Tennilangai Valanjiyar) who formed the mercantile classes spread all over the country as the leaders of the Vēlaikkārars and other classes of people making a grant to a Vishnu temple in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Page 102; 1915, Page 102). Some of these were, as we know, professing the Buddhist and some the Saiva faith (see above). The present reference shows that some others followed the Srīvaishnava faith, for the inscription testifies to the renewal of an agreement made by them to subscribe among themselves two *Kāsu* per head for providing for the maintenance of a *matha* at Tirukannapuram, founded probably by their own community, for feeding Srīvaishnavas in it on all festive occasions. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appdx. B. No. 505 of 1922).

Kulōttunga III as a literary patron.

There is some reason to believe that Kulōttunga III patronised poets. In a record dated in his 23rd regnal year we have one of these mentioned to us. Vīrantapallavaraiyar is described in it as his favourite court poet. His works are not known. A person who probably belonged to the family from which he came, was, we are told, musician and dancing master in the Tirukkadayūr temple. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 22; Appendix B. No. 255 of 1925). During Kulōttunga's reign, there seems to have flourished one Vatsarājan of Arumbākkam, who is said to have rendered the *Bhārata* into elegant Tamil. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 23; Appendix B. No. 482 of 1905). This translation is not otherwise known. The version of Perundēvanār (*Bhāratavenbā*) and Villiputturālvār belong to the 9th and 15th centuries A.D. The author of the well-known Tamil Grammar *Nannūl* seems to have flourished at the court of Vīra-Narasimha Yādarāya, a feudatory of Kulōttunga III. (*S.I.I.* III. ii 208). At Tiruvorriyūr, there was maintained, during this period, a school for the teaching of grammar. It was located in a *mandapa*, called the Vyākaranadāna-Vyākhyānamandapa, where it would appear, the god Vyākaranadāna-Perumāl (*i.e.*, Siva) "was pleased to appear before Pānini-Bhagavan for fourteen continuous days and to teach him the first fourteen aphorisms," with which Pānini begins his famous *Grammar*. The Grammar-Hall thus referred to as the original place where Pānini received the first fourteen aphorisms (called *Mahēsvara-sūtras*) directly from Siva, is not at present remembered in the Tiruvorriyūr temple. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 39; Appendix B. Nos. 201 and 202 of 1912).

A review of the reign of Kulōttunga III.

The date of the death of Kulōttunga III is not known. That he survived his practical retirement from his kingly office and lived for at least six or seven years after the assumption of sovereignty by Rājarāja III is clear from certain inscriptions which have been referred to above. The Pāndya invasion apparently occurred during this period, but its effects were not felt. A review of his long reign brings out the fact that in him the Chōla kingdom found, at a critical moment, a strong ruler, who was able to ward off the most cruel blow aimed at its very existence as an independent State. Much of his reign was, as usual with Chōla kings, occupied with war. By the conquests he effected, he extended his influence, if not his rule, as far as Nandalūr in the modern Cuddapah District. By his friendly attitude towards the Hoysalas, he made friends of possible enemies. He shone equally well as a builder of temples, a pious devotee and a literary patron. Brave and determined as warrior, diplomatist and administrator, he might in better times have earned for himself even a greater name. The rot, however, had already set in the framework of his royal house and he could not stop its ravaging effects any more than his predecessor or successor.

Rājarāja III, Tribhuvana-chakravarti A.D. 1216-1257.

Kulōttunga-Chōla III was succeeded by Rājarāja III, surnamed indifferently *Rājakēsarivarman* and *Parakēsarivarman.* (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 25). He also styled himself *Tribhuvanachakravartin.* His inscriptions lack the usual historical introductions and also the usual name epithets, except the ones of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* above mentioned, and *Ulagudaiya-Perumāl* in a record of his 6th regnal year. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appdx. B. No. 246 of 1917). How he was exactly related to Kulōttunga III, his predecessor, and to Rājēndra-Chōla III, his successor, is not known. Both Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III refer to Kulōttunga III as "Periyadēvar," but as this term is found used practically as a synonym for "respected predecessor" in several cases, it might not indicate any special relationship to him. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 41). But his association of Rājarāja III with him from 1216 A.D., during his life time, in his rule, indicates that he might have been his son. "Periyadēvar" in that case, might be taken to suggest "father." If this be so, Rājēndra-Chōla III may, until the contrary is definitely proved, be taken to have been the brother of Rājarāja III. The initial date of Rājarāja III has been fixed by Dr. Kiëlhorn in 1216 A.D., which has been confirmed by an epigraph at Adhamankōttai, in the Salem District, which couples *Saka* 1163 (=A.D. 1241) with his 26th regnal year. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 30, Appdx. B. No. 208 of 1910; see also *M.E.R.* 1912, Appdx. B. Nos. 407, 415 and 418). An inscription of his dated in his 20th year, from the details furnished in it, falls according to Mr. L. D. Svāmikannu Pillai, in 1235-36 A.D., which, he states, is the only possible year for the astronomical peculiarities exhibited by it. This, again, confirms that his initial year began in 1215-16 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 31; Appdx. B. No. 258 of 1911). Besides many lithic inscriptions, there is a copper-plate grant of his dated in his 18th year, which comes from Tirukkalar in the Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1903, Para 17). Inscriptions of his 36th (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 51), 38th (*M.E.R.* 1921, Appdx. C. No. 188) and 41st year (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 24; Appdx. B. No. 199) are known. Many other inscriptions of his dated in his 32nd and 33rd years have been found at Tiruvannāmalai, South Arcot District, and in certain places belonging to the present Trichinopolly and Tanjore Districts. Several others also have been traced in Nandalūr, Cuddapah District. The fact that he ruled up to at least 1257 A.D., shows that the statement that he might have died in A.D. 1243 before Kopperunjinga, who led a rebellion against him (see below), declared himself sovereign, cannot be admitted as correct. (*South Arcot District Gazetteer*, 35).

Political decline of the Chōlas.

The period of forty-one years he actually ruled was one marked by sedition and rebellion on the part of his dependants and chiefs, ending in the invasion of his kingdom by the Pāndyas from the south-west and the Hoysalas from the north-west. The Chōlas under him have no exploits to boast of. His capacity too for military organization appears to have been exceedingly limited, if he did indeed possess any. What we know of his reign, makes us feel that he was not the sovereign for the critical times he lived in. During his reign, the weakness of the Chōlas, as a ruling power, reached its climax. Not long after he began to reign, the Pāndyas under Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I became very powerful, and continued their sovereignty over southern India, perhaps, with occasional interruptions, until it was overthrown by the Muhammadans about the beginning of the 14th century. It was evidently the weakness of the Chōlas that led to the occupation of the Chōla country by the Hoysalas under Vīra-Sōmēsvara and to the conquest of Kānchi by the Kākatiya king Ganapati. If further evidence were needed for the decline of the Chōlas about this period, it is afforded by the fact of the Telugu-Chōda chief Tikka hurrying up to help the Chōla king against the Pāndyas, and claiming for himself as the result of such intervention the title of *Chōla-sthāpanāchārya*. The Hoysala interference in the affairs of the Chōla kingdom apparently began during the reign of Nārasimha II, the father of Vīra-Sōmēsvara, who ruled from A.D. 1220 to 1235. From the surname "the establisher of the Chōla kingdom" borne both by Nārasimha II and Vīra-Sōmēsvara, and from the statement of the Harihar inscription of the former that he "cleft the rock that was Pāndya" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii. 507) and that he gave the Chōla king his crown (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 45), it may be concluded that Nārasimha II marched into the Chōla country to help the Chōla king against the Pāndyas who, under Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya, had advanced northwards and burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur. Nārasimha probably drove the Pāndyas out of the Chōla country, reinstated the Chōla king on his throne and returned to his own dominions. But his son and successor Vīra-Sōmēsvara established himself in the Chōla country soon after his accession in 1233 A.D., with Kannanūr, near Trichinopoly, as his capital, either from motives of self-aggrandisement or from a desire to keep the Pāndyas more effectively in check. Even if self-aggrandisement had been Vīra-Sōmēsvara's motive in occupying the Chōla country, the Chōla king was apparently powerless to prevent it. As Rājarāja III ruled from 1216 to 1257 A.D., he should undoubtedly have been the Chōla king, during whose reign the Pāndya invasion, the expedition of the Hoysala king Nārasimha II against the Pāndyas and the eventual occupation of the Chōla country by Vīra-Sōmēsvara took place, though the name of the Chōla king is not mentioned either in the Pāndya or in the Hoysala records. (V. Venkayya, *M.E.R.* 1900, Paras 29-30). The Tiruvēndipuram inscription refers to one Kolli-Sōlakon, apparently a Chōla prince, who was an ally of Kopperunjinga and who raised the revolt against Rājarāja III. The context shows that he should have been an important personage. Who he was and how he was related to Rājarāja III and the circumstances under which he joined the rebellion against Rājarāja III have yet to be made out. Whether he is identical with the Solakon, who appears as the agent of Kopperunjinga in certain of his inscriptions in the Chidambaram temple, (*M.E.R.* 1903, Appdx. A. Nos. 459-460 and Nos. 463-468) is not clear. In an inscription of the 16th year of Kopperunjinga, Sōlakon's name appears as Sōlakonār, he being described as the son (*pillai*) of Perunjinga. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 7; No. 432 of 1924). They may be different persons, as the prefix *Kolli* appears to distinguish them. If he was of the Chōla royal house—as he might well have been, judging from his name—it might indicate that the decline of the Chōlas was, about this time, due partly at least to internal dissensions. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested that Rājēndra-Chōla III, two of whose inscriptions of the 7th year have been found in the Srīrangam temple, may have been a contemporary of Vīra-Sōmēsvara and that if he was reigning during the time of Rājarāja III independently of him, it would lead us to the same inference. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 30; *M.E.R.* August 1892, Appdx. B. Nos. 64 and 65 of 1892). Recent research has, however, enabled us to draw the inference that Rājēndra-Chōla III was probably a brother of Rājarāja III and that he was associated with him from the 30th year of his (Rājarāja's) reign and that there are no indications from the extant inscriptions of both these kings that there was any dispute between them as to the succession or any other matter. On the other hand, the mention of Sōlakon as an important ally of Kopperunjinga in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription suggests that he might have been a likely Chōla claimant or pretender who possibly sought Kopperunjinga's aid as against Rājarāja III. Kopperunjinga was an ambitious chief and that he had allied with him a scion of the Chōla family might have been sufficient in raising the standard of revolt against the ruling king.

Weakening of central authority and the rise of the feudatories.

That the times were out of joint and that there was considerable confusion in the land which enabled political adventurers to try their fortunes there can be no doubt whatever. The political position of the Chōlas had, indeed, so far degenerated, that, about this time, we find a Chēra king at Tirumalai in the North Arcot District, which till then at least, should have belonged to the Chōlas. This prince, Vidakad-alagiyaperumāl by name, belonged to the family of Elini or Yavanika. (*S.I.I.* 1. 105). He was the son of king Rājarāja-Adhika (or Adigaimān) and the lord of Takata, identified with Tagadur in the Mysore District. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 31). Vidakad-alagiyaperumāl's influence appears to have expanded beyond Tagadur to Tirumalai and that he took an active part in the politics of the day is suggested by a couple of inscriptions at Chengama, in the South Arcot District. One of these, which unfortunately is undated, registers a political compact which Vidakad-alagiyaperumāl entered into with Karikāla-Sōla-Adaiyur-Nādālvān and Sengēri Ammaiyappan Attimallan *alias* Vikrama-Sōla-Sāmbavarāyan. It was apparently Vidakād-alagiyaperumāl that got the compact engraved on stone. (*M.E.R.* Para 32. Appdx. B. No. 107 of 1900). He publicly declares in this epigraph that :—

(1) as long as the two chiefs of the other side continue to be faithful to him, he will be true to them; (2) their enemies shall be his enemies; (3) his enemies shall be their enemies; (4) he will form no alliance with certain chiefs among whom Siyagangan is apparently one; and (5) on other points he will observe—the provisions of the compact—entered into in the 21st year of some unnamed king.

In the 20th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III (=1198 A.D.,) the two chiefs who entered into the above compact with Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl, themselves entered into another compact. This record is also engraved on stone at Chengama, apparently at the instance of Vikrama-Chōla Sāmbavarāyan, one of the parties to it. (*Ibid* No. 115 of 1900). He declares that:—

> (1) as long as he and the other party to the compact live, they shall be faithful to each other; (2) in case alliance or hostility by either with Pirandaperumāl, who was the son of Rājarāja Adigan (*i.e.*, Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl of the first compact above mentioned) it shall be done with the approval of the other (?); (3) he (Sāmbavarāyan) will not join the enemies of the other party, neither will he enter into transactions hostile to the interests of the other.

As the second compact is between the two parties who probably formed the other compact with Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl and one of the conditions of their own compact had reference to the declaration of alliance or hostility with him by them, it has to be presumed that it was concluded before the first one mentioned above. Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl's compact with the other two jointly was apparently a clever counter-blast to their own compact between themselves. If this is a reasonable inference, the Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl's compact cannot have been far removed in point of time with the other one between themselves. Accordingly, we have to infer that both the compacts came into existence in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, from when the Chōla power began to decline. As we have seen, compacts of this nature first appear to have begun between the different members of the Sāmbavarāya family in the reign of Rajādhirāja II. (See above.) It apparently thence spread to other chiefs as well to secure personal ends and ambitions. The compact of the 21st year, referred to as having been concluded by Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl, in the reign of some unnamed king, was apparently one of this nature and may probably refer to a compact entered into in the 21st (or last) year of Rājādhirāja II. Sīyagangan mentioned in the compact of Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl has been identified with the chief of that name mentioned in the Tiruvalam record, as a feudatory of a Kulōttunga-Chōla, who must have been Kulōttunga-Chōla III. (*S.I.I.* III. 122). Apparently, Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl had to agree with the other parties to the contract that he would not ally himself with this Sīyagangan among others; probably because he had proved hostile to them and because he like Sīyaganga belonged to the ancient Ganga kingdom, within whose limits both Vidukad-alagiyaperumāl and Sīyagangan seem to have had their principal dominions. An earlier compact entered into in the 11th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III between Sengeni Vīrasōlan Attimallan *alias* Kulōttungasōla-Sāmbavarāyan, a member of the Sāmbavarāyan family, with one Kudal Arasanārāyana Ālappirāndān *alias* Kādavarāyan is also known. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 21; Appdx. C. No. 254 of 1919). According to this compact, both the parties to it swore they should not do anything that would be detrimental to the interests of either; that Kulōttunga-Sāmbavarāyan should not form any alliance with Ālappirāndān Edirilisōla-Sāmbavarāyan; that he should confine himself to certain specified tracts of country which, if he transgressed, the *mudalis* would send up arms and horses and cause him injury; and that if Ālappirāndān Edirilisōla-Sāmbavarāyan inflicted any trouble on Kulōttungasōla-Sāmbavarāyan, Kādavarāyan would support him; that in case Ālappirāndān Edirisōla-Sambavarāyan ran away from his hill (residence) leaving behind him all arms, Kulōttungasōla-Sāmbāvarāyan should have possession of them subject to the condition that he would not shelter or form any alliance with the other and that if Kādavarayan allied himself with the relatives of Kulōttungasola-Sāmbāvarayan and with Ālappirandān Edirilisōla-Sāmbāvarāyan against the interests of Kulōttungasōla-Sāmbavarāyan, he (Kādavarāyan) would demean himself to the position of carrying the sandals of his enemies and of eating the chewed betel leaves thrown out from their mouths. This compact was apparently aimed against Ālappirandān Edirilisōla-Sāmbavarāyan, who, to judge from his name, was a relative of both the contracting parties. Its primary object appears to have been to isolate him and thus put him down. He should have proved himself obnoxious to both parties and the alliance accordingly took the form of a mutually protective alliance. Kulōttungasōla-Sāmbavarāyan was apparently a powerful chieftain, for we see the condition imposed on him that he should not transgress his territorial limits.

Political compacts between feudatories and their significance.

Compacts of this nature would seem to indicate a falling off in the authority of the Chōla king. These compacts fully demonstrate that the weakening of the central authority which showed itself first in the reign of Rājādhirāja II, developed in that of Kulōttunga-Chōla III and ended in open revolt in that of Rājarāja III. It might have been almost a necessity of the times; for disorder and insecurity resulting from the Pāndyan War of Succession, had to be provided for and ambitious local chiefs found it both convenient and useful to form alliances of this nature. The Yādavarāyas, Kādavarāyas and the Sāmbavarāyas referred to above were apparently chiefs of this type and they naturally endeavoured to make the most of the situation for themselves. The royal names they added to their own shows that they kept well or pretended to keep well with the ruling king of the time. They were, all the same, prepared for eventualities and even, at a suitable opportunity, to throw off the yoke. Such, indeed, was what was done by Kopperunjinga, who was in one sense a Kādavarāya (or Pallava chief) who owned alliegance to Rājarāja III.

Anarchy at its height: Revolt of Kopperunjinga, 5th to 16th regnal years.

The successive stages by which this position was actually reached in the reign of Rājarāja III are not yet fully clear. But various inscriptions belonging to it thus broadly indicate the position:—

Regnal year	Equivalent A.D.	Contents of Record indicating the position
5th year ...	1221 A.D. ...	Disturbances in the country. Battle of Tellāru.
6th ,, ...	1222 ,, ...	Gift for the welfare of the king.
11th ,, ...	1227 ,, ...	Disturbances in the country.
14th ,, ...	1230 ,, ...	Property of *drōhins* (or rebels) confiscated.
16th ,, ...	1232 ,, ...	Trouble in the country. King kidnapped by Kopperunjinga and confined by him in the Sēndamangalam Fortress. Released under the orders of Hoysala king Vīra Nārasimha II by his two generals.
23rd ,, ...	1239 ,, ...	Prostrations to god for the welfare of the king.

The course of the revolt.

According to an inscription dated in the 19th year of Rājarāja III, there were disturbances (*duritamgal* in Tamil) in the country during the 5th, 11th and 16th regnal years as the result of which the title deeds of the inhabitants of certain villages were lost and had to be renewed in their favour. The "disturbances" of the 5th year can only refer to the first signs of the coming revolt. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 24; Appendix B. No. 213 of 1925). In the 16th regnal year, gifts of land were made for the welfare of the king. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 41; Appendix B. No. 245 of 1917). In view of the political conditions of the time, this cannot be interpreted as a mere expression wishing prosperity to the king in the conventional manner, but something more. As a matter of fact, an inscription found at Vayalūr (North Arcot District), which though undated, must be held to refer to the incidents that should have occurred in the 5th and 6th regnal years of Rājarāja, confirms this view. It is stated in the inscriptions that

Kopperunjinga conquered the Chōla king at Tellāru, deprived him of all his royal insignia, imprisoned him with his ministers and took possession of the Chōla country. It has been suggested that this exploit was performed by Alagiya-sīyan, the father of Perunjinga. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Paras 7-8). While the fact of an earlier defeat may be accepted, the fact that it was accomplished by the father of Perunjinga seems far-fetched. Wherever Perunjinga is mentioned with the words "Alagiya-Sīyan" it is intended to particularise "Perunjinga, the son of Alagiya-Sīyan" and no more. While the father Alagiya-Sīyan is mentioned as Perunjinga's father, and the son of Perunjinga is also mentioned in Perunjinga's inscriptions, there are no independent inscriptions of the father and son. (See below.) Apart from this, there can be hardly any doubt that Rājarāja was defeated at Tellāru in his 5th and 6th years, prior to his second defeat at Sēndamangalam and imprisonment there in his 16th year. After his defeat at Tellāru, he was probably once before set at liberty by Hoyasala Narasimha II, for his exclamation, on hearing of Rājarāja's second imprisonment at Sēndamangalam, "This trumpet shall not be blown *unless I shall have maintained my reputation of being the establisher of the Chōla kingdom*," would be meaningless. This is confirmed by an inscription of Nārasimha II dated in A.D. 1231—before Sēndamangalam was fought and relieved—in which he has already assumed the title of "the establisher of the Chōla kingdom." (*E.C.* II. Sravana Belgola, No. 186). In an inscription dated in A.D. 1222, Nārasimha is, besides, stated to have marched against Srīrangam in the south (*E.C.*VI, Chikmagalur 56) and in the Harihar's inscription of A.D. 1224, he is called the establisher of "the Chōla kingdom" and a Kādava (*i.e.*, Pallava) king is said to have been his opponent in that connection. Hence the conquest of Srīrangam (*i.e.*, the country round the

Cauvery referred to frequently in Perunjinga's inscriptions) must have taken place between A. D. 1222-1224. The first defeat of Rājarāja III by Kopperunjinga should have occurred accordingly about the 5th and 6th regnal years. The gift for the welfare of the king in the 6th regnal year was probably in recognition of his liberation after the fight at Tellāru. In the 11th regnal year there were again disturbances in the country, set up again by his feudatories. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 24; Appendix B. No. 213 of 1925). In the 14th regnal year, the disturbances of the previous years having been successfully suppressed, at least to some extent, severe measures were taken against the seditionaries. According to an inscription of that year, the lands belonging to certain persons who were the declared enemies of the State (*drōhins*, they are called) were sold by public auction to the highest bidders in the name of the king. These lands were purchased by some private persons on payment of 33,000 *Kāsu* to the Royal treasury. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 30; Appendix C. No. 112 of 1911). This, however, appears to have had little or no effect on the would-be insurrectionaries.

The revolt and its probable object.

In the 16th regnal year, an outbreak occurred which ended in the king being taken prisoner by Kopperunjinga, who secured him in his own fortress at Sēndamangalam in the present South Arcot District. What the object of this *coup de main* was is not definitely stated in the inscriptions of the period, but there can be little doubt that he wanted to do away with the king and make himself sovereign in his place. An inscription in the Vishnu temple at Tiruvēndipuram, near Cuddalore, in the South Arcot District, where the incident took place, contains an interesting account of how Rājarāja's release was effected. (*M.E.R.* 1902, Appendix B. No. 142 of 1902). It is dated in the 16th year of the king (Rājarāja III) and states that king Perunjinga had captured the Chōla Emperor (Rājarāja III) at Sēndamangalam (in the present Tirukoilur Taluk). Thereon the Hoysala king Vīra Nārasimhadēva (*i.e.*, Nārasimha II) started from Dōrasamudra (present Halebid in the Hassan District), seized Perunjinga with his wives and treasures, and re-instated the Chōla emperor. The inscription attributes to the Hoysala king the title "Establisher of the Chōla kingdom" and mentions the names of his officers, who actually effected the liberation of Rājarāja III. It also states that Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon, who seems to have been allied to Perunjinga, lost his life in the course of this war. In an inscription dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja III (*M.E.R.* 1900, Appendix B. No. 136 of 1900), *i.e.*, only two years prior to the Tiruvēndipuram record, Perunjinga is called a Pallava and represented as a vassal of Rājarāja III. Consequently, his rebellion against the Chōla king and his defeat at the hands of the Hoysala king must have taken place between the years A.D. 1229 and 1232. This inference is confirmed by other records which refer specifically to the disturbances of the 16th regnal year. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 24, Appendix B. No. 213 of 1925).

How Rājarāja III was imprisoned and how he was liberated.

The Tiruvēndipuram inscription which gives a graphic account of the capture of Perunjinga and the liberation of Rājarāja III, was apparently engraved by the two generals who effected the rescue. The following from it will be found interesting:—

"In the sixteenth year of the Emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva, when Pratāpachakravartin, the glorious Vīra-Nārasimhadēva, heard that Kopperunjinga had captured the Chōla emperor at Sēndamangalam, that he destroyed the kingdom with his army and that the temples of Siva and Vishnu were destroyed, he exclaimed: 'This trumpet shall not be blown unless I shall have maintained my reputation of being the establisher of the Chōla kingdom.' He started from Dvārasamudra, uprooted the Magara kingdom, (opposite to Srīrangam) seized him (the ruler of that kingdom), his women and treasures, and halted at Pachchur. There the king was pleased to order 'Destroy the country of Kopperunjinga and liberate the Chōla emperor.'

The Story as told in the inscriptions.

This order was issued to two of his officers named Appanna-Dannāyaka and Samudra-Gōpayya-Dannāyaka, who thus describe how they carried out their master's command, incidentally giving the route by which they marched :—

"We destroyed the villages of Ellēri and Kalliyūrmūlai (in the Chidambaram Taluk), where Kopperunjinga was staying, and Toludagaiyūr where Sōlakon was staying; killed . . . . . among the king's officers Vīra-Gang-nād-ālvān and Chinattarāyan, with four others, including Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon; seized their horses and seized the horses of Kolli-Sōlakon. Having worshipped the god of Ponnambalam (Chidambaram), we started again, destroyed rich villages including Tondaimānallūr (Tondaimānattam in Cuddalore Taluk) and other places, caused . . . . forest to be cut down and halted at Tiruppādaripuliyūr (Tirupāpuliyūr included now in Cuddalore town). We destroyed Tiruvadigai (Tiruvadi), Tiruvakkari (Tiruvakarai in Villapuram Taluk) and other villages; burnt and destroyed the sea-port towns on the coast and the drinking channels to the south of the Varanavasi river and to the east of Sēndamangalam, and seized and plundered the women. When we advanced against Sēndamangalam, and were going to encamp there, Kopperunjinga became full of fear and submitted to the king (Vīra-Nārasimha) that he would release the Chōla emperor. As the king agreed and despatched a messenger to us, we liberated the Chōla emperor, went with him and let him enter his kingdom". (*E.I.* VII. 160-9).

As suggested above, this inscription must have been engraved at the instance of the two generals who thus describe their successful mission, and the place at which it occurs (*i.e.*, Tiruvēndipuram) was perhaps the spot where the Chōla emperor after his release separated from the two generals and entered his own kingdom. Appanna and Samudra-Gōpayya were probably ardent followers of Vishnu and visited Tiruvēndipuram, which is mentioned in the Vaishnava sacred work *Nālāyirāprabhandam.* The temple at which the inscription above referred to is still to be seen, is on the very edge of the Gadilam river. In the 14th century, Tirvēndipuram became the residence of Vēdānta Dēsikar, the famous commentator on Srī Rāmānuja. His residence is still pointed out at the place. The two generals of the Hoysala king are mentioned in an inscription of Vīra Nārasimha, found at Arakere, Gubbi Taluk, Tumkur District (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 45), dated in 1233 A.D. Their exploit of destroying Kō-Perunjinga (he is called the Kadava king) and relieving the Chōla king is mentioned in it in these words: *Kādava rāyanam kidisi chōlanam bidisi tandallige.* Appayya is spoken of as Vīra Nārasimha's *Mahāsāmanta* Balleya-Nāyaka, and is also described as the "plunderer of the Tigulamandala." He was granted the village of Arakere, where the inscription is found, as a *Kodage*, as his reward. We are further told that Appayya was the son of Gandachayya Nāyaka and Ammaladēvi, who were devotees of the Idagur Goddess, from whom he was a boon to them. He was, it is said, minister, general and guardian of the army. He is said to have pursued Vīra Pāndya's army, apparently after defeating it. He is said to have received the gift of the village of Arakere "as if a much needed stick for thrashing the host of chieftains and hostile kings." He must have been quite a distinguished general for the writer of the epigraph to describe him and to moralise thus :—

> "What similarity is there between chiefs who possessing *Kodagi* and *Kulavritti*, invest in jewels, and the conqueror of the armies of Chōla and Pāndya, the Ballāla (*i.e.*, the able

servant Appanna),—can such chiefs compare with him? Thus having received the *Kodagi-mānyas*, obtained the fruit of his valour and secured it as if with the fist of a hero, Ballēya-Nayaka (*i.e.*, Appanna), made grants to the local god Machēsvara."

Kopperunjinga's confederates.

Kopperunjinga's confederates appear to have been many. There were with him in the rebellion Sōlakon, Vīraganganādālvān, and Chinattarāyan, besides four other officers including Parākrama Bāhu described as "the king of Ceylon." Sōlakon *alias* Perumāl Pillai of Aragur was apparently Perunjinga's representative at Chidambaram, where in the Natarāja shrine he is mentioned in several inscriptions dated in the 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 16th and 34th regnal years of Sakalabhuvana-chakravartin Kopperunjingadēva as issuing orders. (*M E.R.* 1903, Para 4; Appendix A. Nos. 459 to 490 and Nos. 463 to 468 of 1902). He appears to have been succeeded in his post by his younger brother Vēnadudaiyān, two of whose orders are referred to in two inscriptions in the same place dated in the 34th and 36th regnal years of Kopperunjingan. (*Ibid* Nos. 456 and 461). Who Parākrama Bāhu, the Ceylon king, was and how he came to be mixed in this confederacy of Chōla chiefs against their sovereign is not quite clear. But it was probably part of the policy of Kopperunjinga, who calls himself "the architect in establishing the Pāndya king," to bring in every one who had a grievance against the Chōla king. The Ceylon kings fought in favour of one of the Pāndyan claimants for the Pāndyan throne and the Chōlas had taken the part of the rival claimant in the Pāndyan war of succession. The presence of Parākrama Bāhu on the side of Kopperunjinga against the Chōla king should therefore be deemed natural. During the first portion of the reign of Rājarāja III, Ceylon was ruled by king Magha from 1215-1236 A.D. While Magha was still king, the Singhalese prince Vijaya Bāhu III

(A, D. 1220-1224) managed to become powerful and drove out the foreigners from the Maya country. He left two sons, Pandita Parākrama Bāhu II (1234-1269 A.D.) and Bhuvanaika Bāhu (1271-1283 A.D.). Of these, the former drove out the Tamils from Polonnāruva about 1244 A.D. He should have sent some chief of his to join Kopperunjinga against the Chōlas for attacking them in their homeland. As there is no record of his personally visiting India, this inference seems fairly sustainable.

The story of Kopperunjinga.

Now we come to Kopperunjinga. According to the writings of certain authorities, it would seem to follow that there were three chiefs of this name:—

(1) Alagiya-Sīyan Avaniyālappiranda Kopperunjinga I; he has also been called Kādava I; (2) Kopperunjinga II, entitled *Sakalabhuvanachakravartin* and "protector of Mallin" and "Nissankamalla"; he has been identified with the Mahārājasimha of the Drākshārāma and the Tripurāntakam inscriptions. The latter has been spoken of as the conqueror of Tondaimandalam, *i.e.*, the old Pallava country. He has also been styled Kadava II. This is said to have been the rebel leader who took Rājarāja III prisoner: (3) Kopperunjinga III, son of No. (2) above, who according to the Tiruvannāmalai record (No. 480 of 1902) claims to have "driven the Telungur to the north, so that they might perish there." Whether this son is identical with Sōlakon, who is described as *pillai* (son) of Perunjinga in an inscription of his 16th year is not certain. (*See* on this subject *M.E.R.* 1902, Para 9; *M.E.R.* 1903, Para 9; *M.E.R.* 1906, Paras 5-6; *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 66; *M.E.R.* 1914, Para 2; *M.E.R.* 1922, Para 24; *M.E.R.* 1923, Paras 5-8 and *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 24). As all the inscriptions so far discovered are attributable to only one king Kopperunjingadēva, who appears to have ruled for at least 36 years, as inscriptions have been found from his 2nd to his 36th year, there appears no valid ground for attributing some of these to Alagiya-Sīyan, the father and some others to Kopperunjinga, entitled *Sakalabhuvanachakravartin*, etc.,

while, it is common ground that, so far, no inscriptions that are attributable to No. (3) who is mentioned as the son of No. (2), have been found. As a matter of fact, *all* the inscriptions so far discovered of Kopperunjinga refer to him as *Sakalabhuvanachakravartin*, except the Tripurāntakam inscription which gives him the name of *Mahārājasimha* (Sānskrit for Kopperunjinga) and furnishes further two new titles *Sarvajnakhadgamalla* and *Nissankamalla*. It has, however, been generally admitted that this inscription refers to Kopperunjinga (No. 2 above), while the Drākshārāma inscription prefixes the title *Sakalabhuvanachakravartin* to *Mahārājasimha* and gives the other name of *Avanyavanōdbhara* as well. This confirms the identification first suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, of the Kopperunjinga (No. 2 above) of the Tiruvannāmalai inscription with the Mahārājasimha of the Tripurāntakam inscription. A careful scrutiny of all the inscriptions relating to Kopperunjinga will show that the suggestion that Alagiya-Sīyan should be treated as Kopperunjinga I and that certain of the inscriptions should be treated as pertaining to him is not proven. The plain fact seems to be that all the inscriptions refer *only to one* Kopperunjinga, and that to No. 2 above who had different titles to his credit (like many a Chōla king), that his father Alagiya-Sīyan was probably a petty chief before his more famous son won his spurs, that the title of *Kūdal Avaniyālappiranda*, distinctively suggesting that one not *born* a king had, as it were, *become* king, because he was *destined to rule the earth*, had been assumed by him and that he had a son, (No. 3 above) who also won some fame as a general and helped to drive the northern invaders out and make better known his father's adventurous career by the Tripurāntaka and the Drākshārāma inscriptions.

His rule over the usurped territory, A.D., 1243-1279.

Kopperunjinga thus was the son of a certain Alagiya-Sīyan, apparently a petty subordinate of the Chōlas, and his wife Silāvati. Alagiya-Sīyan is called in the Tripurāntakam inscription Jiyamahīpati, which may be taken as the Sānskritised form of his name. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Para 5). It is possible he might have carved out for himself a small principality by the conquest of the *Kūdal* (or Cuddalore) country. (See *M.E.R.*

1913, Para 66; Appendix B. No. 296.) The following genealogical table gives the relationship of the various members of this family:—

Alagiyasīyan *alias* Kadava I.

Kopperunjinga or Mahārājasimha *alias* Kādava II.

Sōḷa-kon or Sōla-kōnār (of Chidambaram Inscriptions and Inscription No. 432 of 1924).	Unnamed son mentioned in the Tiruvannāmalai inscription (480 of 1902) = Pallavarāyar *alias* Kādavarayār Kādava III (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 296 of 1912).	Nīlagangarayan (mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 14th regnal year of Kopperunjinga II *alias* Nīlaganga of Annur (*E.I.* VII,116; *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 19).

As might be expected, many of his inscriptions have been found at Chidambaram and Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot District, while a few have been traced at Tiruvadi (South Arcot District), Attur (Chingleput District), Tirumalisai, Siddhalingamadam, Tāyanūr, Vayalūr (North Arcot District), Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District), and Drākshārāma (Godāvari District). Judging from his inscriptions, he was apparently deeply attached to the temples at Chidambaram, Tiruvannāmalai and Tiruvadi. His inscriptions at Tripurāntakam do not indicate any conquests in the region where they are found, nor any gifts to the god of that temple. The Drākshārāma inscription quotes two verses—unfortunately mutilated—which were composed by Kopperunjinga himself and which refer to his victories over the Karnāta, Chōla and Pāndya kings. Not much is known of his early career, but it may be presumed that an ambitious man like him would not have kept quiet when circumstances were helpful to his attaining the rank of kingship. Apparently, he made inroads on his master's dominions, as far as Srīrangam, and annexed the country round it, thus driving out the Pāndyas who had occupied Tanjore and Uraiyur. This is proved by inscriptions actually found in the Shiyāli Taluk of the Tanjore

District, on the south bank of the Coleroon. These establish the fact that his dominion encroached southward beyond that river even into the Tanjore District. Perunjinga also built fortifications on the northern bank of the Cauvery during his encounters with Kannadiyas (*i.e.*, Hoysalas). It is not impossible that his march to the south of the river and his eventual occupation of the country there, as suggested by the discovery of his inscriptions at Shiyāli, was the result of his encounter with the Hoysalas. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 46; Appendix B. Nos. 367, 391, 394 and 395 of 1918). His conquest of Cuddalore and the adjoining country of Chidambaram secured for him a title connecting his name with the *Kūdal* (at Cuddalore). These conquests were evidently the cause of Nārasimha's advance on Srīrangam between 1222-24 A.D., for he was averse to an interloper like Kopperunjinga aggrandizing himself while he himself could easily annex them to his own dominions at the expense of the Chōla king Rājarāja III. A pretext was ready at hand, in that Rājarāja was a relation, by marriage, of his, and he had been set at naught by a feudatory of his own. About the year 1221 A.D., or so, Kopperunjinga was practically undisputed ruler of a good part of the Chōla kingdom. Besides Chingleput and South Arcot Districts, he was endeavouring to absorb parts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts. As Tiruvadi was the scene of a battle between the forces of Kopperunjinga and Hoysala Nārasimha II, it may be taken for granted that Kopperunjinga had extended his conquests up to that place. (*E.I.* II, 260-9; *M.E.R.* 1921-22, Para 9). His next adventure was doubtless to usurp the Chōla kingdom itself, if possible by kidnapping and imprisoning the king and his ministers. His first attempt in this direction ended at Tellāru, as we have seen above. Rājarāja III was liberated by the Hoysala king, who also re-conquered the country round the Cauvery, which Kopperunjinga had annexed to his own. Kopperunjinga did not, however, throw off the yoke, for we find him until two years before his second revolt acknowledging Rājarāja's suzerainty over him. (See above.) But he was astute enough to decide upon a fresh adventure before long. His next move seems to have been to mature a plan by which a more successful step could be taken to end Rājarāja's sovereignty. The idea of the confederacy accordingly took shape, despite the strong measures taken by Rājarāja III against seditionaries, and he got together even troops and leaders from distant Ceylon. Then the affair of Sēndamangalam, in about 1231 A.D., followed and his discomfiture should have been great when the intervention, once again, of Nārasimha II, the Hoysala king, wholly foiled his second attempt. He appears to have taken his defeat, for the time being, as became an adventurer like him, with becoming grace, but his ambitious spirit would not allow him to wait for the disappearance from the scene of his hated rival Rājarāja III before proclaiming himself king of the part of the Chōla country he actually controlled. We have no records of Rājarāja III beyond his 41st year or 1257 A.D., but at least four years before that date, he appears to have defeated certain Dandanāyakas of the Hoysala king (apparently Vīra-Sōmēsvara who ruled up to 1263 A.D.,) in a battle at Perumbalur (in the Trichinopoly District) and seized their ladies and treasuries, and levied tribute from the Pāndyas, (*M.E.R.* 1918. Para 2, Appendix C. No. 73 of 1918 and *M.E.R.* 1925, Para 26, No. 229 of 1925) and at least four years prior to that date, *i.e.*, between February and July 1243 A.D., Kopperunjinga ascended the throne and invested himself with regal titles, like *Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Kūdal Avaniyālappirandān Kopperunjingan*, of which *Avaniyālappirandān* takes the form of *Avanyavanōdbhava* in the Drākshārāma inscription dated in *Saka* 1184 (=A.D. 1262) or his 19th year. In the

Tripurāntakam inscription he has besides the titles of *Sarvajna Khadgamalla* and *Nissankamalla*. With his title *Sakalabhuvanachakravartin*, we may compare the *Sakalōkachakravartin* by Rājanārāyana Sāmbavarāya (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. Nos. 194, 203, 207, 273, 410, etc.), *Sarvabhaumachakravartin* of the Hoysala king Vīra-Rāmanātha (*M.E.R.* 1914, No. 46 of 1913.) and *Tribhuvanachakravartin* of the Chōla kings. Seeing that his inscriptions run from his 2nd year to his 36th year, he must have ruled from 1243 to 1279 A.D. This overlaps the reigns of Rājarāja III (1216-1257 A.D.) and Rājēndra-Chōla III (1246-1268 A.D.), and ends fully half a century (to be exact, 53 years) before we hear of the next Chōla princeling Tribuvanachōladēva, of whom we get a first glimpse in 1332 A.D., when the earliest kings of the new Vijayanagar dynasty were about to open their rule. Kopperunjinga's declaration of independence was thus one of the contributory causes of the eclipse that the Chōla power sustained in the last quarter of the 13th century A.D.

Character of his rule.

Though a political adventurer, rebel and usurper, Kopperunjingadēva, as he calls himself throughout his inscriptions, seems to have been an able soldier and a good administrator. He claims in his Tripurāntakam record to have destroyed the pride of the Karnāta (*i.e.*, the Hoysala) king (*i.e.*, after his own defeat at Tellāru and Sēndamangalam), to have been "the sun to the lotus-tank of the Chōla family" (*i.e.*, before he rebelled) and "the architect in establishing the Pāndyan king" (referring perhaps to Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya, who was his contemporary as mentioned in an inscription at Chidambaram, No. 332 of 1913—*See M.E.R.* 1914, Para 2). The country under him should have been well governed, for his records show a precision and orderliness in administration which speak well of him and his subordinates. They testify to the regularity with which grants were registered on temple walls, the methodical manner in which the original documents were secured in the temple treasury and the routine spirit which Sōlakon, his representative at Chidambaram cultivated, doubtless in the interests as much of the governed as the governor. Kopperunjinga was a devotee of the Siva temples at Chidambaram and Tiruvannāmalai. At the former place, he built the eastern *gōpura* (resembling, we are told in the Tripurāntakam inscription, mount Meru) out of the riches obtained by the conquest of the country on the banks of the Cauvery, and called the *gōpura* after his own name. The decorations on the four sides of the *gōpura* are said to have been made with the booty acquired by subduing the four quarters. According to an inscription dated in his 5th year at Attūr, in the Chingleput District, he presented that village for building the southern entrance of the Chidambaram temple. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. No. 286 of 1921). He made gifts at Drākshārāma, where an inscription of his is actually found, the Ēkāmbranātha temple at Conjeeveram, Svētajainta (*i.e.*, Jambukēsvaram), Virattānam, Madura, Kālahasti and other places. One of these at Tiruvannāmalai refers to him as the "protector of Mallai (Māmallapuram) *i.e.*, the Seven Pagodas, with which the early Pallavas were, as we have seen, closely connected, and repeats the title *Nissankamalla* which appears in one of his Tripurāntakam inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1906, Paras 5-6). Evidently the old Pallava capital lay in his usurped area. Among his officers were Sōlakon, already mentioned, who was his agent at Chidambaram and his brother Vēnāudaiyār, Tennavan Brahmadirājan, Jayatunga Pallavaraiyan, and Tikai-Ambala-Pallavarayan, all of whom are referred to in his Chidambaram inscriptions. Sōlakon was apparently deeply attached to his master and probably his benefactor. On a pillar in the second western *gōpura* of the Chidambaram temple and on another *gōpura* of the goddess Sivakāmi-Amman, is recorded the fact that these pillars were placed there by Sōlakon for the merit of his master Avaniyālappirandān Kopperunjingadēva. The Tripurāntakam inscriptions state that Mahārājasimha (*i.e.*, Kopperunjinga) built the eastern *gōpura* of the Chidambaram temple and decorated the four sides of it with "the booty acquired by subduing the four quarters" (see above). The east and west *gōpuras* are very richly carved and bear on their inner walls five specimens of images of which a large number illustrate the various dancing postures connected with the name and fame of Natarāja, the presiding deity of the Chidambaram temple. They are particularly interesting, in the opinion of Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri, on account of the descriptive verses engraved in Grantha characters above them. A more remarkable fact about them is that they illustrate all the 108 postures of dancing mentioned in the *Bhāratīya Nātya-Sāstra* (Chapter IV, vv. 33 to 53). An illustrated account of the postures will be found by the interested reader in *M.E.R.* 1914, 4 Plates facing page 82. Kopperunjinga's son, whose gifts of ornaments are found recorded at Tiruvannāmalai (*M.E.R.* 1903, Appendix A. No. 480 of 1902), together with a reference to the buildings he erected at that place, claims in the same inscription to have "driven the Telungar to the north, so that they might perish in the north." It may be, as Mr. Venkayya has suggested, that he fought against the Kākatiyas, who, during the time of Ganapati, had apparently taken possession of Kānchi, (*I.A.* XXI, 197) and that he drove them back to the north. In this case, he must be one of those who took advantage of the weakness of the Kākatiyas subsequent to the death of Ganapati. (See *M E.R.* 1906, Para 6; also Paras 43-44). Two other members of his family were Kūdal Ālappirandān Mōgan *alias* Kādavarāyan and his elder brother Kūdal Ālappirandān Arasanārāyanan *alias* Kādavarāyan, who has been identified with one of the Kopperunjingas of the later records. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 24; Appendix B, Nos. 480, 481 and 423).

The better side of his nature.

Though a man who, in desperate situations, took desperate means to achieve his ends, Kopperunjinga seems to have been a person with a prick of conscience. That is the redeeming feature in the man's character. Thus, in one of his inscriptions, we see him making expiation for having killed Kēsava, Harihara and other Hoysala generals in the battle at Perantalūr (before his 10th regnal year) and for having seized by force their ladies and treasure. The expiatory act consisted in offering a gift to the Siva temple at Vriddhāchalam, in the South Arcot District. The gift consisted of a golden forehead plate set up with jewels, which was called *Avaniālappirandān.* It was to be placed, according to the record, on the image of the god with the chanting of a Sānskrit verse given in it. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 73 of 1918). The devastation that should have taken place owing to the wars of this period should have been great, quite apart from the low standards of political morality and warfare that prevailed—a sorry lapse from the standards of Manu followed during the days of the early Pallavas. Thus, we are told in an undated record of the times of Sakalabhuvana-chakravartin Kopperunjingadēva, found at Ākkūr in the Māyavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District, that one Alagiya Pallavar *alias* Vīrapratāpar (apparently a connection of the reigning king, who had fought against the Hoysalas and kept them in confinement and levied tribute from the Pāndyas) performed a pilgrimage of the sacred places along the Chōla country, to which he returned after the warfare he had engaged in. He is said to have carried out necessary repairs to all the temples visited by him (they should have gone into decay) and made tax-free all the lands belonging to them. It would appear he camped at a village (name lost) on his way, and observed that the tenants had migrated from the villages leaving their lands waste, probably, owing to the unbearable taxation imposed on them. As we know, war taxes were not unknown in those days. Their incidence should have proved far too intolerable to induce cultivators to leave their homes and migrate even, we are told, as far as the Ganges. Alagiya Pallavar, it is added, remitted all the arrears of taxes due from them and invited them to return home and take possession of their belongings. He also appears to have got the lands demarcated anew by cutting the (old) boundaries. The events mentioned above should have occurred after the defeat of the Hoysalas at Perambalūr already adverted to. The repairs of the temples and re-migration of people to their lands should accordingly have taken place in or about the year 1260 A.D., when the ruling Hoysala king was Vīra-Sōmēsvara, whose capital was at Kannanūr, near Srīrangam, and when Kopperunjinga was still alive. (See *M.E.R.* 1925, Paa 26; Appendix B. No. 229 of 1925). This Perunjinga ruled the Pallava country and hence called himself Pallavāndār. He may be taken to have attempted the resuscitation of the Pallava power on the decadence of the Chōla Empire. He appears to have had three sons. One of them drove out the Telugu invaders to the north "so that they may perish there." (Tiruvannāmalai record, No. 480 of 1902 quoted above). Whether this son can be identified with Sōla-kon or Sōla-konar, of the Chidambaram and other inscriptions is not yet definitely ascertained. He is called Pallavāndār *alias* Kadavarāyar in another inscription. Then, we have another son of his, Nīlagangaraiyan, mentioned in an inscription of the 14th year of Kopperunjinga, the usurper. He calls himself also as Nīla-Ganga of Amur. (*E.I.* VII 166; *M.A.R.* 1909 Para 19). The Telugars said to have been defeated must have been the Kākatiyas who had occupied the Tondai (Pallava) country during the time of Ganapati after taking Kānchi. They should have been actually driven out by Perunjinga's son and pursued as far as Draksharāma, in the Godāvari District, where he set up inscriptions eulogising his father's exploits. This inference is confirmed by an epigraph at Atti (in the Arcot District). This record states that Pallavāndār killed a very large number of his enemies at Sevur and created "mountains of dead bodies and swelling rivers of blood." Sevur has been identified with Mel-Sevur in the Tindivaanm Taluk of South Arcot District. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 66).

The significance of the Kopperunjinga episode.

The episode of Kopperunjinga typifies the character of Rājarāja's rule. One portion of his kingdom was broken up apparently into petty principalities which had got into the hands of chiefs who set up independent rule, some going to the extent of giving themselves the royal titles of *Sakalabhuvana-chakravartin* (as Perunjinga did), *Sakalalōkachakravartin* (as Rājanārāyana Sāmbuvarāya did) and even *Tribhuvanachakravartin* (as Vijayagandagōpāladēva did) and began to use their own regnal years ignoring the reigning Chōla sovereign and his royal era. There is reason to suspect that these three different families claimed descent from the Pallavas, were interrelated to one another and ruled contemporaneously over parts of the northern Chōla territories, forming parts of the present Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. The title *Ālappirandān* is, indeed, assumed by Rājarāja Sāmbuvarāya, which in its enlarged form of *Avaniālappirandān* we know to be the title of Kopperunjinga's family. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 65; Appdx. B. No. 303). Perunjinga's family appears to have lasted for at least three generations, he himself ruling, so far as at present known, during a period of 36 years. Sāmbuvarāya's family seems to have lasted even longer, counting from the days of Kulōttunga-Chōla III. Scions of this family appear to have emigrated to the Kalinga country as early as the times of Kulōttunga-Chōla I and Vikrama-Chōla, for we hear of Periya and Cheriya Sāmbuvarāya in about the 12th century A.D. in the Guntur District. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 79). At the same time, in their homelands, according to an inscription dated in the 11th year of Vikrama-Chōla, they appear to have wielded considerable influence. An early member of the family was Sengeni Sumbugarājan Nālāyiravan Ammaiyappan *alias* Rājēndra sōla-chambugarājan, who had his residence at Mannuruppali (Mannur) in Oyma-nādu. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 92; Appdx. No. 422 of 1922). He is said to have constructed many tanks with sluices, reclaimed waste lands and brought them under cultivation, and built numerous temples and carried out many other acts of charity. The title *Nālāyiravan* suggests that he should have been the Commander of 4,000 troops, who appear to have been known by the names of Vikrama-sōlan-Taya-Vēlakkārar and Minanvanai-Venkadur, the latter of which suggests some conflict with the Pāndyas in which they should have been victorious. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appdx. B. No. 389 of 1922; *M.E.R.* 1919, No. 234 of 1919). A lieutenant of Sengani was one Akalanka-Chambavarāyar who made some gifts at Madhurāntakan in the 15th year of Vikrama-Chōla. He had the title of Akalanka Sengeni's grandson Mindan Sīyan Ammaiyappan *alias* Edirilisōlachatrbuvarāya, and made over certain taxes to the temple at Tiruvedumalai built by his grandfather (*M.E.R.* 1923, No. 421 of 1922). The gifts are recorded in an inscription of the 15th year of Rājarāja II. Mindan Sīyan's son is probably referred to as Alagiyasīyan (*alias* Alagiyasīla-Chambuvadiar) in another inscription of Rājarāja II, also dated in his 15th year. Other members of the family were Tribhuvanachamburāyan (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 93 No. 406 of 1922), Sīyan Pallavan *alias* Rajanārāyana-chambuvarāyan and Kulasēkhara-chambuvarāyan figuring in a record of the 25th year of the Pāndya king Vīra-Pāndya. *Ibid* No. 195 of 1923). This Rājanārāyana should be distinguished from the later chief of the same name who ascended the throne in *Saka* 1260 and is mentioned below. (See for particulars of other chiefs of this family *M.E.R.* 1922, para 60). Rājanārāyana Sāmbuvarāya, one of these, seems to have succeeded (see *M.E.R.* 1800, No. 30) to the throne in *Saka* 1260-61 (A.D. 1338) and several inscriptions of his dated in 5th, 6th, 7th, 12th, 14th and 19th regnal years have been so far traced. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appdx. B. Nos. 203, 207, 212, 276 and 410; also *M.E,R.* 1911; Appdx. B, Nos, 285, 286, 287 and 298.) His 19th regnal would fall into 1357 A.D., which would take us into the beginnings of the first Vijayanagar dynasty. There was another Sakalalōkachakravartin Rājanārāyanan who was ruling in or about 1359 A.D. He was different from the one mentioned above as having come to the throne in 1338 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1925, para 41). Vijayagandagōpāladēva was another chief who affected independence. There is no doubt that his family also ruled over tracts of the country included in North Arcot and Chingleput from the times anterior to Rājarāja III. Sāmbuvarāyan Pallavāndar mentioned in a record of Rājarāja III (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 106) is probably identical with prince Rājarāja Sāmbuvarāyar, who takes the title of *Ālappirandān.* (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix B. No. 303). This Rājarāja Sāmbuvarāyar is described as the son (*pillaiyār*) of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vijaya-Gandagōpāladēva who began to rule over Kānchi and the surrounding country in 1250 A.D., and continued at least to his 26th year, *i.e.*, 1276 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1910-11, Para 15; *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 65; Appdx. B. No. 30; *M.E.R.* 1906, para 7). Another Mādhusūdana Vijayagandagōpāla is known. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 91; Appdx. C, No. 196 of 1923). He renamed Uttiramerur as Gandagōpāla-chaturvēdimangalam. He claims Pallava descent and styles himself a *Mahāmandalēsvara*. He is probably identical with the son of Tripurāntaka who makes a gift of land in the 18th year of his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1896; No. 15 of 1896). This Tripurāntaka should be the same as the minister of Chōla Tikka (No. 34 of 1893) identified by Mr. V. Venkayya with Madhurāntaka Pottappichōlan Manumasittarasan Tirukkallattidēvar. (See *M.E.R.* 1922, Para 59). Another son of Vijaya-gandagōpāla is mentioned in another inscription. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 65; Appdx. B. No. 117). This prince's name appears to have been Panchanadivana Nīlagangaraiyar. His senior queen was Perumāl Nachchi. In this connection, it deserves to be pointed out that Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōla was the surname both of Vijaya-Gandagōpāla and Vīragandagōpāla, who were the contemporaries of the Pāndya king Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I, the Hoysala Vīra-Sōmēsvara, and the Kākatiya king Gangapati. (*M.E.R.* 1910-11, Para 16; *M.E.R.* 1913, para 65). Madhurāntaka Pottappichōlan's records appear at Tiruvorriyur. In a record of his 2nd regnal year, at this place, he calls himself Mānava Vijaya. As an inscription of Rājarāja III, dated in his 22nd year, records an order of Mādhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōla, it seems as though he partially recognised the suzerainty of the Imperial Chōla sovereign. (*M.E.R.* 1913, para 65; Appdx. B. No. 198 of 1912). This, however, is about the only one inscription of his so far found in which he recognises the imperial authority. The central authority having been thus set at naught, the way was open for the Muhammadan invasion under Mālik Kāfur in 1310 A.D., whose route lay through Harihar, Halebid, Bangalore and through parts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput and Madras Districts and thence southwards as far as Madura and probably a few places beyond. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 68). This exactly covered the tracts of country in which the central authority had broken down and had been replaced by the rule of petty chiefs who proved themselves incapable against the organized and disciplined troops of the north. (See below).

Administration in Rājarāja's time.

The rule of Rājarāja III accordingly extended only to parts of the old empire he inherited. Even in Tanjore and Trichinopoly, his records are few. Apparently the Sāmbavarāyas had displaced him over the greater part of these two districts. The administrative routine, however, was still in vogue. The village assembly was in working order. An inscription of his reign, dated in his 16th year, found at Sembiyanmahādēvi (Negapatam Taluk, Tanjore District), gives us the interesting information that the village assembly, *ambalam*, was meeting both in the day time and at nights for deliberating on affairs connected with the village administration and matters relating to taxes, etc., and that as this involved expenditure of oil for lamps and torches in excess of the quantity sanctioned by the *Sabha*, it was ordered that the assembly should meet only during day time. Such a commendable step in the retrenchment of avoidable charges shows the good sense with which the rural assemblies appear to have worked during the thirteenth century. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 29; Appdx B. No. 500). The disturbed nature of the times is indicated by an inscription at Nidur, Tanjore District, which discloses the steps taken by the village assembly of the place to put down the illegal exactions indulged in at the time. The village assembly convened a big meeting of the *nāttār*, *kutunbur* and *karaiyār* in one of its temples and passed resolutions fixing the rates at which certain taxes should be levied. This indicates the extensive powers they enjoyed. It was also stipulated that none but those ruling should demand taxes from them; that they should supply transport at the rate of one man for every *kāni* of land cultivated for carrying the paddy to its destination, and that some other agricultural contingencies should be met in the manner mentioned in the record. The disturbances caused by the wars had not only increased the imposts on the rural taxpayers but also the number of those claiming the right to collect them. No better proof of the weakening of the central authority can be required than this record. A rather informative record from Tukkachchi, dated in 23rd year of Rājarāja III, shows the automatic nature of the arrangements that were in force during the period for the collection of dues by the temples even during times of distress. There were apparently Kāval-Kāniyālars appointed to the places, whose duty it was to lease out the lands and realize the assessment. They appear to have prevented the defaulting tenants from absconding by giving them what was required for their maintenance and personally inquired into the daily requirements of the temple, supplemented its funds so that the fixed scale of expenditure might be met; set up the images required in the temple in order that the usual processions may be conducted, appointed a person to offer prayers for the welfare of the king, appointed priests to offer the fire-sacrifice *hōma* and ministered to the wants of Brāhmans and Vellālas, who were immigrant settlers in the village. In return for all these good services, the Kāniyālan was given the privilege of entering the temple armed with a bow, of getting one of the privileges (*nimandas*) for himself, of receiving half of the emoluments of the person who had to carry the images of the gods in procession and of getting a house within the temple premises and letting it out to any person he chooses. The Kāniyālar of the Tirukkachchi was so successful in his management that he reappointed the servants and brought under cultivation all the lands that had gone out of cultivation in the previous years with the result that the income of the temple went up to 2,000 *Kalams* of paddy. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 41, Appdx. C. No. 1 of 1918). The cause of the distress in this particular case is not known. In a record of the 6th regnal year coming from Kōil Tirumūlam (Nannilam Taluk, Tanjore District), we have it specifically stated that the persons holding the lands belonging to the local temple expressed their inability to pay the taxes and the prevailing rates and requested their revision. This apparently was agreed to, the lands being resumed and given over to the same temple on a favourable tenure or by excusing the payment of the dues altogether. (*Ibid*, Appdx. B. No. 245 of 1917).

Administration of criminal justice.

The administration of criminal justice seems to have gone on the established lines. We have a few more instances in this reign of how accused in case of death involving rashness or negligence on their part were dealt with. In the case of a death caused by an indiscreet act of the accused, the uncle of the latter was ordered to expiate the sin by a gift of lands made to the local temple for burning a perpetual lamp in it. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 22, Appdx C. No. 33). In another case, where a man was wrongly punished in a quarrel that ensued in connection with an alleged right to use water for irrigation purposes by a village, his son was given land as *udirappatti* in the 39th year of Kulōttunga-Chōla III. In the 20th year of Rājarāja III, the land having been found to be of an unproductive character, the man was granted certain concessions. This shows incidentally the care that was bestowed at the time on irrigation facilities and the zealous manner in which rights relating to water were conserved and protected. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 24; Appdx. B. No. 406 of 1925).

Erection of public buildings.

As might be expected, the troublous nature of the times could not have permitted an active policy in regard to public works, especially in regard to the construction of temples. A few minor works, however, appear to have been carried out during this reign. Thus, according to an inscription dated in the 7th year of Rājarāja III, found at Tirumalavādi, one Edirisōla Muvendivēlan, built the *nritta-mandapa* (or dancing hall) in the local Siva temple. The same person appears to have built other *mandapas* in the local Vishnu temple, and replanned the village and opened a new street filling in a pit in the centre of the village. He is also stated to have protected the village against the inundations of the Kollidam by removing further south the southern embankment. The grateful inhabitants invited the benefactor to live amidst them in a house they presented him with. (*M.E.R.* 1920 Para 23; Appdx. C. No. 91 of 1920). Certain records of this reign indicate that valuable additions or gifts were made to temples by dancing women and their charities and gifts were recognised by the grant of certain privileges in the temples where they served, *e.g.*, the waving of the *chamara* or fly whisks before the images during the car festivals, etc. (See *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 43; Appdx. C. No. 183 of 1923 and No. 190 of 1923). Royal favour continued to be bestowed on the great temple at Tiruvorriyur. Following precedent, Rājarāja III appears to have paid a visit to it in his 19th regnal year and attended one of its more famous festivals. He is said to have stayed on the occasion in the Rājarāja-mandapa (*M.E.R.* 1923, Appdx. B. No. 211). The teaching of Pānini at this temple was, as we have seen, a special object of solicitude of one of the priests, called the Vyākarana-dānabhatta, evidently after god Siva "who gave grammar" to Pānini. (See above). On a representation made to the king, the local taxes collected at the place were ordered to be paid into the temple instead of into the Royal treasury, as they were considered *ningal* (deducted or prohibited), so far as the Royal Exchequer was concerned. An inscription dated in the 7th regnal year, accordingly, records an order of Vīra-Narasimhadēva Yādavarāya, one of the chief administrative officers of the king that Tiruvorriyur and other villages of the temple which had originally been tax-free, were to be taxed, the collections, however, being made payable into the coffers of the temple. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 4 ; Appdx. B. No. 199 of 1912). A list of the taxes levied is also given, from which it would seem that there was an extensive system of profession taxes—such as taxes on drummers, weavers on the looms, oil-mongers, dyers, manufacturers of salt, etc., etc. Vīra-Narasimhadēva, the officer above named, appears to have built a shrine in the temple at Tiruvorriyur and to have dedicated it to Vīra-Narasimhēsvara after himself in the 9th regnal year or two years after the Royal visit to it. (*Ibid* Appdx. B. No. 227 of 1912). He also carried out repairs to the famous temple on the Tirumalai hill at Tirupati. (See above).

Literary activities of the Reign.

It was probably during this reign that Kamban, the Tamil poet, flourished at Tiruvennainallur, in the South Arcot District. His name is coupled with that of Sadaiyappavallāl, a local chief, who appears to have been his patron. As the ruling Chōla king, whose subordinate he was, is not known, he may be set down to the decadent period of Chōla rule—probably Rājarāja III, when a good portion of South Arcot passed out into the hands of Kopperunjinga and other chiefs. (See above). At Tiruvennainallur, and about the same time, (say 1250 A.D.) there lived Mykundadēvar, the well known translator of the *Sivagnānabōtham.* He is stated to have been the grandson of Sadaiyappa, the patron of Kamban. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 11). The spread of Vaishnavism about the same time is marked by the popularity won by the hymns of the Vaishnava Ālvārs. Those of Nammālvār seem to have been regularly sung on the 5th day of the celebration of the marriage festival of Vishnu in the temples. (See, for example, at Tirukannapuram, Tanjore District, *M.E.R.* 1923, Appendix B. No. 503 of 1922). When hearing these hymns divine, orders were, it is said, issued exempting on certain conditions certain classes of people from the payment of taxes due on their houses. (*Ibid* Para 42). These included the stipulation that they should not sell, mortgage or convey by way of gift their houses without the consent of the *sthanikas*, (*i. e.*, the temple trustees). They were to have dealings in gold, bell-metal, cloths, etc., on which they were to pay taxes to the temple at the rates fixed by themselves and the temple authorities. (*Ibid*).

Domestic life.

Certain inscriptions of Rājarāja III appear to refer to his sons, though the word *pillaiyār* (literally, son) is not free from doubt. Thus an inscription of his, dated in his 18th regnal year, refers to his *pillaiyār* Gandagōpāla and his wife Jyabhamaladēviyār, and a gift made in the name of the latter to a temple at Kaverippakkam in the Conjeeveram taluk. (*M.E.R.* 1924 Para 23; Appendix B No. 410 of 1923). Another inscription of Rājarāja III dated in his 25th year mentions the coin *Gandagōpālan-pudumādai* whose ascription is doubtful, in view of other Gandagopalas already referred to. (See, however, *M.E.R.* 1924 Para 23, where it is ascribed to this prince). Another son of Rājarāja III is mentioned in an inscription of his whose regnal year has been lost. *Pillaiyār* Sōlagangadēva mentioned in it is apparently the prince Sōlagangan who often figures in inscriptions issuing orders (*ōlai*) independently of the ruling sovereign. (*M.E.R.* 1913. Para 42; Appendix B. No. 549 of 1912).

Coinage.

Several inscriptions of the period mention the gift of one *Gandagōpālan-pudumādai*, in each case for maintaining a lamp. This must have been evidently issued by Gandagōpāla Madhurāntakan Pottappichchilan, an administrative officer of Rājarāja III. As the coins are mentioned in an inscription of Kulōttunga III as well, he must have been an officer of that king also. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42, p. 112; Appendix B. No. 561 and 562, dated in the 23rd and 19th years of Rājarāja III: also No. 560 dated in the 3rd year of Kulōttunga III). The coin *Gandagōpālanmādai* is mentioned in another inscription. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 91; Appendix B. No. 433, dated in the 20th year of Vijayagandagōpāladēva). It has been suggested that this was struck by one Madhusūdanadēva Vijayagandagōpāla, whose inscriptions range from his 8th to 28th year. (*Ibid M.E.R.* 1923, Para 91). Probably it was a different coin—for it is called *Mādai* and not *pudu-mādai*.

Probable end of Rājarāja.

It is not definitely known when Rājarāja III died, though an inscription of his dated in his 41st year proves he should have lived at least down to 1257 A.D. It is just possible that he was assassinated in or about that year by his brother Rājēndra-Chōla III, who in his Lepāka inscription boastfully describes himself as "the cunning hero who killed Rājarāja after making bim wear the double crown for three years." As suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri, this record shows Rājēndra-Chōla III, as a crafty and ambitious prince, "who treacherously murdered his predecessor Rājarāja III, three years after securing for him the two crowns—perhaps those of the Pāndya and the Kērala." (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 32; Appendix B. No. 420 of 1911).

Character of his rule.

During his period of rule, the Chōla power was practically broken up. The descendants of the old Pallava power, who had held subordinate posts under the Chōlas, saw their opportunity and virtually superseded the Chōla kings from their territories. Much of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot and parts even of Trichinopoly and Tanjore were thus lost to the Chōlas. The Pāndyan encroachment continued. How he was twice beaten on the field by Kopperunjinga and imprisoned, we have seen above. He had on both the occasions to be restored to liberty by the Hoysala king. That is typical of the low state to which the Chōla power had sunk. In 1258-59 A.D., a year following the close of Rājarāja's reign, one of his chiefs transferred his allegiance to the Pāndyans. This, again, shows the weakness of the Chōlas as a ruling power in the South. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 25; see No. 297 of 1913). Though he reigned long, he proved himself an ineffective and slothful ruler, apparently spending his time in the attending of temple festivals and the hearing of religious songs. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42). He was not more active in administration. The manner in which subordinate chiefs subverted his power and took full advantage of his weakness shows this in unmistakable fashion. The times required a stronger and wiser ruler, more alive to the dangers that surrounded him. No wonder that Rājarāja III succumbed to the powerful forces working against him and thus paved the way for the first Muhammadan inroads into the South. During his reign, the Chōla power practically ceased to exist.

Chōlas in Mysore in the reign of Rājarāja III.

During the reign of Rājarāja III, there appear to have ruled over parts of the present Kolar District, a family of chiefs who probably were of mixed Chōla and Pallava descent. Judging from their inscriptions, their influence appears to have been confined to Āvani, Tekkal and Kuruduimalai, though popular tradition attributes to them a general restoration of the temples in the Kolar country. The first of the family, according to one inscription, (*E.C.* X. Mulbagal 73), was Marālvār, whose identity is not yet established. But the most prominent of these chiefs appears to have been Jayangonda-Chōla Ilavanjirāyan, who is termed a *Mudaliar*, which signifies that he should have been a man of some importance at the Chōla court. (*E.C.* X. Kolar 221; Mulbagal 245). His inscriptions have been assigned by Mr. Rice to *Circa* 1220 A.D. He may be the same as Marālvār, as palāēographically his inscriptions are not far removed from those of Kuttandan-Dēvar, described as the son of Marālvār. Next, we have Kuttandan-dēvar, just mentioned, whose dated inscriptions belong to 1225 A.D. (*Ibid* Mulbagal 53 and 56a). His wife was Sengandai (*Ibid* Mulbagal 70), who is probably identical with Sangālvār, daughter of Vāsudēva, the Nulambadarāya of Āvani-nād. (*Ibid* Mulbagal 73). Like other chiefs of this reign, he lays claim to independent rule in some of his inscriptions dated in 1228 A.D. (*Ibid* Bowringpet 35b). He describes himself as "ruling the earth," an euphemism for pretended independence. In A.D. 1231, we have mention of Tekkalrāyan or Sembondayagi. In an inscription dated in 1234 A.D., (whose original is not available) we have mention made of Rājādhirāja-mahārāya, raiser of the Kānchivamsa Mahāraya-Vīraraya's son, Yalavanjirāya, restoring and liberally endowing the Sōmēsvara temple at Mulbagal. (*Ibid* Mulbagal 18). Then we have in 1254 A.D., a reference to Vāsudēva or Jayangonda-Sōla Ilavanjiya-rāyan. (*Ibid* Mulbagal 61). He was apparently the son of Kuttandum. (*Ibid* Mulbagal 178). His wife was Settulvar, daughter of Selvandai. (*Ibid* Bowringpet 32). He is described as ruling over the earth. (*Ibid* Bowringpet 37b). Apparently he was wholly independent of the reigning Chōla king. Anticipating a little, it might be added that in 1268 A.D., we have another Kuttandan, son of Nayan Venjadai and in 1269 A.D., we have Ilaiya (or junior) Vāsudēvar, his son, ruling the earth. These inscriptions fall into the last year of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla III, when the Chōla power was wholly broken by the inroads of the Pāndyas, Hoysalas and Kākatiyas. In keeping with Hoysala policy, this part of the ancient Chōla empire was overrun by Rāmanātha, if not earlier by Sōmēsvara, (*Ibid* Kolar 92, 99 and 239), and Ilavanji-Rāya is himself described as one of the ministers of the Hoysala king. (*Ibid* Kolar 239). His descendants appear to have exercised their sway down to 1336 A.D., when we have mention made of a Chōlappa-Perumāl and a Sembodiyagan. (*Ibid* Malur 7 and 15). The Vijayanagar kingdom came into being in that year and soon absorbed all the country south of the Krishna. (*E.C.* X. Introd. XXXI).

Rājēndra-Chōla III *alias* Manukula-medutta Perumāl, A.D. 1246-1268.

Rājarāja III was succeeded by his brother Rājēndra-Chōla III. What became of Gandagōpāla and Chōlaganga, his sons—if sons they were—is not known. It may be that they both died before Rājarāja III ceased to rule. There is, however, no epigraphic evidence to support this suggestion. It may be even that with the assassination of their father, their fates were also settled by the usurping fratricide. What directly led to the murder of Rājarāja at the hands of his brother is not known. But the Lepāka inscription of the latter by the use of the word *dhūrta* in application to him suggests he might have been crafty and mischievous by disposition and that to satisfy his personal ambitions, he should have treacherously murdered his brother. Rājēndra-Chōla, in an inscription of his dated in his 22nd year, calls himself "*Parakēsarivarman,*" his predecessor having styled himself *Rājakēsarivarman.* (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 43). He is also known to have had the surname of *Tribhuvanachakravarti*, apparently inherited from Rājarāja III. A more famous title of his was *Manukulamedutta Perumāl, i.e.*, the king who took the name of Manu. (*M.E.R.* 1908, No. 185 of 1908; *M.E.R.* 1911, No. 46 of 1911, dated in his 4th year). An inscription dated in his 5th year describes him as "who was pleased to wear the hereditary crown" and revive the family of Manu. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 52; Appendix B. No. 278 of 1923). He appears to have been co-regent of his brother from A.D. 1246. He was a contemporary of the Hoysala king Vīra-Sōmēsvara, who was his uncle. (Kiëlhorn, *Southern-List*, No. 865). During his reign, the Pāndyan aggression continued, with the result that the Pāndyan sway became general throughout the Chōla empire. The Chōla empire may, therefore, be said to have practically come to an end during this reign.

An eulogy of his reign.

His Srīrangam (7th regnal year), Lepāka (10th regnal year) and Tripurāntakam (15th regnal year) inscriptions furnish a list of his *birudas* (or titles) which throw some light on certain features of his reign. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Appendix B, No, 420; *M.E.R.* 1892, No. 64 of 1892; *M.E.R.* 1906, Para 24, No. 201 of 1905). The first two describe him as a great hero, "a very Rāma (in destroying) the northern Lanka, which was renowned to be the abode of Vīrarākshasas (great heroes), the elevator of the race of Manu, the terror of his enemies on the battle-field, the chastiser of those who despised the Chōla family, the cunning hero who killed Rājarāja after making him wear the double crown for three years, the subduer of the Pāndyas and the Kēralas, the plunderer of the Pāndya country, (the hero) whose sword was clever in cutting off the crowned head of the Pāndya king, he who placed his feet on the jewelled crown of the Pāndya, who was death itself to the Karnāta kings, who drowned the vigour of the Kali age in the ocean and on whose leg Vīra-Sōmēsvara, the wrestler on hill-forts (*giridurga-malla*) placed (with his own hands), the anklet of heroes." His full name and titles are thus given: Mahārājādhirāja Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rājēndrachōladēva, "who took the crowned heads of two Pāndya kings" and was entitled *Konērimaikondān.* The inscription at Tripurāntakam also attributes to him the feat of having cut off the heads of two Pāndya kings. A fragmentary inscription at Tirukannapuram also gives the latter title and calls him further *Narapati* Rājēndra-Chōla. It adds that he was the establisher of various religious creeds and a worshipper at the divine lotus-feet of Kanakasabhāpati at Vyāghrapura, (*i.e.*, Chidambaram). (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 45, No. 515 of 1922). In the Tripurāntakam inscription, Rājēndra-Chōla III is described as *Mahārājādhirājanarapati* and the exploit of his having taken the heads of two Pāndya kings is mentioned in it also. It is dated in the 15th year, corresponding to the Cyclic year *Raudra* (=1260-61 A.D.).

Conflict with the Pāndyas.

It is possible he came into conflict with the encroaching Pāndyas, against whom he might have secured some temporary advantages. The "two Pāndyas" whom he boasts to have killed are not identified; that they were kings of the Pāndyan kingdom there can be no doubt, for they are described as "crowned." It might be that he attempted to save the Chōla line from extinction but his efforts proved futile. The Pāndyas under Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya, who ascended the throne in 1216 A.D., and his successors gradually regained their lost power and their aggressions proved too much for the declining Chōlas under the successors of Rājēndra-Chōla III. The result was the latter were ultimately reduced to the position of mere inferior vassals (*mandalēsvaras*) under the Pāndyan rulers. Indeed, the Tirukannapuram inscription itself mentions Sēmappillai, the son of Rājēndra-Chōla III, who appears in some inscriptions as a feudatory of the Pāndya king Vīra-Pāndya. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Page 104). The conflict with the Kēralas should have occurred at the same time as that with the Pāndyas, *i.e.*, long before the 7th and 15th regnal years. As he is said to have obtained for his brother and predecessor two crowns—those of the Pāndya and Kērala kings—and to have assassinated him three years after his securing them to him, it has to be presumed that the fight which ended in the deaths of the Pāndya and Kērala kings should have occurred while Rājarāja III was still king. If it had occurred just before his 7th year—the year of the Srīrangam *prasasti*—it would fall in the year 1253-4 A.D., as Rājēndra's initial year was 1246 A.D. As Rājarāja III lived down to the year 1257 A.D., the third year prior to his assassination would be 1253-54 A.D. It would thus seem that the Pāndyan campaign should have ended in about 1254 A.D.

Relations with the Hoysalas.

It was apparently in connection with the Pāndyan war that Rājēndra-Chōla III had the active help of Vīra-Sōmēsvara II, the Hoysala king, though the latter claims in A.D. 1237 (*E.C.* V. Arsikere 123) that he uprooted Rājēndra-Chōla in battle but gave him protection when he claimed refuge. In this year, we hear of Vīra-Sōmēsvara being engaged in a victorious expedition against the Kādava-Rāya, *i.e.*, one of the Kopperunjinga's family. Vīra-Nārasimha was encamped in 1234 A.D. at Ravatidāna-kuppa, while on an advance against the Pāndya king, apparently in aid of the Chōja king Rājēndra III. The sea roared out, it would appear, "with the sounds of great fish, sharks and alligators, saying to the Pāndya king—give up all, and live in peace as his (*i.e.*, Vīra-Nārasimha's) friends." It will thus be seen that there was an earlier conflict with the Pāndyas in 1237 A.D., when Rājēndra, apparently being attacked by the Pāndyas, sought the aid of Vīra-Sōmēsvara and put them down. A record of 1240 A.D., from Kadur states that he was marching against Gandagōpāla. This is evidently a reference to the conflict with the Pāndyas that occurred in 1237 A.D. (*E.C.* VI. Kadur 100). The later conflict above referred to occurred about the year 1254 A.D. Vīra-Sōmēsvara appears to have pushed on his earlier victory against the Pāndyas as far as Rāmēsvaram where he erected a pillar of victory. (*E.C.* XI. Davangere 25 and *E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 203, dated in 1223 A.D.). Colonies of Hoysala Brāhmans appear to have followed in the wake of his conquests and settled down as far as Tinnevelly, where their descendants are still to be found resident among local Tamil inhabitants. He evidently took possession of part of the Chōla country and was ruling from there, from about 1239 A.D., his residence being at Kannanur, or Vikramapura, to the north of Srīrangam, in Trichinopoly. (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudal-Narsipur 103 and Nanjangud 36). He is said to have created Kannanur for his pleasure in the Chōla country by the might of his own arm and there, with an interval in 1252, he was till 1254 A.D. One inscription describes him as the talisman (*rakshāmaṇi* or protector) of the Chōla King (Rājēndra III). This is dated in 1257 A.D. (*E.C.* IV. Krishnarajpet 9). A record of 1272 A.D. refers to his speedy conquests of the Chōla king and of the foremost leaders of the Pāndyan king. (*E.C.* VI. Kadur 125).

Re-conquest of the Northern country.

The reference in the Srīrangam, the Lepāka and the Tripurāntakam inscriptions (the last two of which are in the present Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, respectively) to Rājēndra III having been a Rāma in conquering the Vīrarākshasas of Northern Lanka, is a reference to some defeat he appears to have inflicted on the Kākatiyas. The Tripurāntakam inscription is dated in his 15th year (=A.D. 1260-61), which corresponds to the last year of the Kākatiya king Ganapati. (*M.E.R.* 1906, No. 196 of 1905). Rājēndra-Chōla III probably took advantage of Ganapati's death either to extend his own dominions or at least to make his influence felt in the Telugu country.

In keeping with this is his boast in his Tiruchchattangudi inscription that "he was the sole hero among the Vadugas," *i.e.*, the Northerners or people of the Telugu country. Further discoveries of his inscriptions in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts is likely to add to our knowledge of the extent of his conquests in the Northern Districts, which may have extended as far as Rajahmundry, near where must be located the place called "Uttara-Lanka" referred to in the Tiruchchattangudi inscription. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 43; Appendix C, No. 77 and No. 49).

Object of the Northern conquests.

It has been suggested, on the basis of the above evidence, that the object of Rājēndra-Chōla's northern campaign was to crush the descendants or allies of Perunjingadēva, whose conquests, as we have seen, had extended as far as Drakshārāma in the Godāvari District. It was the success of Perunjinga both in his own territories and outside of it that proved the discomfiture of Rājarāja III. Rājēndra-Chōla seems to have made a supreme effort to retrieve the reputation of the Chōlas. The attribute *Chōlakula-paribhava-nirākarana-vikrama* confirms this view of Rājēndra's endeavours. His cutting off the crowned heads of two Pāndya kings suggests the re-establishment of his sway over the south. That he was a bitter foe of the Karnāta (Hoysala) king Sōmēsvara, is equally clear. In certain records Sōmēsvara accordingly receives the title of *Māma-Sōmēsvara-Kāladanda*, *i.e., the hostile rod of death to uncle Sōmēsvara.* In one record, we are told that Vīra-Sōmēsvara was so thoroughly humbled that he was compelled to put on Rājēndra-Chōla's leg, with his own hands, the "anklet of heroes." In another record, we see mentioned certain of the ministers and officers of Sōmēsvara engaged in a temple enquiry in the dominions of Rājēndra-Chōla III. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 43; Appendix C. No. 49). This indicates that the power of Rājēndra was recognised by the reigning Hoysala sovereign. Of course, such a state of affairs cannot have been reached without preliminary contests which apparently enabled Sōmēsvara to call himself the "uprooter of Rājēndra-Chōla III" in his own inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 43).

Rājēndra-Chōla III as a resuscitator of Manu.

The title of *Manukulamedutta* as applied to Rājēndra-Chōla III is of some interest, though its exact significance is not clear. The Chōlas, however, traced their descent from Manu, and so a reviver of the dynasty was possibly justified in calling himself *Manukulamedutta.* In that sense, the term *Manukulam* may be intended to mean the Chōla race, in which case *Manukulamedutta* would mean the resuscitator of the Chōla race. In one inscription Rājēndra-Chōla III is said to have "revived the family of Manu," and his mother is spoken of as "she, who brought forth a son who made glorious the Manu race," and in another he is described to have "raised *Manukula,* the family of Manu (from its low position) and to have worn the hereditary crown." (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 52; No. 185 of 1908; *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 42; Appendix B. No. 273 of 1923). It has been suggested that he assumed this title because he endeavoured to regain for his royal house a part of its lost glory. He probably also stopped illegal levies of land revenue and restored the ancient rule of the one-sixth fixed by Manu and generally took steps to restore the political and social order on the lines laid down by Manu. One epigraph, indeed, states that he established the six systems of religion *(Samaya).* (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 43; Appendix B. No. 425, dated in his 2nd regnal year). The disturbed state of the country should have required reformation and it is possible Rājēndra-Chōla III tried to win over the allegiance of his people by proclaiming his open avowal of faith in the ancient law-giver. That Rājēndra-Chōla was a considerate prince and that he took active steps to prevent irregular collection of revenue is indicated in one of his epigraphs dated in his 10th year. This epigraph comes from the Tanjore District and registers an undertaking by a man who held land on *padai parru* (or military tenure), that he would not raise new taxes on it besides what he was normally entitled to. (*M.E.R* 1926, Para 30; Appendix C. No. 194 of 1926). Apparently such undertakings had become necessary because of the illegal exactions that holders of land were indulging in during the last period of Chōla rule. From another record of his reign (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 25; Appendix B. No. 339 of 1925 dated in his 12th year, we learn that, owing to the imposition of various taxes (as many as three are mentioned) on the *dēvadāna* (temple) lands, no tenants came forward to cultivate them and as a consequence the temple fell into disrepair and worship in the temple ceased. The local chief is said to have accordingly remitted the taxes and enabled the resumption of worship in it. That collection of revenue was, at the same time, brisk and that the village assemblies had a high sense of duty in regard to it are suggested by another epigraph dated in his 28th year. From this epigraph we learn that on the death, without leaving any heirs, of a tenant, who had been in arrears for over ten years, the local assembly afraid, we are told, of the stigma that would be attached to them by the non-collection of the dues, sold the defaulter's land and met the demand. (*Ibid* No. 336 of 1925).

Rājēndra-Chōla's fall: becomes a *Mahāmandalēsvara* under the Pāndyas, A.D. 1268.

Rājēndra-Chōla III appears to have ruled up to 1268 A.D. An inscription of his dated in *Saka* 1268 (A.D. 1346) styles him *Mahāmandalēsvara*, which shows how far his power had gone down. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 41. Appendix B. No. 339 of 1917). The assumed date of this record (*Saka* 1268) would, however, give to Rājēndra III a reign of 100 years, as he ascended the throne in 1246 A.D. (=*Saka* 1168). This seems doubtful, if not impossible. It is probable that the *Saka* date of this record should be read as 1168 and not 1268, as the former would fall in A.D. 1246, which is within 1268 A.D., up to which year we know Rājēndra-Chōla III actually ruled. Apparently during the last years of his rule, despite the efforts he put forth to retrieve the fortunes of his family, it sank so low indeed that it became divided into a number of small principalities over one of which Rājēndra's son ruled as a *mandalēsvara*. It is probable, however, Rājēndra's power was subverted by the Pāndyas under Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II, who ruled over the Pāndyan kingdom between 1251-1261 A.D. After this conquest, the position of Rājēndra-Chōla was apparently reduced to that of a *mahāmandalēsvara* as mentioned in the inscription quoted above. How this subvertion took place will be found narrated below.

His two sons Sēliyar Kōnār and Sēma Pillai.

We know that Rājēndra-Chōla III had at least two sons. One was Sēliyar Kōnār, called *Pillai*, in one of his records, dated in his 5th year. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 24). Another was Sēma Pillai, called *nammagan* (our son). (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 45; Appendix B. No. 515 of 1922). We do not hear of them as independent rulers in the period immediately following his own. Sēma Pillai appears as a vassal of the reigning Pāndyan king. From A.D. 1268 to A.D. 1314, the Chōla country was divided into a number of small States each under a local chief and what was under Rājēndra's son was but a province of the Pāndyan kingdom. The Sāmbavarāyas ruled at Kānchi under the ægis of the Pāndyan king Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I and his successors. The hold of the Pāndyans did not slacken until their own country was invaded by Muhammadans under Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D. In 1314 we hear of a Vīra-Chōla and his son Champa, at Kānchi, the latter donating a car to the Vishnu temple at that place. (*M.E.R.* August 1893, Para

13; No. 51 of 1893; *E.I.* III. 70). At the place where this inscription is engraved is another of Sundara-Pāndya and Tikka, which are probably of about the same time. There is another inscription of Vīra-Champa dated in the same year (*Saka* 1236 = A.D. 1314) at Tiruvallam. (*M.E.R.* March 1890, Table B. No. 3; *E.I.* III 70). Here his father is called Chōlabhūpa, whereas in the Kānchi inscription he is named as Vīra-Chōla. The difference is immaterial. Vīra-Chōla may have been his name, while *Chōla-bhūpa* simply describes him as *Chōla king*. Of this Vīra-Champa, we have another inscription at Tiruvottur where he is described as Vīra-champarayan (? Vīra-champarāyan) *alias* Sāmbuvarāyan. It is a gift of lamps by him, dated in the 12th year of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya, identified with the parricide of the same name referred to below. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 14; Appx. B. No. 97 of 1900). A record of Sadagōpavarman (? Jatāvarman) Tribhuvanachakravartin Vikrama-Pāndya at Tiruppukuli near Conjeeveram, dated in his 8th year, refers to a gift of land for maintaining a service called Vīra-champansandi founded by Sāmbuvarāyan Vīra-champan, "the chief of Sambukula" in the temple of Vīrarāghava Perumāl on the Aslēsha in the month of *Avani* in which he was born. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 35: Appendix C. No. 183). In an inscription found at Tiruvadi (South Arcot) dated in 1340 A.D., in the 33rd year of the Pāndyan king Māravarman Srīvallabha, reference is made to the coin *Vīra-champanpanam*, which must have been a copper coin issued by Vīra-Champa. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 29; Appendix C. No. 414 of 1921). These inscriptions show that Vīra-Champa belonged to the Sāmbavarāya family and affected semi-independence in his own territories. He and Vīra-Chōla, his father, were Chōlas probably by connection but had nothing to do with the reigning family of Chōlas. He must have been the Vira-Champa who was captured by Kampa II, the Vizayanagar Prince, in the reign of Bukka I. (See below under *Vijayanagar Dynasty.*) Both the reigning Chōla family and its old feudatory chiefs passed under the suzerainty of the encroaching Pāndyas who became all-powerful in the South in the period between 1268-1310 A.D., when they were subverted by the Northern Muhammadans under Malik Kafur. An inscription at the Arulāla Perumāl temple at Kānchi (*M.E.R.* 1893. Para 13; Appendix B. No. 43) dated in *Saka* 1238 (expired), cyclic year *Nala*, corresponding to A.D. 1316, is of king Pratāpa-Rudra of Warrangal. It contains the interesting statement that Muppidi, one of his officers, conquered Kānchi in that year. (*M.E.R.* August 1893, Para 13; Appendix B. No. 43 of 1893). This was apparently another attempt made by the "northern Telugas" to regain their last hold on the South. In any case, it indicates the confused state of affairs at the period we are writing of. (See below).

The Pāndyan Invasions.

To understand the causes of the downfall of the Chōla empire, it is necessary to hark back a little and trace the history of the growth of the Pāndyas, their neighbours and age-long enemies. Since the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, whose conquest of the Pāndya kingdom has been already referred to, the relationship between the two kingdoms had naturally become strained. Kulōttunga-Chōla II was a contemporary of Māravarman Srīvallabha (1132-1169 A.D.) During the reigns of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttunga-Chōla III occurred the Pāndyan war of succession, in which the Chōlas took an active part in favour of one of the two pretenders claiming the Pāndyan throne. Māravarman Srīvallabha's son Jatāvarman Kulasēkhara I (1190-1217 A.D.) proved an active prince. His inscriptions have been found in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts, most of them issued from his several royal camps. A brother-in-law of his was Kōdai Ravivarman, evidently a Tiruvad-(Travancore) king of Jeytunga-nādu, who was a subordinate of the Pāndyas. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 8; Appendix B. Nos. 664, 665, and 666). His maternal uncle was Valluvanādālvān, apparently the chief of modern Walluvanād in the Malabar District. Whether he was the same as the chief Vīra Singan Vikraman *alias* Vīra-Rājēndra-Valluvanādālvān mentioned in other inscriptions of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I is not clear. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 9; Appendix B. Nos. 559 to 561). What drove the Pāndyas into the arms of the Chēras was the encroachment of the Chōlas. (See above and also under *Chōla-Pāndyas*). Under Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I (1216-1238 A.D.), the Pāndyans, who had been disgraced by the Chōlas invaded the Chōla country and burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur. Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I even conducted the ceremony of anointing the victors and heroes at Mudikondasōlāpuram and bears in his many inscriptions the characteristic attributes "who distributed or conquered the Chōla country" and "who distributed the Chōla country, and performed the anointment of victors at Mudigondasōlāpuram". (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 26; *M.E.R.* 1917, Paras 8, 9; *M.E.R.* 1919, Para 43; and *M.E.R.* 1926, Para 32). In his inscriptions up to the 6th year, he takes credit for having conquered the Chōla country; from the 7th year, he takes credit also for its restoration; and from the 14th and later years, he boasts of the anointment of heroes and victors. This probably indicates the order in which these different events followed one another. To these are added in some inscriptions, the conquest of Konga, Īlam (Ceylon) and Karuvur. He was accordingly the first of the mediæval Pāndyas who made a successful incursion into the Chōla country. That he was established in the Chōla country is proved by the fact that he had another capital at Pon-Amarāvati, the Pāndyan capital being at Madakulam, now included in Madura City. His titles *Atisaya Pāndyadēva* and *Kaliyuga Rāma* (he was, as stated above, a conqueror of Ceylon as well) show that he was a conqueror of some repute. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 9). One of his ministers, Mālavarāyar, is frequently mentioned in his inscriptions. An younger brother of his was Vijayagandagōpāladēva, surnamed Adaiyavalaindān, whose inscriptions are quite numerous in the South Arcot District. Vijayagandagōpāla seems to have been himself a minister of a Pāndyan king who is styled "Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikondān," probably identical with Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I himself. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 25; Appendix B, No. 480). The conquest of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I apparently ended with the partial break-up of the Chōla kingdom, a part of which—that forming the old Pallava kingdom or Tondaimandalam country and southwards of it as far as Pudukkōttai—passed under the sway of the Pāndyas, who set up their rule in it through their own ministers. One of these was Vijayagandagōpāla above named and another was Soran Uyyaniraduvan *alias* Gurukulattaraiyan. The latter seems to have been an important personage. An inscription dated in 1227 A.D., in the 12th year of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I, states that Gurukulattaraiyan built in stone the temple at Tiruttangal. He is eulogized as the lord of Tadanganni and as having set apart a village for performing special service in that temple in honour of his sovereign in the 7th regnal year. In the same temple, Gurukulattaraiyan enjoyed the honour of a *Kalam* being sounded proclaiming his arrival. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 49; Appendix B, No. 554 of 1922). Gurukulattāraiyan is also known to have built the temple of Siva at Tangal and provided for its maintenance. (*Ibid* No. 575, dated in the 17th year). The change of sovereignty from the Chōlas to the Pāndyas of part of the Chōla country could not have made much difference to the people, as the differences in the system of administration pursued or the life led by the people was not appreciably great. Indeed the predominant features of social and religious culture in the two kingdoms, indeed in the greater part of Southern India, was the same. Thus, we note in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Māravarman Sūndara-Pāndya I provision being made for the reading of the great epics the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* and the *Purānas* as well in the presence of the god at Tiruttangal, a well-known Vaishnavite temple in the present Ramnād District. A provision like that would be as befitting a Vishnu shrine in any part of the Chōla kingdom of the time and as inscriptions showing similar provision for the reading of the Vaishnava *Prabhandam* and the Saiva *Dēvaram* are too numerous to need particularization. Associated with Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I was Jatāvarman Kulasēkhara II, who began his reign in 1237 A.D. His minister was the above-named Soran-Uyyaninraduvan *alias* Garakulattariyan. (*I.A.* XLII. 165; *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 51; Appendix B. No. 548 of 1922).

Pāndyan influence checked temporarily.

In the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pandya II (A.D. 1238-1251) the Pāndyan advance on the Chōlas appears to have received a check. Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya II was the nephew of Vīra-Sōmēsvara, the Hoysala king, who thus stood, as stated in his own inscriptions, as the *Mamidi*, or maternal uncle, to him. His mother was probably Pammiyakkan, who is referred to in an inscription of his dated in his 9th regnal year. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 34; Appendix B. Nos. 526 and 527 of 1911). Then we hear of two Pāndyan kings, known as Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya who came to the throne in 1253 A.D. and Jatāvarman Vīra-Pāndya, who ascended the throne in 1254 A.D. Apparently, these were contemporaries. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 33; and *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 37 ; *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 29 and *M.E.R.* 1920, Para 37). The former Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya, was the suzerain of a chief Kulasēkhara Sāmbuvarāya, whose inscriptions ranging from his 11th to 22nd regnal years, come from Pallikondai in the present North Arcot District. This chief appears to have dated his grants in his own regnal years, affecting more or less independence. (*M.E.R.* 1926, Para 34 ; No. 77 of 1908). He probably became quasi-independent during the close of the reign of his suzerain, which ended in 1278 A.D. The 25th year of this chief—Kulasēkhara Sāmbuvarāya—corresponds to 1302 A.D., and it is therefore probable that he might have remained independent of Pāndyan control at least till then. However this may have been, there is scarcely any doubt that the Pāndyas remained in control of the old Pallava country and the adjoining parts of the Chōla kingdom till 1302 A.D., though the local chiefs may have in certain cases pretended independence. Of the other Pāndyan king above named, Jatāvarman Vīra-Pāndya, who ascended the throne in 1254 A.D., inscriptions dated from his 7th to the 15th year have been traced. He is known as the conqueror of Ceylon, Kongu and the Chōla country (*Sōla-mandalam*) and to have been pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and victors at Chidambaram. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 37). An inscription dated in the 10th regnal year describes some king as "who was pleased to take the Chōla country, Ceylon, and the crown and crowned head of the Savaka" may belong to him, at least paleographically it may be assigned to him, though the conquest of Kongu, which happened before his 7th year, is not mentioned in it. The epithet "who took the crown and crowned head o the Savaka" is mentioned for the first time in this inscription. It is doubtful, as Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri remarks, whether the word Savaka refers to the Sravakas, *i.e.*, Jains. If so, he must have successfully carried on a crusade against them. But the phrase as it stands means "one who cut off the crown and crowned head of the Savaka (king)." Probably the land of Savaka, (*i.e.*, Jain) or a king of that name is intended to be referred to. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 11; Appendix B. No. 588 of 1916). Vīra-Pāndya's younger brother was Kulasēkhara Kadiyadēvar, otherwise known as Tiruvēlvali Bhāgavati Alagappermāl. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 12). A record of Jatāvarma Vīra-Pāndya dated in his 15th year (=1269 A.D.) attributes to him not only the taking of Īlam, Kongu and Sōlamandalam but also mentions a defeat inflicted by him on Vallan (*i.e.*, Vallāla or Ballāla) who must be Hoysala Nārasimha III. The fall in the Pāndyan influence in the Chōla territories during the period immediately proceding that of Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya and Jatāvarman Vīra-Pāndya must have been due to the influence of Vīra Sōmēsvara in the same regions. Pāndyan supremacy, however, seems to have revived some time prior to 1269 A.D. under Jatāvarman Vīra-Pāndya, who, from the inscription last cited, seems to have succeeded in defeating Vīra-Sōmēsvara's successor Nārasimha III, who succeeded to the Hoysala throne in the same year (1254 A.D.) in which Jatāvarman Vīra-Pāndya did the Pāndyan throne. As we know, 1269 A.D., marks the close of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla III.

Renewed conquests of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I.

We next pass on to the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I (A.D. 1251-1261), who appears to have been known also as Konērinmaikondān Sundara-Pāndya, under which title several inscriptions have been found in the present Salem and Coimbatore Districts. If the boast of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I that he "conquered all countries" is true, it may be that he annexed the two districts named above to his dominions. His extensive conquests and the terror he struck into the heart of his enemy, the Kākatiya king Ganapati, is fully borne out by the existence of his inscriptions at Nellore, where he is stated to have "performed the anointment of heroes and victors." (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 40). He defeated the Hoysala king Vīra-Sōmēsvara, who had conquered the Chōla country and established himself at Kannanūr near Trichinopoly. (*E.I.* III. 8). He also conquered the Kākatiya king Ganapati. His inscriptions have been found in the present North Arcot and Chingleput Districts. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 26; Nos. 356-363 of 1908). He founded a village after his own name near Arni in the North Arcot and presented it to Brāhmans. (*M.E.R.* 1900, No. 59). Prince Vikrama-Pāndya, whose inscription has been found at Tirukoilur, appears to have won the victory over the Kākatiya king Ganapati. (*M.E.R.* 1900, No. 116). He was probably a co-regent with Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I. His initial date is fixed by some inscriptions as A.D. 1249. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 45). He claims for himself all the conquests of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 20). The range of Sundara-Pāndya's inscriptions shows he conquered a part of the Chōla country. He is the same Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I, who is mentioned in the Sānskrit inscriptions of the Ranganātha temple at Srīrangam and the Jambukēsvara temple. In the former, he is entitled *Hēmāchchhādanarāja*, *i.e.*, who covered the (Srīrangam) temple with gold, and *Sarvōttirna*, *i e.*, who conquered all countries. (*E.I.* III. 7-17; *Kōyilolugu* quoted in *M.E.R.* 1899, Para 43). He was either the son or the brother of Kulasēkhara. (See *M.E.R.* 1914, Para 19) An inscription of his has been found at Kānchi (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 45, No, 19). He conquered Ceylon and carried away the tooth-relic and all the wealth from there and presented it to Kulasēkhar. He has been identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the "Sender Bandi" of Marco Polo. (*I.A.* XXI.

122). As he ascended the throne in 1250-1251 A.D. (*E.I.* III. 8), if this identification is correct, he would have been still ruling in 1292 A.D. and have died in 1293 A.D. As this would give an unusually long reign to him, Mr. V. Venkayya has suggested that he cannot be identified with Marco Polo's *Sender Bendi.* "Sender Bendi" he would identify with probably his successor, of the name of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya. This alleged Māravarma Sundara-Pandya must, according to him, have died about 1293 A.D. He would also have been a contemporary of Vīra-Sōmēsvara, the Hoysala king. This postulation of another Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya has, however, not been confirmed by epigraphical finds so far. The probabilities are that Marco Polo's *Sender Bendi* is identical with Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya IV, who began his reign in A.D. 1302. (See below).

His effective rule over Chōla country.

That Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I was in effective possession of the greater part of the Chōla country from near Trichinopoly in the South to Nellore in the north is proved not only by records of his found at Nellore but also otherwise. According to an inscription dated in the 2nd year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I, a new flood embankment was built on the Cauvery, the old one having breached and covered with sand the adjoining cultivated lands. Judging from where the records come, this must refer to an embankment on the Coleroon, which branches off from the Cauvery near Trichinopoly. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 26). A small cess appears to have been levied on this account. (*Ibid* Appendix B. No. 510). Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I had the special title of *Ellārku-Nāyanār*, which means "the lord of all" and corresponds to "Ellāntalaiyānān" a recognised title of his. There is just a doubt whether this title was not that of an unnamed elder brother of his in whose name an image of Vishnu called *Ellāntalaiyānaperumāl*, was set up by Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 37 ; Appendix B. No. 328 of 1921). He appears to have been a popular king for we have a record from Chidambaram (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 26, Appendix B. No. 546) which registers the establishment of a grove and a street of cocoanut trees (planted on either side of it) for the recreation and habitation of the people. His charities included the covering of the Srīrangam temple with gold and the presentation of Srīpurushamangalam, to the Brāhmans of Sundara-Pāndya-Chaluvēdimangalam, founded by him to the South of the Arulāla Perumāl temple at Kānchi. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 39 ; Appendix C. No. 116 of 1921). *Kōdandarāma* was one of his titles. He issued coins bearing the legend *Kōdandarāma* in Tamil on the reverse side under a State umbrella flanked by *chāmaras*. (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 41 ; but see (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 23). He was also known by the surname of *Ranasingarākshasa*, (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 37 ; Appendix No. 329 of 1921) which is allusive of his prowess in war. His namesake Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II, who ascended the throne about 1270-1271 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 45) was probably co-regent with Māravarman Kulasēkhara I, who reigned from 1268 to 1312 A.D. The latter had a long reign of 44 years, In one of his inscriptions, he appears with the title " who was pleased to take Malanādu, Sōnādu (the Chōla country), the two Kongus, Īlam (Ceylon) and the Tondaimandalam. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 12 ; Appendix B. No. 698). This explains his usual title " who took all countries." In some inscriptions he is termed *Bhuvanēkavīra*. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 52 ; *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 35, No. 218 of 1924). He had a son named Kandiyadēvar and Kālingarāyar, an officer who had served under Māravarman Kulasēkhara I. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 31). Kālingarāyar was a patron of Brāhmans. One of his grants was made to twenty Brāhmans who were well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and were able to write commentaries on them, for building a Siva and a Vishnu temple. (*Ibid*). Associated with Māravarman Kulasēkhara I, later in his reign, should have been Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya III (1267 A.D.); Vīra-Pandya who ascended the throne in 1276 A.D.; Jatāvarman Srīvallabha (1291 A.D.); Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya IV (1302 A.D.) and Māravarman Srīvallabha (1307 A.D.). Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya III began his rule in 1276 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 45, *E.I.* VI. 314; *M.E.R.* 1914, Para 23). He appears to have been entitled *Kaliyuga Rāma*; at least coins bearing this legend have been attributed to him. (*M.E.R.* 1893, Para 13, quoting Tracy in *M.J.L.S.*, 1887-1888 and *M.E.R.* 1914, Para 23; see also *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 41). He is called *Rājarājan* in one record. (*M.E.R.* 1918. Para 50; Appendix No, 248 of 1917; *I.A.* XLII. 223). Almost simultaneously with him ruled *Vīra-Pāndya*, who came to the throne in A.D. 1276. During his time, the country round the present North Arcot District was governed by one Kulasēkhara Sāmbuvarāya, one of whose records dated in his 25th year is known. (*M.E.R.* No. 77 of 1908; No. 92 of 1900, both of which come from North Arcot District). He was apparently a feudatory of Vīra-Pandya. Another feudatory of his was Sēmappillaiyār, who figures in an inscription of Vīra-Pāndya dated in his 14th year. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 52; No. 358 of 1922). He was the son of Rājēndra-Chōla III. With Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya III, there appears to have been some other co-regents. One was Māravarman Vikrama-Pāndya II, for whom several records yield the initial date A.D. 1269-1270. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Para 10, Appendix B. Nos. 648 and 703; *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 44). Then there was Māravarman Vikrama-Pāndya III, who ascended the throne in 1283 A.D. He was a contemporary of the Kākatīya queen Rudrainba.

(*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 20). He was probably a brother of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 20). He bore the title of *Rājakkanayan.* It has been suggested that Māravarman Vikrama-Pāndya III is the same as Māravarman Vikrama III, and that all the inscriptions referred to these two should be ascribed to only one king and that he ascended the throne in 1269 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 31; *M E.R.* 1924, Para 3). There was another Vīra Pāndya who ascended the throne in 1296. An epigraph of his 22nd year (1318 A.D.) is known. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 24). A grant for his merit dated in the 15th year of Māravarman Kulasēkhara I (1283 A.D.) shows he may have been his successor. *M.E.R.* 1924, Para 35). Jatāvarman Srīvallabha ascended the throne in A.D. 1291. (*I.A.* XLII. 225; *M.E.R.* 1918, Para 49). An inscription of his 13th year from Tirukōshtiyūr is known. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 37). Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya IV began his rule in 1302 A.D. An inscription of his dated in his 12th year is known. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Appendix B. No. 608 of 1915). During his reign, Muppidi Nāyaka, the general of Pratāparudra, the Kākatiya king of Warrangal, invaded Kānchi, and installed Manavīra as Governor in that city. (*E.I.* VII, 128). His return from Kānchi is recorded in an undated fragmentary inscription at Mallam. He is said to have conquered the Pāndya king, to have received elephants from him as tribute and to have entered Nellore on his way. This conquest of the Pāndya signifies that the general Muppidi ousted the enemies of his protege Manavīra, who may have been a Pāndya himself and received from him the tribute of elephants. Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that Manavīra might have been a Telugu-Chōda chief and his enemy whom Muppadi defeated, might, in his opinion, have been Ravivarma of Kērala who was crowned at Kānchi in A.D. 1312-1313. (*E.I.* VII. 130; *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 34).

An inscription at Vriddhāchalam (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 50; Appendix C. 72), dated in the 14th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Konērimaikondān Sundara-Pāndya records that the king's elder brother made provision at the temple there for a service established by the king himself after Muppidi-Nāyaka. From this it would seem to follow that the Pāndya king in whose behalf Muppidi-Nāyaka fought was the above mentioned Sundara-Pāndya, who from the astronomical details furnished in another inscription of his at the same temple, (*Ibid* Appendix C. No. 84) has been assigned to 1315. If this date is accepted, the inscription would be referable to Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya IV, who began his reign in 1302 A.D. The inscription above quoted (No. 84 of 1918) furnishes for him the title of "Kōdandarama." (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 50). As the grant in the name of Muppidi was made in the 14th year, *i.e.*, in 1315 A.D., the conquest of Kānchi should have taken place just prior to 1315 A.D. Māravarman Kulasēkhara I, ruled from 1268 to 1308 A.D. He had the title, "who was pleased to take every country," a title first acquired by Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I. He has been identified with "Kales Devar" of the Muhammadan historians, and the "Asciar" or "Ashar" of Marco Polo. (S. Krishnasvāmi Iyengar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, 55). His reign is said to have been a prosperous one and his treasury, it is said, contained treasure worth 1,200 crores in gold. Kayal was his chief sea-port and its foreign trade was extensive. Ships from Aden, Kis (in the Persian Gulf) and Ormuz touched at it. Describing king Kulasēkhara, Marco Polo says that he was the eldest of the five Pāndya brothers, and that he possessed vast treasures and wore upon his person great store of rich jewel. "He maintains." he adds, "great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they were glad to visit his city." His contemporaries were Rāmachandra, the Yādava king of Dēvagiri who ruled from A.D. 1271 to 1310: Queen Rudramba, who ruled over Telingana, with her capital at Warrangal, but subsequently, about 1221 A.D., raised her son Pratāparudra to the throne, he reigning till 1328 A.D., over a territory which extended as far as Nellore; the Hoysalas under Vīra-Ballāla III who ruled from 1291 to 1342 A.D. The last of these ruled up to somewhere near Chidambaram, from where Kulasēkhara's territories began According to the authorities above named, Kulasēkhara ruled for some forty and odd years, which has been nearly confirmed by lithic inscriptions, and was murdered by his elder and legitimate son Sundara-Pāndya, identified above with Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya IV, who was perhaps his co-regent. The parricide Sundara-Pāndya was, in his attempts at sovereignty opposed, according to Muhammadan historians, by his step brother Tira Pandi, identified with Vīra-Pāndya. Sundara-Pāndya failed against Vīra-Pāndya and eventually took refuge with Alauddīn of Delhi. Vīra-Pāndya appears to have been the natural son of Māravarman Kulasēhara. In his records he styles himself *Ranamukharāma*. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Appendix C. No. 104). Two inscriptions from Tirupattur, dated in the 44th and 46th years of Vīra-Pāndya, show that he ruled up to at least the 46th year. These inscriptions refer to the grant of certain privileges on one Visulayadēvar, who helped in the reconsecration of a temple, which had been occupied and ruined by Muhammadans (*Tulukkar*). The Muhammadan occupation of Madura must, from these inscriptions, have taken place before the 46th year when the reconsecration took place. As Madura had not been occupied by Muhammadans before Mālik Kāfur's invasion of 1310 A.D., the *Tulukkars* referred must be assumed to have been Mālik Kāfur's followers.

Assuming that Vīra-Pāndya was already on the throne before 1310 A.D., when Sundara-Pāndya fled to Delhi, his 46th year would be 1356 A.D., which is about the time that the Muhammadans at Madura began to depart. In the 44th year of Vīra-Pāndya, we hear of the right of *Padikkāval* (*i.e.* protection of a village against outsiders) of Suraikkudi being sold to a certain person. This might be taken to indicate that the foreigners were still in the land in the 44th year; and as we know that the re-consecration of the temple took place in the 46th year, the departure may be set down to the 45th regnal year of Vīra-Pāndya, or about 1355 A.D. (See *M.E.R.* 1909, Para 27; 119 of Nos. 1908 and 120 of 1908). An inscription of his 31st year has been found. It gives him his full name Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya. It supplies the interesting fact that Kampana-udaiyar (*i.e.*, the Vijayanagar king Kampana II who reigned from 1361 to 1374 A.D.) drove the "Tulukkars" *i.e.*, Muhammadans and established orderly government throughout the country and restored worship in all the temples. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 33; No. 64 of 1916). An inscription at Tiruppukuli (No. 18 of 1899, dated in *Saka* 1287 (1368 A.D., *E.I.* VI. 324) is the earliest record that mentions the conquest of the Muhammadans of Madura by Kampana In 1368 A.D., the driving out was already an accomplished fact. As the Muhammadans ruled 48 years from 1310 to 1358 A.D., in Madura, the driving out should have occurred in 1358 A.D. Hence the inscription dated in the 31st year of Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya should be referring to an event that occurred in 1358 A.D. Hence the initial date of Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya should be fixed at A.D. 1326-27-31-1358 (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 33). Under the parricide Sundara-Pāndya ruled Vīra-champa (See under *Rājēndra-Chōla III*) over Kānchi and the country round about. (See Kampa II under *Vijayanagar Dynasty.*) Vīra-Champa's inscriptions show that he reigned about

1314 A.D. As Vīra-Champa is recorded to have gifted Vīra-champanallur in the 8th year of Sadagōpavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Vikrama-Pāndyadēva, the latter should have been a contemporary of Sundara-Pāndya, the parricide. (*M.E.R.* August 1900, Para 14; Appendix B. No. 52 of 1900.)

Vīra-Pāndya, who defeated the parricide, was succeeded by Māravarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Parākrama-Pāndya, whose 6th regnal year is coupled with *Saka* 1262. This gives *Saka* 1256 (= A.D. 1334) as his initial year.

A Kērala invasion under Ravivarman Kulasēkhara.

About the time that Sundara Pāndya and Vīra-Pāndya were fighting for the Pāndyan throne, there was one Ravivarman *alias* Kulasēkhara, son of Jayasimha, ruling the country round Quilon. (*E.I.* IV. 145). In 1299-1300 A.D., he took possession of the Kērala country. He defeated a certain Vīra-Pāndya, and made the Pāndyas and Chōlas subject to the Kēralas and in A.D. 1312-1913 was crowned on the Vegavati at Kānchi. The war with Vīra-Pāndya was then renewed and resulted in his flight to the Konkana country. Ravivarman Kulasēhara was in Kānchi about A.D. 1315-1316. Vīra-Pāndya with whom he fought may have been either the Vīra-Pāndya mentioned above as the son of the Pāndya "Kales Dewar" and opponent of Sundara-Pāndya, or as pointed out by Professor Kiëlhorn. (*E.I.* IV. 146, n. 4) he may be identified with Prince Mārtāndavarman *alias* Vīrapāndya Dēva of Venād, the 4th year of whose reign corresponded to A.D. 1315-1316. Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has suggested that this Vīra-Pāndya should be identified with the Māravarman Vīra-Pāndya mentioned in six epigraphs. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 21). Whoever the Vīra-Pāndya was against whom Ravivarman Kulasēkhara fought, there is no doubt that the latter was a powerful ruler as he was able to advance from Quilon as far north as Kānchi. Mālik Kāfur's invasion of South India in A.D. 1312 brought the Muhammadans to Madura and it is not easy to understand how Ravivarman Kulasēkhara was, in the face of their existence, able to advance as far as Conjeeveram and to subdue the Pāndyas and Chōlas. There is, however, no doubt whatever of these conquests, as we have an inscription of his in the Ranganātha temple at Srīrangam and another in the Arulāla Perumāl temple at Kānchi. (*M.E.R.* August 1900, Para 15; *M.E.R.* July 1903, Para 11).

His identification,

This Ravivikrama Kulasēkhara has been identified with Māravarman Vīra-Kērala, an inscription of whose dated in his 4th year is to be seen on the southern *gōpura* of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 24). The Poonamalli inscription (34 of 1911) suggests that he called himself—though a Chōla—also a Pāndya. His father Jayasimha bore the title Vīra-Kērala. (*E.I.* 293; see also *E.I.* VIII. 8). In the Arulāla-Perumāl temple inscription, it is stated that Ravivarman Kulasēkhara was at Kānchi in his 4th year. The name of Poonamalli, near Madras, where a grant of his is recorded, appears in it as Chēra-Pāndya-chaturvēdimangalam. (*M.E.R.* 1912, No. 34 of 1911). A Ravivarman Vīra-Pāndya is referred to in an inscription coming from the Conjeeveram Taluk, Chingleput District. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 33). He may be the Chēra king Ravivikram Kulasēkhara above named (*E.I.* IV. 146) or a successor of his who took the title of Vīra Pāndya to commemorate the victory over the Pāndyan king.

Jatāvarman Parākrama Pāndya, whose inscriptions ranging from his 5th to 11th years are known, began to rule over the Pāndyan territories in the period immediately following the conquest. He and Māravarman Kulasēkhara II began their reign about 1314-1315 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 32). The latter had the title of

Abhangārahuttarāya, the invincible horseman. An inscription of his dated in his 19th year is known, (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 45, Appendix C, No. 29). The following is a list of later kings of the Pāndyan line, the last of whom take us down to the beginning of the 16th century when Vijayanagar rule was all supreme in Southern India :—

Māravarman Parākrama-Pāndya (Initial date) ...	A.D. 1334-1335.
Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya ...	A.D. 1357-8-1372.
Jatāvarman Kulasēkhara ...	A.D. 1396-1402.
Konērinmaikondān Vikrama-Pāndya (Joint ruler with Arikēsarin) ...	A.D. 1401-1418.
Māravarman-Vikrama-Pāndya ...	A.D. 1443-1457.
Alagar-Perumāl Srīvallabha ...	A.D. 1471.
Jatāvarman-Parākrama-Pāndya *alias* Kulasēkhara. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 41) ...	A.D. 1480-1499.

Effect of the Pāndyan Invasions.

The above rapid summary of Pāndyan relations with the Chōlas discloses the plain fact that the break up of the latter was due almost wholly to the Pāndyan incursions, though it is true that such incursions could have formed only the proximate cause for that result. The collapse of the Chōlas ended in the way being paved for the descent of the Muhammadans from the North to the South. That the route of the invading Muhammadans lay through the Chōla country is proved by inscriptions. Thus an inscription dated in the 7th year of Sakalalōka-chakravartin Rājandrāyanan Sāmbuvarāyar, at Tirvorriyur refers to the plunder carried out by the Muhammadans (*Tulukkar*) who had occupied the country. (*M.E.R.* 1913, para 68; Appendix B. No. 203 of 1912.) It would appear that the Muhammadans ransacked the great temple at that place and removed all the buried treasure they could get at. Similarly another record from Tiruvāmāttur in the South Arcot District states that the Muhammadans (*Tulukkar*) had invaded and brought about "the ruin of the country." (*M.E.R.* 1903-4 para 27). The Muhammadan occupation of the temple at Tirupattur (in the Rāmnād District) has been referred to above. (*M.E R.* 1913, para 46). All these records go to confirm the invasion of Mālik Kāfur in A. D. 1310, which was made possible by the break up of the Chōla Empire. Kāfur's forces must have marched right through the Madras Chingleput and South Arcot Districts before reaching Madura and appear to have caused considerable damage to Hindu temples, apart from looting their secreted treasure and spreading ruin everywhere. Their objective was Madura becaused the Pāndyans were at the time the chief ruling dynasty of the South, claiming supremacy throughout its length and breadth. The ruin of Chōlas and their country meant also the ruin of the Pāndyas and their Empire. The forty years of Pāndyan occupation of the Chōla country (A. D. 1268 to 1310) was followed by nearly half a century of Muhammadan usurpation of Madura (A. D. 1310 to 1358), which ended only with the vigorous campaign by Kampana Udaiyar II, the Vijayanagar prince, who drove out the Muhammadans and re-established order by Hindu rule once again in the South.

Tribhuvana Vīra-Chōla-dēva, Parakēsari-varman, Tribhuvana-chakravarti, 1331 A.D.

This, however, is only a digression, though a necessary one. We may now revert to the Chōlas who fell under the sway of the Imperial Pāndyas. Sema Pillai, son of Rājēndra-Chōla, became, as we have seen, a mere *mahāmandalēsvara*, or governor under Pāndyan overlordship. The invasion of the Pāndyan kingdom which ended in the fall of Madura in 1310 A.D. into Muhammadan hands, apparently affected the position in the old Chōla dominion. Exactly twenty years after the capture of the Pāndyan capital, we hear of one Tribhuvanavīrachōladeva, entitled Parakēsarivarman and Tribhuvanachakravarti setting up rule in it. The titles assumed by him show the claims he made to the ancient Chōla throne. His exact relationship to Rājēndra-Chōla's sons is not known. Nor is there any material to fix the real extent of his authority. He seems to have begun his rule in A.D. 1331-1332. There is a record of his at Tiruvannāmalai and another dated in his 3rd year at Modur. (*M.E.R.* 1911, No. 210 of 1910). He issued his orders from a town in Kalingaraipaṛṛu in Nigarili-Chōla-mandalam. Kalingarai, in the Vijayanagar period of South Indian history, was a district included in the Muluvāi-rājya. The recipient of the gift was the temple of Singaperumāl in Durgiyār-agaram, identified with Chāmundi, in Padinādu, *i.e.*, Hadanāru of Mahisha-mandala. Tribhuvanachōladeva's sphere of rule should, therefore, have extended over parts of Salem, South Arcot and South Mysore. (*M.E.R.* 1911. Para 34). Whether he is the same as Tribhuvanavīradēva, who is referred to in an inscription found at Periyakōttai and which is dated in his 3rd regnal year, is not known. (*M.E.R.* 1908, Para 70; Appendix B. No. 467 of 1907; See also E.*I.* IX, 222.)

The end of the Chōla Empire.

Thus ended the Chōla empire, which in one form or another had been in existence since the 4th century B.C., if not from an earlier period. During sixteen centuries, it had stood guard against invasions from the North. Its kings, especially those of the Imperial (or Vijayālaya) line, wrought memorable deeds both in warfare and in the arts of peace. They carried the name of India far and wide. To the trans-Himālayan nations, the name of the Chōlas appears to have been better known than that of any other South Indian dynasty. One writer has, indeed, gone to the length of suggesting that India, under the influence of the Chōlas and Pālās, who ruled contemporaneously over Northern and Southern India, became the school of Asia by supplying faith, literature, arts and material necessities to Nepal, Tibet, China, Japan, Java, Burma and other lands beyond the seas. (Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *The Folk-element in Hindu Culture*). A dynasty that had earned such fame and renown went down practically exhausted under the stress of its own weight. (*Sic transit gloria mundi*). We have seen above the proximate causes that tended to the break up of the Chōla power. But there were other causes at work which went deeper down to its roots and contributed to its decay. Kings of this dynasty revelled in war; and war then, as now, unsettled affairs in the country and eventually demoralized those engaged in it. The Pāndyan war of succession, involving a series of reverses to the Chōlas, though they succeeded to some extent in one phase of it, appears to have not only affected the internal peace of the whole kingdom, but also ended in the humiliation of the Pāndyas, who were not slow to take their revenge on the Chōlas. The demoralized condition of the army, the growing incompetence of the central Government, and the discontent of the peasantry—these were taken advantage of by strong and ambitious chiefs and they soon brought about a revolution which ended in the disruption of the mighty empire which at one time commanded obedience from the greater part of Southern India. But soon these ambitious chiefs saw that the destruction they had wrought of the central Government, opened the flood gates to invaders from the North. The first Muhammadan invasion of Mālik Kāfur occurred in 1310 A.D., when these very revolutionary chiefs found themselves unable to fight them out. A new power soon rose into being and drove the intruders out. The new revolution was exclusively political in character; but it soon affected the economic, social and moral spheres.

Chōla coinage during the Pāndyan supremacy.

It is to this decadent period of the Chōlas, when they had become the vassals of the Pāndyas, whose ascendancy over Southern India was practically undisputed from about 1260 A.D., that the coins on which the fish and other symbols, particularly the Chōla standing figure, should be attributed. The inscriptions on these coins such as *Sōnādu Kondān* ("He who conquered the Chōla country") and *Ellān-tālaiyānān* ("Lord of all") are in Tamil and they unmistakably show the Pāndyan ascendancy under Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I (1216-1239 A.D.) Jatāvarman Sundara Pāndya I (1251-1261 A.D.), and Māravarman Kulasēkhara I (1268-1312 A.D.) over the Chōlas. "*Ellāntalaiyānān*" was a recognized surname of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I and appears in his many inscriptions. This title appears in the variant form of *Ellārku-Nāyanār*, which means the same thing. (*M.R.R.* 1919, Para 26; Appendix B. No. 481). Maravarman Sundara-Pāndya I is also described in his inscriptions as he "who distributed or conquered the Chōla country," which explains the coin legend *Sōnādu-Kondān*. *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 26, Nos. 582, 591, 602 of 1915 etc. See *ante*). It should, however, be added that the term "who was pleased to take Malai-nādu, Sōnādu, the two Kongus, Īlam and the Tondaimandalam" is also a title of Māravarman Kulasēkhara I and it is possible that coins with the legend "Sōnādu Kondān" may refer to him as well. (See *ante*).

Chōlas of Nidugal, a local Dynasty.

Between the 8th and the 13th centuries there ruled in the Mysore State a local dynasty of Chōlas, whose territory consisted of the country around Hēmāvati and Nidugal. Their capital was Penjeru or Henjeru, in Tamil called Peruncheru, now Hēmāvati, on the northern border of Sira Taluk. Their inscriptions are found in the Tumkur, Chitaldrug and Bellary Districts. They call themselves *Chōla-Mahārājas*. The earlier chiefs of this line were probably subordinates of the Gangas. Certain inscriptions found in the Tumkur District mention a Chōla

Dhananjaya Eriga as ruling the Alvadi 600, a subordinate of the Gangas. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri 92-94; 97-101). Ruling with him was a Chōlika Muttarasa, who has been assigned to the time of Srīpurusha. (*Ibid* Maddagiri, 94-96; 99). The later line starts about the beginning of the 12th century. Its exact relationship to the earlier one is not known. They passed successively under the yokes of the Western Chālukyas and the Hoysalas. One of the first of their line known is Mahāmandalēsvara Irungola-Chōla-Mahārāja who was ruling in 1106 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 16). This Irungōla is probably the same chief mentioned in an inscription dated in 1128 A.D. He begins a line of chiefs who ruled down to 1292 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 7). Their genealogy is let out in several inscriptions found in the Tumkur District. (*Ibid* 7, Pavagada 43, 50, 52 and 53). They claim to be of the Solar race and of the Ina-vamsa and trace their decent from Karikāla-Chōla. The order of descent (father to son) is thus stated:—Jata; Brahma Bhōgēndra; Mangi, destroyer of the Mātangas; Rebbe-Dēva or Bichi, who slew Hosagoramesra, his great enemy; Gōvind; Irunguna or Irungōla; Malli-Deva, entitled Bhōgi; Brama; Irungēla; Bomma; and Ganēsuara. There were thus 11 generations of chiefs. Irungōla of 1106 may be taken to be Irugōla I of this genealogy. Chiefs of this line are thus described:—Lord of Oreyūrpura (or Uraiyur near Trichinopoly), crest-jewel of Kalikālachola kula (after the famous Karikāla-chōla), Gōva (or guardian) of Rodda (in the present Anantapur District), Nigalankamalla and "the champion who had taken the heads of 64 chieftains." (*Ibid* Hiriyur 30). Irungōla I who was ruling in A. D. 1106 was the son of Gōvinda and Mahādēvi. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 43). His full name was probably Vīra-Pāndya Irungōla-Dēva, who, in 1128 A.D., is referred as the ruler of Rodda 300, Sire 300, Harave 300 and Sindavādi 1,000, all of which may be taken as implying the countries surrounding the peak of Nidugal as the centre. He appears to have come into conflict with Hoysalas (See below). His son Malli-Dēva was a feudatory, in A. D. 1108, of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya. (*E C.* XI, Challakere 21) and in A.D. 1147 of Jagadēkamalla II. He appears to have been co-ruler with his father. An inscription dated in the latter year describes his kingdom as comprising the very territory, mentioned above in connection with his father. (*E.C.* XI, Challakere 21). There are high praises of his minister Tantrapāla Nāman, whose grants to the god at Nidugal are detailed. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 43). Malli-Dēva had two wives, Lakma-Dēvi and Sīta-Dēvi, the latter of whom made a grant to the temple of Nonambēsvara, which is described as the *Ghatika-sthana* of Henjerapatna. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 35 and Sira 23). The latest date known for Malli-Dēva is 1179 A. D. (*Ibid* Pavagada 79). Then we have a Gōvinda-Rāya, mentioned in an inscription dated in 1207 A. D. (*E.C.* XI, Molkalmuru 23). After him, apparently a part of the kingdom was called Gōvindavādi. (*E.C.* XII Sira 37). He was succeeded by Irungōla II stated in one inscription dated in A. D. 1332 to be the son of Barmma and Richale-Dēvi (*E.C.* XII , Pavagada 50) and in another as the son of Perumāle Dēva. (*E.C.* XII, Pavagada 47 and 14). He was apparently highly skilled in archery and the use of weapons. (*Ibid* Pavagada 50). In an inscription dated in A.D. 1232, he made a grant for a Jain *Basadi* on the Nidugal hill, otherwise called Kalanjana. (*Ibid* Pavagada 52). In another inscription dated in 1247 A.D., he is given the title *Danva Murāri.* (*E.C.* XI, Hiriyur 37). His son Tripurāntaka Dēva was ruling at Haniyadurga, the Brahmagiri where the Asōka Edicts have been found. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 34). That he was co-regent with his father is clear from the fact that he is spoken of as still ruling at Nidugal in 1277 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 32). He must be the Irungōla who raided the Anebiddasarinād in the Tumkur country. (See below). In an inscription assigned by Mr. Rice to 1278 A.D., Gōvinda II is described as the foremost of the Sōlar line (*i.e.*, the Chōlas). His son was Irungōla III, of whom we know nothing. Irungōla's son was Bhōga, whose son Bamma obtained fame by building an impregnable line of fortifications connecting the fort of Harriya and the fort of Nidugal. Such was, we are told, the security created by him, that trouble about military exercises and schemes for repelling an enemy became unnecessary. (*E.C.* XI, Molkalmuru 20). Bamma-dēva had four sons, one of them being Irungōla, but we know nothing of them (*Ibid* Molkalmuru 24). This period of darkness is coeval with the capture of Nidugal in 1285 A.D., by Hoysala Nārasimha II (see below). In 1092, we have Ganēsvara-Dēva. (*E.C.* XII, Sira 60 and Pavagada 53).

Relations with the Hoysalas.

The Hoysalas as the enemies of the Imperial Chōlas, did not prove friendly to the Nidugal Chōlas. Vishnuvardhana, who drove the Imperial Chōlas out of Mysore, about 1116 A. D., did not leave the local Chōla chief of Nidugal unattended to. He is said, in one inscription, to have captured the powerful Irungōla's fort (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 70) and Nārasimha I is described as the breaker of the pride of Irungōla. In 1218 A.D., Ballāla II was encamped at Nidugal. (*E.C.* V. Hassan 60). In 1267 A.D., Irungōla made a raid into the Anebiddasarinād in the Tumkur country, (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 49), and in 1276 A.D. joined the Sevuna army in its invasion of Dōrasamudra (*E.C.* V. Belur 164,165). In 1285 A.D., Nārasimha II marched against Nidugal and reduced it.

Chōla-mahārasus.

About two centuries later, we hear of a family of Chōlas in an inscription dated in 1481 A.D. (*E.C.* XII, Maddagiri I). They are described as *Chōlaramakkalu* or sons of the Chōlas. Instead of *Chōla-mahārājas* they call themselves *Chōla-mahārasus*. Only two of them are known—-Bayirāja-Dēva and his son Rāmapa-Dēva. The former is styled *Mahāmandalēsvara*. The connection of this family with the Nidugal Chōla chiefs is not mentioned in the inscription quoted above. (For other Chōla-mahārasus known from inscriptians found in the State, see *M.A.R.* 1907, Para 45 and the references mentioned therein.) They belong to the 16th century and fall in the reign of the Vijayanagar king Sadāsiva Rāya and belonged to one and the same family. They were minor feudatories under the Mahāmandalēsvara Rāma-Rājaya-Vithala-Dēva-Mahārāja's son Tirumala Rāja, who was ruling in Penukonda during the reign of Sadāsiva-Raya. For an earlier set of claimants to Chōla ancestry, see *M.E.R.* 1907, Para 71.

Review of the Economic, Religious and Social life of the People. *Circa* 850 to 1250 A.D.

Before closing the section relating to the Imperial Chōlas, it might be useful to briefly review the economic, social and religious life of the people of the period covered by their rule. The Imperial Chōlas ruled from about the middle of the 9th century A. D., to about the middle of the 13th century A.D. (*i.e.*, from Vijayālaya, 846 A.D., to Rājēndra-Chōla III. 1268 A.D.). During the major part of the four centuries, they ruled Southern India as a whole and had a centralized Government. Though war was a normal feature of almost every reign, there was, without doubt, material advance in the prosperity of the people. The Empire was divided into a number of provinces and each province was sub-divided into a number of districts, each of which again was made up of a number of villages, which largely lived on agriculture. The land was well cultivated, and was officially divided into different classes, for purposes of deriving the king's revenue from it.

i. Economic Life.
(a) The village and its assembly.

Each village was independent in its economy and Government from every other. Women appear to have held the land exactly like men. The governance of each village was vested in itself. The village assembly, which consisted of all the people of the village, and which was called together by the blowing of a trumpet, (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 15), was the ultimate authority in all matters pertaining to its well-being. In actual practice, however, the assembly appears to have consisted of—or been divided into—a number of committees. In the days of Parāntaka I (907-947 A.D.) some abuses seem to have crept into the work of these committees and he issued orders for regulating their conduct. The royal order apparently could take effect only when it was adopted or at least approved by the assembly as a whole.

Its Committees.

Among the more important committees spoken of in Parāntaka's time were; "Annual Supervision," "Tank Supervision," "Garden Supervision" and "Supervision of Justice." Their names indicate their spheres of work. It was the duty of the Annual Supervision Committee to see that the lands in the village were properly cultivated and the produce was properly collected. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 23; Appdx. B. No. 269). Each was chosen annually when the Assembly was in session. The Annual Supervision Committee probably looked after all affairs which did not fall within the scope of the other committees. It seems to have been known as "*Samvatsaragrāmakāryam.*" It apparently could declare certain kinds of land free—for example, land connected with the sacred tank of the temple and a *mandapa* adjoining it. The document exempting these lands had apparently to be signed by the members of the village assembly of the place in which they were situated. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42). Two other committees are also known from the Uttaramallur inscriptions, *viz.*, "Gold

Supervision" and "*pancha-vāra-vāriyam.*" The former probably regulated the currency, while the latter is said to have supervised the work of the five other committees of the village. This latter suggestion originally made by Mr. Venkayya (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 58) has been recently given up. *Panckavāravāriyam* was a tax or due levied on land-holders (of *mēlvaram*) and this committee was charged with its collection. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33). According to inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja I, there were certain other committees as well, for example at Brahmadēsam, one for managing the affairs of the village called *grāmakārya* or *āluva ganavāriyam*, and another for managing the affairs of the (local) temple called *Srīkārya* or *Kōvil vāriyam.* In an inscription assigned for palæographical reasons to the 12th century A.D., there is reference to an Irrigation Committee as a branch of the village assembly. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 17; No. 110 of 1925). Another Committee was the *Sabhai-Vāriyam.* (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 25, Appdx. C. No. 74). There were accountants attached to each of these committees (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 8) and they acted as arbitrators as well. There were apparently as many committees as circumstances required it. In Brāhman villages—such as Uttaramallur, Brahmadēsam, etc. the assembly (called *Sabha*) was composed entirely of Brāhmans. In other villages the assembly was composed of all the residents, in which case it was called *ūrōm.* Where it was composed exclusively of merchants, it was known as *nagarattōm.* While the rules relating to the first of these classes of assemblies are known, no special mention of those regulating the *ūrōm* and *nagarattōm* varieties have come down to us. It is not unlikely that most, if not all, of the conditions pertaining to membership in the Brāhman *Sabhas* applied to these also except the high literary qualifications (knowledge of a whole *Vēda*) prescribed for it. These committees were, according to certain inscriptions, included in the village assembly; according to others, they were subordinate to the village assembly and had to carry out its orders. These apparently contradictory statements have been reconciled on the basis that though each of these committees as a body was subordinate to the village assembly, yet the members of the former were not debarred from taking part in the deliberations of the latter. Certain inscriptions indicate that young men were also chosen as members of these committees and they were expected to take an active part in discussing questions brought before them. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 58). Inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja I suggest that these assemblies had sometimes prolonged sittings, occasionally extending into the nights, though they ordinarily finished their work before sunset. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 15). These assemblies met in the local temple in special Halls called *Rājēndrasōlan*, Sembiyanmahādēvi-pperumandapam built by Rājarāja I, and other kings. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 23; *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 10). The whole assembly in session, including all the committees, was called the *mahā-sabha.* (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 23).

Reforms introduced by Parāntaka I, 921 A.D.

In the time of Parāntaka I, as stated above, two royal orders were issued directing various amendments in the rules regulating the election of members to the Committees of the Assembly. The first of these was issued in his 12th year (=919 A.D.) and the second in his 14th year (921 A.D.) The earlier is less elaborate in certain points than the later one and the changes introduced by the second were laid down in order that "wicked men might perish, while good men might prosper." Apparently things had gone wrong with the village assembly of Uttaramallur—to which the orders specially relate—and the king had to intervene and compel it to make strict rules to regulate the selection of members to its committees.

Qualifications for Committee Membership.

According to the later rescript, adopted by the Assembly of Uttaramallur, this village of 12 hamlets—which may be taken to represent its class—was divided into thirty wards and the people of each ward were to assemble and choose men for what was called "pot-tickets" (*Kudavōlai*). The following were the qualifications which one was to possess if be wanted his name to be entered on the pot-ticket and put into the pot :—

(*a*) He must be the owner of more than a quarter (*vēli*) of tax-paying land ; (*b*) he must have a house built on his own site ; (*c*) he must be below 70 and above 35 years of age ; (*d*) he must know the *Mantrabrāhmana*, *i.e.*, he must know it himself and be able to teach it to others.

Thus not only a high property qualification was required of an would-be member, but he was also to fulfil a high intellectual (or literary) test ; and the restrictions relating to over-age and non-age had to be satisfied. These qualifications, however, did not suffice. Among those possessing them, only those who were well conversant with business and conducted themselves according to sacred rules were to be chosen. These, further, should have acquired their wealth by honest means, should possess pure minds (*i.e.*, uncorrupted by evil influences), and should not have been on any of these Committees during the three years preceding their selection. A lowering of the property qualification was, however, allowed in one case. It was ruled that even if one owned only one-eighth (*Vēli*) of land—the prescribed extent was one-quarter—he was entitled to have his name written on a pot-ticket, and put into the pot in case he had learnt one *Vēda* and one of the four *Bhāshyas* and could explain it to others. In the 11th year of the reign of Rājarāja I, we hear of the Village assembly of Uttamachōla-chaturvēdimangalam meeting in the temple and laying down an amendment to this rule. The assembly resolved that only those capable of reciting the *Mantrabrāhmana* (hymns and *Brāhmanas*) could be elected as members of the Village Supervision Committee and could take part in the deliberations of the Village Assembly. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 16; Appendix. C. No. 240 of 1922). The members were termed *Vīriyan-seyvār*. Another record of the same year says that those who had been found guilty of misappropriating property belonging to Brāhmans and of other heinous crimes (not specified) were not eligible for such privileges in the village and that one chosen in contravention to these rules would be accorded the same punishment as was usually meted out to transgressors of royal orders. (*Ibid*, No. 241). Among the disqualifications prescribed were the following:—Those who had been on any of the Committees of the previous years and had not submitted their accounts and their relations. Of the latter, a long list is given which excludes every one related in any way on the agnatic, cognatic or any other side whatever. Those guilty of the five great sins, of the crimes of theft and adultery, of social and religious offences of different kinds, of foolhardiness, etc. were also excluded from being selected.

Mode of selection—combined election and drawing of lots.

Excluding all those thus specified, names were to be written for "pot-tickets" in the thirty wards and each of the wards was to prepare a separate packet with a covering ticket specifying its contents tied to it. These packets were then to be put into a pot. The pot-tickets were to be opened in the midst of a full meeting of the village assembly, including the young and old members, convened for the purpose. All the temple priests, then present in the village, were without any exception whatever, to be seated in the village hall, where the assembly was to meet. The most elderly of the assembled priests was to stand up and lift an empty pot so as to be seen by all the people present. An young boy, who knew nothing of the matter, was to hand over to the standing priest one of the packets from the thirty wards. The contents of the packet were then to be transferred to the empty pot and well shaken. From this pot one ticket was to be taken out by the young boy and made over to the arbitrator. While taking charge of the ticket, the arbitrator was to receive it on the palm of his hand with five fingers open. He was then to read out the name on the ticket thus received. The ticket read by him was also to be read by all the priests then present in the Hall. The name thus read out was put down and accepted. Similarly one man was to be chosen for each of the thirty wards. Of the thirty persons, thus chosen, those who had previously been on the "Garden Supervision" and "Tank Supervision" Committees and those who were advanced in learning and those who were advanced in age were to be chosen for the Committee for "Annual Supervision." Of the rest, twelve were to be taken for the "Garden Supervision" Committee and the remaining six were to form the "Tank Supervision" Committee. The last two Committees were to be chosen after, it is stated, an oral expression of opinion, of their willingness, probably, to serve. The members of these three Committees—they are called "great men" in the inscription—were to hold office for full 365 days and then retire. If any one on any of the Committees was found guilty of any offence, he was to be removed from office at once. For appointing the Committees after one set of them retired, the Committee for "Supervision of Justice" was to convene a meeting with the help of the arbitrator. Their selection was to be by drawing pot-tickets as set out above. For the *panchavara-vāriyam* and the Committee for "Supervision of Gold," names were to be written for pot-tickets in the thirty wards, thirty packets with covering tickets being deposited in a pot and thirty pot-tickets being drawn as described already. From these thirty tickets, twelve men were to be selected. Six out of these twelve were to form the "Gold Supervision" Committee and the remaining six were to constitute the *panchavara-vāriyam*. In making subsequent annual selections to these two Committees, the wards already represented during the previous years were to be excluded and the appointments made from the remaining wards by an oral expression of opinion. This was evidently intended to secure rotation. Two special disqualifications are mentioned in connection with these two Committees. Men who had ridden on asses, (*i.e.*, those who had been publicly disgraced for evil acts, etc.) and those who had been guilty of forgery were to be excluded from them.

Universality of Committee system in Southern India.

There is reason to believe that village assemblies of this kind were common all over Southern India, including the Mysore State. (Malur in the present Chintāmani Taluk, according to inscriptions found at the temple there, had an assembly. *E.C.* and *M.A.R.* 1908-9, Paras 69-70; see *ante*). Many inscriptions found in this State refer to them. Inscriptions found in the East Coast also refer to them. As Mr. Venkayya has observed, it may be assumed, until the contrary is proved, that the Committee system of village administration prevailed over a considerable portion of Southern India. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Paras 58-73).

Its principal merits.

It will be seen that the Assembly selections were annual; that the same members could not year after year serve on the same Committees; that the qualifications, property and intellectual, were high; that the disqualifying causes were many and tended to keep out almost every imaginable relation of a Committee member who had not submitted his account and those guilty of offences against property, religion or society; that accounting was insisted on with a severity which suggests a lapse on the part of some members before the second rescript of Parāntaka I was issued. The mode of selection of members prevalent in the 10th century combined the advantage of the modern elective principle with that of drawing lots, thus eliminating the human, and substituting for it the divine.

In regard to village accounts, it was ordered by Parāntaka that "arbitrators and those who have earned their wealth by honest means shall write the accounts. One who was writing the accounts shall not be appointed to that office again until he submits his accounts (for the period during which he was in office) to the great men of the big Committee (in charge) of the accounts, and is declared to have been honest. The accounts which one has been writing he shall submit himself, and other accountants shall not be brought to close his accounts." (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 67). Those who acted against the interests of the village—*e.g.*, acting against the village as such or against its institutions, such as the temple, etc.,—were held to be *grāma-kantakas* or *grāma-drōhins* and were subjected to certain well-known penalties—being disallowed the privilege of "touching Siva, etc." (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 30).

Towns and Trade.

Though the Chōla empire was mainly an agricultural country, there is reason to believe there were a few towns in it. Tanjore, Gangaikondasōlapuram, Kānchi, Kolar and many other places would in those days have been not only fairly large-sized and populous but also attractive as the capitals of the empire. Highways connecting the capitals are indicated by the terms Vaduga-vazhi, etc., found in the inscriptions of the period. Roads should have been maintained and beautifying of cities was not unknown. Lands required for making roads were, on acquisition, removed from the account of taxable lands. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 38). Trade went on at markets and fairs. At the fairs, imported articles appear to have had a ready sale, while at the weekly markets, the local products should have been either exchanged or sold for cash. Overseas' trade at the end of the 13th century is testified to by Marco Polo. It was chiefly carried on through the agency of the Muhammadans, who had established themselves from the early years of the Christian era at several of the sea-ports of the South-eastern Coast, such as Negapatam, Kayal, etc. Though weaving was practised, industries on an organized scale there were none. There is mention, however, in the inscriptions of the period of the goldsmith, blacksmith, the stonemason, the carpenter, etc. The artistic excellence of the work of these different sorts of artisans had reached a high degree long before the Imperial Chōlas began to rule. But there is reason to believe that in the reign of Rājarāja I and his successors down to Kulōttunga-Chōla III, these classes received increasing patronage both from kings and private parties. The prosperity which the country enjoyed from about the 11th to the 13th centuries is still evident in the beautiful temples which have come down to us from that period. These show the high water-mark that the sculptural and architectural arts had reached in Southern India during the period. The jewellers' art flourished during the same period. Apart from what is mentioned in the inscriptions of Rājarāja I, we have details of the gifts of copper vessels, ornaments and images made of gold and silver set with precious stones, such as pearls, *rājāvindan*, *mānikkam*, *pavalam*, *kuppi*, *vayiram*, *maratakam*, etc., presented by queen Sembiyanmahādēvi to the temple at Tiruvenkādu. (*M.E.R.* 1919, Para 13). Trade guilds were not unknown. An inscription of Rājarāja I which comes from Varalur (N. Arcot District) refers to a gift by a guild of *nānādēsi* merchants. Another of Rājēndra-Chōla's time eulogizes a guild of merchants of the Banajiga caste who had been praised in 500 *Vīra-sāsanas* (or edicts). (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 25). A record from Baligāmi also praises merchants of the same caste, and states that they penetrated the regions of the six continents by land and water routes and dealt in various articles such as horses, elephants, precious stones, perfumes and drugs, either wholesale or retail. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 118). This boast of the mercantile community is confirmed by the existence of stone records even in Ceylon and Burma which refer to their several gifts in those countries. The Vaishnava temple at Pagan in Upper Burma was built by the merchants (*nānādēsi*) of that town. (*E.I.* VII. 197). A Basinikonda record states that the community consisted of *nādu*, *nagara* and *nānādēsi*. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 25). They were apparently in a flourishing condition during the Chōla period of rule, for they not only built temples and endowed them from their earnings, but also declared towns as *Nānādēsīya-Dasamadi Erivīrapattanas* and bestowed some privileges on their residents. (*Ibid*). There is ample evidence to believe that corporate life was in full vigour among the professional classes apart from that of the Village Assembly. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 9).

The King's Revenue.

The king was expected to govern and meet his own charges. As he was probably the largest land-owner, he should have done this with ease. The successful wars should have secured him considerable booty from which to build temples and beautify his capitals, imperial and provincial. The land revenue should have brought in an increasing revenue as the result of the surveys again and again referred to in the inscriptions from the time of Rājarāja I. All land was taxed, the taxes being collected under the two heads of *Ūrirai* and *Uzhuvirai*. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 10). Even lands gifted to temples were not free from taxation; such lands could be made tax-free by the payment of an extra amount. (*Ibid*). The other taxes levied were many but their incidence is still hardly made out. An inscription of Vīrarājēndradēva (A.D.

1063-1066) mentions the following:—*Ūrkkalanju, Kumarakkachchānam, Vannārappārai, Tattārpāttam, Kiliraipāttam, Vēlikkāsu*; *Tingalmērāmu, Muttāvanam, Tarippudavai, Valangai-Idangai-maganmai, Dasavandam, Mādaikkūli, Vīrasēlai*, etc. There were a multiplicity of revenue officers to collect these taxes. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 16). Occasionally the taxes from a particular village were granted by royal order to a temple, as Vīrarajēndradēva did in the 5th year of his reign the taxes of a village to the temple of Mahāvishnu at Tirumukkūdal. (*Ibid.*) Periodical redistribution of lands seems to have prevailed down to a late date. An inscription of Kulōttunga-Chōla III dated in his 12th year refers to one such re-distribution of the *punjai* and *nattam* lands of a village. The object of such redistribution is not specified. This was, probably, to equalize the incidence of taxation on the individual cultivators. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 38). This, however, did not exclude absolute ownership in land. On its conveyance by way of sale or gift from one to another, there passed the following rights of ownership mentioned in Tamil inscriptions:—Wet land, dry land, village site, tank, swamps, common land, *podāri*, *manru*, land on which the cattle are gathered, *kalar*, *kalli* trees on surface, water at the bottom of wells and such others. (cf. *ashtābhogatējssvāmya* of the Sānskrit inscriptions, which included the eight rights of ownership, *viz.*, water, minerals, hidden treasure, store, *akshini*, future income, past income and probable income.) (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42). In connection with tanks is mentioned a tax called the *Ēriayam*. Collections known as *Ēripatti*, which were private donations, went to meet the cost of repairs of tanks. *Ēri-ayam* seems to have been levied for the same purpose. The latter was collected by the men composing the Tank Supervision Committee of the year and they were to keep the tanks in order from the collections made. (*M.E.R.*

1919, Para 17). It does not appear that the kings of this period made any profits from the administration of justice, as even the cash fines went to the temples for burning lamps in the name of one of the parties (*M.E.R.* 1922, Para 20) and lands forfeited compulsorily became *dēvadāna* grants for their use. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 34). The Chōla army being formed of contingents of men drawn from the able bodied of certain of the castes, agricultural, artisan and professional, *e.g.*, Parāntakan-terinja and Sinhalāntakan-terinja after Parāntaka I, Kōdandarāman-terinja after Āditya I or Rājāditya I and Pārthivasēgaran-terinja-Kaikkōlar probably so called after Rājarāja I (*M.E.R.* 1921, Para 28), land grants to the soldiers who had distinguished in the war and bled for the country were apparently common. These often made them over to temples, making them tax-free. Taxes for meeting the cost of war were not unknown. (See *ante*). Abolition of taxes (either taxes proper or tolls) were also ordered. One was effected by Kulōttunga-Chōla who thereby became famous in history as Sungandavirta Kulōttunga-Sōla. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Nos. 620 and 647 of 1910; see *ante*). A reduction of rents ordered in the reign of Rājādhirāja I (1018 to 1055 A.D.) has been referred to already. (See *ante*). Exemption from taxation was entered in the Royal accounts and often it took many years to give effect to a royal decree in this connection. (See *ante*) The charter of exemption was usually signed by the Royal Secretary called Tirumandira-ōlai. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 40).

Money.

In the sub-sections on *Coin and Currency*, included under the reigns of the more important kings, the coins in circulation during their periods are given. Judging from inscriptions, the *Kalanju* appears to have been the most popular gold coin of Chōla times. An inscription of the 14th year of Rājarāja records a grant of this gold coin, by the Bāna queen Arinjingapirāttiyār, daughter of prince Arikulakēsari, to the temple of Siva at Tiruvannagar Tirunāgīsvaram. The gold *Kalanju* presented is stated in the record to have been called *tulai pon*, subsequent to the gold being "burnt, cut, melted, cooled and found current, neither wanting in purity nor in weight." (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 21; Appendix B. No. 218). As the Chōla *Kalanju* was much better than the Ceylonese, it was found necessary to keep out the bad and retain the good. Hence the periodical testing above referred to and certifying so exactly. Doubtless this duty fell on the "Gold Supervision" Committee.

ii. Religious Life: (a) The Temple—the centre of religious life.

The social and religious life of the people centred round the local temple. Most of the temples built during the Chōla period were royal foundations and as such built by kings or queens, or by great generals and commanders. Some were named after living kings or queens and dedicated in their names to gods or goddesses, whether Saivite or Vaishnavite. Some were named after living kings or queens and others after those that were dead. Thus the Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore was built by Rājarāja I and dedicated after himself while yet he was alive. The Arinjingēsvara temple at Mēlpādi was also built by him in the name of Arinjinga, who had died at Ārrūr. (See *M.E.R.* 1921, Para 26). A temple in memory of Kulōttunga I was dedicated apparently in the 7th year of Vikrama-Chōla, his son. It was called Kulōttunga-Chōlēsvara. (*M.E.R.* 1895, Appendix B. No. 139 of 1895). The temple, wherever it existed, drew its income from three different sources:—

(1) from the king and the ladies of the royal household;
(2) from private gifts and offerings; and
(3) from fines levied on delinquents made payable by the local assembly to the temple.

(b) Temple income.

Royal patronage took many forms—*vide* Rājarāja and Rājēndra-Chōla's gifts and the donations of Sembiyamahādēvi, *ante*—but the most common form was the granting of villages or lands for the benefit of the temple. Another was the making over to the temple of taxes due to the State. Still another form was remitting taxes on lands gifted away to the temple. Among the taxes exempted from were the following:—*siddhāyam*, *panchavāram*, *sillirai*, *echchōru*, *kūrr-arisi*, *ārrukkāl-amanji*, *ērikkādi*, *pādaganellu*, *ulavarai*, *nirvilai*, etc. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 31). Where the villages granted were declared tax-free, all the taxes collected in it were to be made over to the temple treasury and not to the king's treasury. Such exemption of payment into the king's treasury was called *nīngal*. Among the taxes which were thus made payable to the temple instead of into the Royal Exchequer were the following:—*Vetti*, *pudavai-mudal*, *tiraikkāsu*, *āsuvigalkāsu*, *kudi-kāsu*, fee levied on *uvachchars* and on looms, *inavari-kāsu*, *vēlichchinnam*, *vetti-kāsu*, *sirupādikāval* on lands growing gingelly and cotton, grain for supervision (*kankām*), *kurra-dandam*, *patti-dandam*, *kārtigai-kāsu* on oil-mongers, fee on dyers, and *arisi-kāsu* on salt-pans. All these probably represented petty taxes, payable in cash or in kind. The Tiruvorriyūr temple enjoyed these taxes and a dispute about their levy was decided in its favour. The villages whose taxes were thus made payable to the temple were called *dēvamandalam*, *i.e.*, god's domain. (See *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42).

(*c*) Its management.

As regards management, every temple was in the management of a Committee. Where no separate committee existed for the purpose, the village assembly acted as the trustee for the charities connected with it. Apart from what was in the hands of trustees, money meant for special services was left in the hands of the priests (*Vaikhānasa*) who conducted them. When they failed to carry out the objects of a trust, they were compelled to compensate in land or money according to the kind of the office held by them. In large foundations, while the temple as a whole was under the control of a committee or the local assembly, its central shrine, whose affairs required special attention, was in the charge of a committee which would borrow at times money in advance and discharge certain obligations to the temple and make gifts to it on its own behalf, and take up other similar responsibilities. Again, in certain cases, the temple treasury appears to have been in the charge of a committee. This committee was not merely a receiving and disbursing body, but also possessed administrative powers, like the selling of the temple land on suitable conditions. The surplus in the temple treasury was, in some cases, utilised for special purposes either with the consent or at the instance of the local assembly. (See below). The temple bought and sold lands as it thought fit like any private party and kept strict accounts of its assets and liabilities. There were cases of embezzlement and enquiries by royal officers—as for example, in the reigns of Uttama-Chōla, Rājarāja I, Gandarāditya, etc., as already mentioned. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Page 69; *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33; *M.E.R.* 1919, Para 167; *M.E.R* 1918, Page 142; *M.E.R.* 1922, Para 14; Appendix B. No. 208; also *ante*). But there is reason to believe that most of the temples were honestly managed and their accounts maintained on an efficient basis. An inscription from Tirukoilūr mentions that the temple committee recovered from a person ten cows on the evidence of an entry in its accounts that his grandfather had received ten cows from a chief for the purpose of supplying curds for feeding Brāhmans in a *Matha*.

(*d*) Its property.

The temple had absolute control over its property, for a charity once made in favour of a temple could not be recalled even by kings. Hence we see that the temple, wherever necessary, farmed out or commuted its revenue and leased out its lands perpetually to private individuals, receiving reasonable advance payment and agreeing to receive a certain amount annually thereafter. It transferred at will, if necessary, the obligations previously set upon one class of people to another, while in a few other cases the communal maintenance of a charity was agreed upon in spite of odds. If necessary, again, the communal responsibility for the conduct of the charity was discharged and the same entrusted to an individual. The temple also served the purposes of a registration office—as already remarked—its records being engraved on its stone walls and re-engraved with care when the structure was rebuilt, under official supervision. (See *M.E.R.* 1922, Paras 66-69 and the authorities quoted therein).

(*e*) Its duties and responsibilities as to hospitality, education, medical aid, etc.

The temple was, however, not merely the receiver of gifts and the executor of trusts through the agency of its Committees. It had also to discharge many other duties cast on it. Among these were the following :—

(*a*) hospitality and charity, (*b*) imparting education, (*c*) affording medical relief, and (*d*) acting as a Bank to the village assembly in case of need.

As regards the first of these functions, numerous inscriptions can be quoted to show that the temple provided facilities for feeding Brāhmans, local and foreign, and the poor. Grants were received specially for this purpose. Also for providing various amenities to the temple. An inscription dated in the 30th year of Rājēndra-Chōla I, registers a sale of land made tax-free, to a temple for making a flower-garden and for feeding Srivaishnavas in a *matha* called after the king's aunt Sri-Kundavaiyālvār. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Appendix C. No. 184 of 1923). As to imparting education, some of the larger temples appear to have maintained colleges for promoting higher studies in Sanskrit literature, logic, grammar and philosophy. Free boarding was provided for students studying in them. These colleges might be termed universities in the modern sense. The Ennāyiram Tribhuvani and Tirumukkūdal temples are good examples of this type of charity. (See *ante*; *M.E.R.* 1918, Paras 27-28; *M.E.R.* 1919, Para 18; and *1916*, Para 16. See *ante*). Specialization in grammatical studies was encouraged at the Tiruvorriyūr temple. The grammar hall maintained at that temple has been already referred to. The study of *Rūpāvatāra*. the epics, *Manu*, *Vaikhānasa Sāstra* and the *Vēdas* are mentioned in grants referred to above. There are a number of records referring to grants of land made for expounding the *Prabhākaram* or the *Siddhānta* (or system) of Prabhākara who lived about the 8th century A.D. Thus, we are told, in one inscription that some lands were presented to certain Brāhmans for expounding it in the temple of Nāgēsvara at Kumbakonam. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 19). In the Ennāyiran record a similar provision is made. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 28). In a Vatteluttu inscription at Tirukkōshitiyūr dated in the 11th year of Rājakēsarivarman (probably Rājarāja I), a grant for the same purpose is mentioned. (*M.E R.* 1924, Para 13; Appendix B. No. 333 of 1923). Hospitals were located in temples maintained by private endowments and gifts, often of lands. This is clear from the grant recorded in favour of an *ātulasālai* in the 5th year of Vīrarājēndra (=1069 A.D.). This hospital was located in the Jananātha shrine of the Mahāvishnu temple at Tirumukkūdal. The hospital was called *Vīrasōlan* and was provided with fifteen beds for sick people. There were attached to it, besides a physician and a surgeon, two nurses as well. Medicines required for a year were apparently stocked in it. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 16; Appendix B. No. 182). It is of interest to note that Vīrarājēndra not only restored the grant as a temple gift 75 *Kalanju* of gold that the inhabitants of the village in which the hospital was situated had subscribed for to the *ātulasālai* but also the taxes of that village (which are named) and other fees as well (also specifically named). The *mantapa* in which the hospital was located was built by a local donor, a Vaisya, Mādhava by name, who it is said revived the charities and built the surrounding halls. (*Ibid*). The grants made by Kundavai, sister of Rājēndra-Chōla I, for an *ātulasālai* have also been referred to already. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 14; see *ante*). The temple, besides, served the purpose of a bank for various purposes. Thus, we are told in one record that the village assembly of the place borrowed money from the temple treasury and purchased house sites, etc., and paid interest on the amount thus borrowed. Instead of interest, however, it agreed to pay all the taxes levied on the lands, thus relieving the temple of all liability from taxation. From a record of the 3rd year of Rājēndra-Dēva, we learn that the famine-stricken inhabitants of a village, who could not obtain any help from the royal treasury, turned to the local temple treasury and secured sufficient funds from it by the sale, apparently of temple jewellery, gold and silver. The village assembly alienated land in return in favour of the god. The lands were in different areas and were accordingly consolidated. They were later made tax-free by a royal decree. (*M.E.R.* 1899, Para 53). How a small temple in distress or difficulty was helped with funds by a larger one from its treasury is also referred to in inscriptions. The members of the village assembly of the large temple resolved in session to impose on themselves a tax of 20 *Kāsu* per head, Brāhmans and Mahēsvaras, "distinguished barely by the sacred thread," paying 10 *Kāsu* each. This shows, nobody—even the poorest Brāhman wearing but the sacred thread and the Mahēsvara subsisting on temple charity—was exempted from this taxation. The amount was paid in cash or kind into the temple treasury and then converted into a capital fund for being expended on worship, offerings, etc. The temple servants were ordered to co-operate with the temple Mahēsvaras in making the collection of this tax a success. (See *ante*; *M.E.R.* 1923, Para 43; Appendix B. No. 537 of 1922).

(*f*) Women and the temple.

Women were closely connected with temples, especially for serving them in different capacities. First as servants proper, for example, for husking paddy. A grant in the 19th year of Rājarāja III refers to the gift of five women with their descendants to the Tiruvorriyūr temple for this purpose. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42; Appendix B. No. 211). This is a private gift, slavery of a kind being common during the period of which we are writing. An actual sale of four women to a temple is recorded in another inscription. The sale price paid for them was 700 *Kāsu.* It was evidently a common way of providing the requisite labour for temple purposes, as the record does not suggest the enslavement as due to famine or the poverty of the parties concerned. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 37; Appendix C. No. 80). Women were next required for service as *padiyilārs*, as dancers trained to do service on occasions. With the growth of the Saiva cult, a high value was set on dancing as a fine art. Rājarāja III is said to have visited the Tiruvorriyūr temple, where sitting in the Rājarājan-mandapa, he is said to have listened to singing in the style called *agamārgam* by one of the *padiyilārs* attached to the temple. Next, we have mention of women who entered service under the temples as *dēvar-adiyāl,* literally servants of god. (*M.E.R.* 1922, Appendix B. No. 230 and Appendix C. No. 141). Then there were others who had learnt dancing and followed it as a profession. From the days of Rājarāja I, they were attached to temples in certain numbers. In the time of Rājēndra-Chōla I, we hear of gifts of land for performing dances before the gods. (*M.E.R.* 1915, No. 65 of 1914). An inscription in the temple of Kūrumbandal (Chingleput District) records the grant of an allowance of paddy and gold to twenty-four dancing girls attached to it. (*M.E.R.* 1893, Para 14). In the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, we hear of dance masters being appointed to temples, apparently to train the women attached to them. (*M.E.R.* 1925, No. 255 of 1925). In the reign of Rājarāja III, we have evidence of the prosperity enjoyed by dancing women and the gifts made by them to temples. Such gifts were recognized by the grant of certain privileges to them in the temples—*e.g*, waving of fly whisks before the images during the car processions, etc. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 41).

Position of Women.

The position of women in the Buddhist period was largely influenced by the monastic system. Down to the 12th century A.D., a devoted religious life afforded not only a career but also a position in society. Some of the nuns were of royal rank and to the majority of them even secular learning was not forbidden. Tending the sick, managing the lands attached to the monastery, and the care of the establishment gave them ample opportunities to exercise their talents. To women of ability—as Nāgiyakka of the Prabauddhavihāra—the system should have been of considerable attraction, though the recruiting of *Sāvāsis* or lay sisters should have enabled many married women to remain outside the monastic fold. During the 10th and 11th centuries, the recurring wars led to a complete break up of the system. The decay of Buddhism which occurred about the 8th century had already contributed not a little to this dissolution. In the religious revival that followed, both Saivism and Vaishnavism endeavoured to fill the void thus created but the conditions were far different. In the altered state of affairs, women could only be absorbed into the temples for purposes of "divine service" (*dēvaradiyāl*), or as mere servants who, having been entered up for service, tended to remain hereditarily so. *Dēvar-adiyāls* at first appear to have kept up a high standard of life—they were not infrequently married women—but later when the local assemblies lost the control of the temples, they degenerated into "Slaves" of men and not of gods. The disappearance of monasteries and a system of dedicated service in the temples did not prove an unmixed good. Monasteries gave opportunities for women, for some centuries, to fit themselves by education. Such education was in their own hands and the role they filled as nurses, servants and proficients in music and dancing showed that it was not altogether ill-used. The disappearance of the monasteries in or about the 10th century, and the decay of temples, after the power of the village assemblies over them broke down, about the 13th century, virtually meant the denial of an independent life to unmarried women as a class.

(*g*) Temples and Teachers.

Both Buddhism and Jainism inculcated the worship of the "teacher" (or *guru*). With the gradual subsidence of these faiths and the rise of the cults of Siva and Vishnu, the worship of the "guru" received an additional impetus. The propagators and popularizers of these faiths took the place of the older *gurus*. The Vaishnava Ālvārs and the Saiva teachers thus came to be closely associated with the temples, about which they sang in their hymns. Shrines were attached to existing temples and sometimes independent temples were erected for their worship. Rājarāja I is said to have provided for the recital of the Saiva hymns included in the *Dēvāram*. (*S.I.I.* II. 252, No. 65). Rājēndra-Chōla was the first to set up the images of some of the more famous Saiva saints in the Rājarājēsvara temple at Tanjore. (*Ibid* 166, Nos. 40 and 41). Numerous inscriptions attest to the great fame they enjoyed with the masses. Their hymns became highly popular and were set to music and special provision was made for singing them at the temples. The encouragement thus given to them furthered the cause of music as a fine art. Devotional songs were thus familiarized among the people and even kings are reported to have attended musical displays and festivals of this kind at the more famous temples. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 12; *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 14). In an inscription of the time of Rājādhirāja I, mention is made of the images of the *Bhaktas* or 63 Saiva saints and to Nambi Āndānambi's *Tiruttondanttogai*, where the history of these saints is detailed. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 24, Appendix B. No. 137). An inscription of Rājarāja III records a gift to the shrine of Sīruttonda-Dēva at Tiruchettangudi; while another mentions a gift for providing offerings on the day he obtained salvation at the hands of Siva. (*Ibid*, Para 42, Appendix C. Nos. 63 and 69). Among the more famous of these Saiva saints, whose hymns have obtained a reputation as great as the *Vēda* itself, are Mānikyavāchakar, Appar, Tirugnānasambandhar and Sundarar. Their hymns were collected together by Nambi Āndān Nambi abovenamed, but the collection is not by any means complete. Recently a number of hymns of Tirugnānasambandhar were found engraved on the walls of a temple at Tiruvadavayal, Tanjore District, which are not to be found in the *Dēvāram* as it has come down to us. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Part I, Para 19; and Part II, Para 34, Appendix C. No. 8 of 1918). As they are part of an inscription dated in the 18th year of Rājarājadēva, they have to be assigned to the time of Rājarāja II, or about the middle of 12th century A.D. Provision was also made in certain temples for the reading of the *Dēvāram*, the collective name given to the hymns. Thus a gift is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja II, dated in his 5th year, for reciting *Tiruvembāvai* of Mānikyavāchakar before his image on the day of Tiruvādirai in the month of *Mārgali*, December-January; *Tiruvembāvai* was the most favourite hymn of this famous saint. In many ancient temples of the Tanjore District, this ceremony of making the image of Mānikyavāchakar hear his own favourite hymn is said to be observed to this day. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 37; Appendix B. No. 421). Such a recital appears to have been not only quite common but was also extended to other well-known *Vēdic* pieces. Thus we read of a deposit of 20 *Karunkāsu* being made with a temple by a private individual for the purpose and its authorities lending it on interest. The three *Kāsu* they thus obtained as interest annually, they awarded to the best reciter of the *Jaimini Sāmavēda*, on the asterism Tiruvādirai in the month of *Mārgali*. It is found stated in the inscription that no prize-winner should compete a second time. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para II; Appendix B. No. 266 of 1923).

(*h*) *Mathas* attached to temples.

The Saiva saints had not only shrines dedicated to them in the temples but had also *mathas* set up in their names. These were also attached to the temples. These are first heard of from about the 10th century A.D. A *matha* or rest-house under the name of *Tiruvāgīsan-Rājēndra-Sōlan* was built by Rājēndra-Chōla I, in the 12th year of his reign (=1024 A.D.) at Uyyakkondān-Tirumalai. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 53; Appendix B. No. 467 of 1908). In the 13th century, there were quite a number of these *mathas* in existence. These were presided over by Saiva *sanyāsins*, called Mahēsvaras or Sivayōgins. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Appendix B, No. 177 of 1908 and 164 of 1908) and they were scattered throughout the Chōla dominions. These became centres of the Saiva faith, whose catholicity attracted many adherents from all classes of people. A number of these *mathas*, named after Tirugnānasambandhar and Appar, also called Tirunāvakkarasar, are found all over the Tamil districts of Madras Presidency, some of them being presided over by Mudaliyārs. (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 53 and *M.E.R.* 1911, Para 31). Branches of the Gōlakimatha, founded by the disciples of the Gōlaki-vamsa of Āryāvarta, are spoken of in two inscriptions of the Pāndyan king Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya. The Gōlakimatha is referred to frequently in the inscriptions of the 13th century found in the Kurnool District. (*M.E.R.* 1924, Para 30). Similar *mathas* are spoken of in connection with Vaishnava temples as well. A Vaishnava *matha* appears to have been established at Tiruvadandai by the residents of that place and provision made in it for free feeding. (*M.E.R.* 1914, Para 26). A gift of land to provide for the reading of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Purānas* in a *matha* built by two brothers and in the immediate presence of the god of Tiruttangal, Madura District, in the 5th year of Māravarman-Sundara-Pāndya is known. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 50, Appendix B. No. 546 of 1922). In later days these *mathas* are known to have enjoyed great popularity and to have exercised considerable influence over the temples. Pilgrims from abroad found hospitality and residence in them. Special provision in cash is provided, for instance, in one inscription, for feeding itinerant ascetics in the Vīrapanditan Tirumadam at Tiruvālīsvaram in the Tinnevelly District. These *mathas* appear to have served a useful purpose as teaching and disciplinary institutions. They maintained teachers for the different *sāstras*. (*M.E.R.* 1923, Para 50). Apparently in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, some of these had fallen into evil ways and were accordingly raided and suppressed under the king's orders in his 22nd year. It is evident that the suppression was attended with rioting of some kind as the term *kuhai-idi-kalaham* shows; it distinctly involved destruction of monastic caves and rioting of more than ordinary dimensions. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 42; see *ante*).

iii Social Life: the temple as a social centre.

As in the religious sphere so in the social, the life of the community was, during this period, largely connected with the temple. If war was a perpetual distraction, the temple was an eternal attraction. Successive kings of the time made the temples not only a source of spiritual inspiration but also a meeting centre for man and woman, for young and old. If the booty taken in war by kings was spent on the erection and beautification of temples, the poorest villagers were ready to lay out their hard earned cash in founding charities, small and great, in connection with them, especially with those with which they were locally connected. Even the fines collected for wrongs done were spent on charity in close co-operation with those in charge of sacred shrines. Life in the village accordingly evolved round the rural or city temple and it was, for that reason, none the worse. The popularity that it enjoyed with the masses may therefore be more readily imagined than described. People believed in their temples in more senses than one and their expectations were not belied. A daily visit to the local temple—so common even to this day to the Indian—should in those days have been not only a source of spiritual consolation to the visitor but also the satisfying of a social craving for him. The causes for this are not far to seek. The temple was, in a word, the centre of social and religious life of the local community and a man, king and peasant alike, could not any more avoid it than isolate himself in his own home. Thus, we read in one record of Rājarāja I, dated in the 9th year of his reign (=A.D. 994), of a theatre and dances as adjuncts of the temple. This inscription refers to a gift of land to a professional actor by a rural assembly for staging the seven acts (*ankas*) of the Ārya-kūttu (themes from the Sanskrit *Purānas*) on the festival day in the month of *Purattāsi* (September-October). Provision is also made in the record for the supply, in connection with the staging of this *Kūttu*, of rice flour, betel leaves and areca-nuts and ghee for mixing collyriam and turmeric. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 13; Appendix B. No. 120 of 1925). An inscription of the 46th year of

Kulōttunga-Chōla III (=1122 A.D.) registers a gift of land and cash by a village assembly, which met for the purpose, in the local Vishnu temple for the maintenance in the temple of a theatre called *Nānāvida-nātasālai*, apparently a theatre whose rèpertoire was so great as to be able to provide variety entertainments of many different kinds. (*Ibid*, No. 152 of 1925). There are other instances of gifts of a similar nature on record. Thus we have a gift of land for the performance of the dance called *Sakkai-kūttu*, while another provides for the dance *Sandikkūttu*. (*M.E.R.* No. 65 of 1914 and No. 253 of 1914). Dancing was a favourite pastime of the period. The cults (of Krishna and Siva as Natarāja or king of Dances) gave an impetus to dancing. The encouragement given to dancing should have familiarised people with the *Bharata Sāstra*, of which we have full sculptural representations on temple walls. (See *ante*). Rājarāja I, in providing for the great temple he built at his capital, brought and settled in it as many as 400 dancers collected from the several temples in his dominions. (*S.I.I.* II. 259). His son Rājēndra-Chōla I, as we have seen, made endowments for enacting a drama called *Rājarājēsvara-nātaka* by an expert in *Sandikūttu*. (*Ibid*, 306-307), Rājādhirāja I is known to have made a similar provision in favour of an actor and his troupe for their services in one of the temples. (*M.E.R.* 1908, No. 264 of 1907). A record of Kulōttunga-Chōla III mentions the appointment of an additional dancing master in a temple. He had to dance, according to the inscription, with gestures—apparently in accordance with the *Bharata Sāstra*. (*M.E.R.* 1908, No. 306 of 1907). Rājarāja III, as noticed above, attended the performance at a temple of *agamārgam* by an expert Padiyilār. (*M.E.R.* 1913, No. 211 of 1912).

Social instinct highly developed in the people.

There is considerable evidence to believe that the social instinct—the instinct which impels a man to feel for his fellow beings and for his native village—was highly developed in the people. People freely gave up their lives not only for those to whom they were personally attached—as servant and master or sovereign and subject—but also for seeing to the safety of the communities and villages to which they belonged. Many records are available in the Mysore State to testify to this trait. (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, 186-188). We have on record the instance of a priest giving up his head for the benefit of a hero, who was then engaged in fighting a battle. (*M.E.R.* 1908-9, Para 73). An inscription of the 8th year of Rājarāja I (=A.D. 993) records that a man lost his life in protecting his native village. The good folk of the district provided a perpetual lamp to burn in his name in that village to secure eternal merit for him. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 22). In another record, mention is made of four persons entering fire and giving up their lives as a protest against the usurpation of temple property. (*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 21).

Protection of society against malefactors.

Caste, though recognized, was not the rigid social system it became afterwards. It never seems to have interfered with the occupation chosen by a man. Thus we find Brāhmans not only as ministers, students of the *Vēda*, and priests, but also as soldiers and generals. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 33). Similarly, we find Vaisyas and Kshatriyas more interested in Vēdic education, if inscriptions can be any guides to us in this matter. Society was protected against crimes and personal wrongs by the administration of equal justice, which was tempered by mercy. Besides the examples quoted already in the foregoing pages, it might be mentioned that considerations of social status or birth do not appear to have stood in the way of the infliction of suitable punishments ondelinquents. (*Ibid*, Para 34). Heavy fines were imposed for rioting and for disturbing the public peace. (.*M.E.R.* 1925, Para 22; No. 80 of 1925). The punishment for misappropriation of temple funds was compulsory sale of the hereditary rights in the temple of the delinquent. Audit of temple accounts by royal officers was usually followed by the recovery of the misappropriated property. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 23). On the other hand, men who did good to the village or its temple, or afforded relief in providing better facilities against floods and in times of scarcity received special honour. Thus a Kaniyālan who in the 22nd year of Rājarāja III rendered valuable services to the people of a village and the foreigners who had sought shelter in it during a season of distress and helped to maintain the usual services in the local temple, was given the privilege of entering the temple armed with a bow; of receiving half the emoluments of the persons who carried the images of the gods in procession; of getting a house in the temple premises and to have the order containing these details engraved on stone. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 41; also *ante*). Not infrequently public benefactors of this kind expected no return for their public charitable work. Thus we hear of private individuals purchasing lands for the purpose of laying out roads through which the images of the gods in the local temple had to be carried in procession. Such lands were made tax-free but the benefactor himself was content to be left alone. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 38). In a record of Rājarāja II, it is stated that a large number of persons made a similar grant of land for laying out a road called *Rājagambhīra-tiruvīdi* for the local god to pass to the river Kollidam for the sacred bath festival. The inscription adds that 750 cocoanut trees were to be planted and cherished on both sides of the new road. (*M.E.R.* 1915, Para 26; No. 45 of 1914). Another who filled up a pit in his village and took precautions against the encroachment of the river was honoured with the gift of a house in it. (See *ante*). These instances ought to suffice to show that men were ready to yield to the higher instinct of service to the community and the country and that such service was readily recognized and amply rewarded by the people at large. Equally striking are the records which mention gifts to temples and the feeding of *Sivayōgins* well versed in the *Vēdas* for the welfare of the ruling king. The spirit of loyalty and reverence for the sovereign was apparently an ingrained virtue in the people of Southern India. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 41; also *ante*).

Chōla-Pāndyas.

A number of Chōla inscriptions found in the Pāndya kingdom (mainly in the Tinnevelly District) establish beyond doubt the conquest of the Pāndyan country by the Chōlas and the exercise of their sovereignty over it. That the Chōla domination over it dates from the time of Rājarāja I seems also fairly certain. The earliest inscriptions found are of his time, dated between his 23rd and 27th regnal years. He is called in them Nigarili-Chōla and Chōlēndra-Simha, two of his well-known titles. Inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla I, dated in his 3rd and 4th years; of Rājēndradēva, dated in his 3rd year and of Kulōttunga I, dated in his 30th year have also been found. Though many Chōla kings earlier than Rājarāja claim to have invaded the Pāndya country and even had successful contests with its rulers—for example, Parāntaka I, Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II and Uttama-Chōla—it is Rājarāja who finally succeeded in subverting the Pāndyan kingdom and establishing Chōla rule in it. This is also made evident from the surname Rājarāja-mandalam applied to the Pāndya country in the inscriptions of the Chōla rulers found in it. In the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla I, the Pāndyas appear to have rebelled, but he soon put them down. As mentioned above, the Pāndyan king took to flight and Rājēndra-Chōla I superseded him and appointed instead his own son to rule over the Pāndyan kingdom as his viceroy. This political step effectually put an end to further trouble from that quarter until we come to the declining period of Chōla rule. Rājēndra-Chōla appears to have taken possession of the Pāndyan country not later than the 3rd year of his reign and in the 5th and 6th years to have turned his attention to the conquest of the Kēralas In an inscription found at Mannārkōil, in the Tinnevelly District, mention is made of the land survey of the village made in the 9th year of Rājēndra-Chōla under a royal decree issued by him (See *M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix B. 400, para 2).

Chōla Princes as Viceroys in Pāndyan Kingdom.

Chōla princes serving as viceroys in the Pāndya country are known from their lithic inscriptions found in it. One of these was Jatāvarman-Sundara-Chōla-Pāndyadēva, a son of Rājēndra-Chōla I, many of whose inscriptions have been traced. (*M.E.R.* 1905, Para 25; No. 115 of 1905; *M.E.R.* 17, Para 3; *E.I.* XI, No. 30). Some of his inscriptions begin with the historical introduction of his father. A probable surname of his is Manavīra-Parāntaka. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix B. No. 630). Another prince was Māravarman Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya, many of whose inscriptions have also been found in the Pāndya country. One of his inscriptions mentions the queen Ulagudaiyāl of Rājēndra-Chōla I, the conqueror of Gangai, Kidāram, and the Eastern Country. She might have been the mother of the prince. (*M.E.R.* 917, Appendix B. 623). Another inscription refers to the inner circuit of a temple named Rājādhirājan-surrāli. The prince was either another son of Rājēndra-Chōla I or a son of Rājādhirāja. Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has drawn attention to the fact that in the historical introductions of Rājēndra-dēva, a younger brother of Rājādhirāja I, the former is stated to have conferred on one of his royal younger brothers, the victorious Mummadi-Sōlan, the title *Sōla-Pāndiyan.* He thinks it is not unlikely that Māravarman-Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya is identical with this Mummadi-Sōlan, the younger brother of Rājēndra-dēva and Rājādhirāja I. If this be so, then Māravarman-Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya was another son of Rājēndra-Chōla I. The next prince that ruled the Pāndya country must have been a Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya without any distinguishing name. Four records of his reign have been registered. He appears to have been ruling at Rājēndra-sōlapuram. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix B. No. 327). The epigraph which records this fact refers to a gift of land by him after purchasing it from the *Sabha* (or assembly) from Rājarāja-Chaturvēdimangalam (*i.e.*, Ambāsamudram). Another grant of this king is dated in his 17th regnal year and records the fact that it was made with the sanction of the uncle (Amman), which doubtless signifies the ruling Chōla Emperor, whose identity cannot be made out in the absence of the exact year which corresponded to the 17th year of Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya. That the latter cannot be the prince Jatāvarman-Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya, son of Rājēndra-Chōla I, above-named, because he is termed his "nephew" and not his "son," seems clear. Perhaps he was, as suggested by Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri, the successor of Māravarman-Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya and a nephew of Rājādhirāja I. Another inscription refers to Jatāvarman-Chōla-Pāndya-Dēva and describes him as the son of Vīrarājēndra-Chōla I. He also ruled from Rājēndra-Sōlapuram. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix B. No. 642). He has been identified with prince Gangaikondasōlan on whom Vīrarājēndra I is stated to have conferred the title *Sōla-Pāndyan.* (*E.I.* XI. 293; *S.I.I.* III. 36; *M.E.R.* 1917, Para 3). Two more inscriptions of his occur at Suchindram. (*E.I.* XI. 293). Other inscriptions of his ranging from his 4th to 21st year are referred to in *M.E.R.* 1908, Para 41. Another Chōla-Pāndya prince known is Māravarman-Parākrama-Chōla-Pāndya, for whom we have inscriptions dated in his 3rd and 4th years. In the latter of these inscriptions, a gift by one Yōgadēva and his wife Sōmidēvi of Kashmir is recorded in favour of a temple at Sermadēvi. How this prince was related to his predecessors or to the Chōla Emperor of his time is not known. (*M.E.R.* 917, Appendix B. 329 and 613). A still another Chōla-Pāndya prince is referred to in an inscription found at Perichchikōyil, Ramnād District. (*M.E.R.* 1923-24, Appendix C. 99). It mentions a certain Jatāvarman-Vīra-Sōla-Pāndya, in whose 21st year it is dated. He has been identified with Jatāvarman-Chōla-Pāndya-Dēva, the third of the princes abovenamed, who was the son of Vīrarājēndradēva. (*M.E.R.* 1923-24, Para 25).

Thus, there are at least four Chōla-Pāndya princes known to have ruled over the Pāndya country as Chōla viceroys :—Jatāvarman-Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya ; Māravarman-Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya ; Jatāvarman-Chōla-Pāndya *alias* Jatāvarman-Vīra-Chōla Pāndya ; and Māravarman Parākrama Chōla Pāndya.

Their rule over Kērala.

That the Chōla-Pāndya princes ruled over the Kērala country as well is established by certain inscriptions found at Mannārkōyil and Sermadēvi in the Tinnevelly District. In one of these, dated in the 14th year of Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya, the third of the princes named above, mention is made of a gift by Adichchi, queen of the Chēra king Rāsingadēvar, to the temple of Rajēndra-Sōla Vinnagar, the present Gōpalaswāmi temple at Mannārkōyil, which, according to another record, was built by Rāsinga (*i.e.*, Rājasimha) himself. (*M.E.R.* 1905, No. 112). Another inscription of the 22nd year of Māravarman-Vikrama-Chōla-Pāndya found at Sermadēvi mentions the quarter called Sēramanār-Velam. (*M.E.R.* 1917, Appendix B. 620).

Genealogical Table of the Imperial Chōla Dynasty.

The following is a table of kings of the Imperial Chōla dynasty. The pedigree has been revised with the aid of materials available up to the end of 1926.

HOYSALAS: STORY OF THEIR ORIGIN

On the conquest of the Gangas by the Chōlas in 1004 A.D., the Poysalas or Hoysalas rose to power in the west of Mysore and eventually, in 1116 A.D., expelled the Chōlas and became rulers of the whole country, which they held till the middle of the 14th century. They were of indigenous origin, claiming Sosevūr or Sosavūr—Sasākapura of Sanskrit writers—as their birth-place. This place has been identified with Angadi, in the south of the Mudgere Taluk (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 9, 15, 16 and 18) of the Kadur District, formerly included in the Manjarābād country. This was the scene of the incident between Sala and the tiger, related in so many inscriptions, which led to his becoming the founder of the Hoysala dynasty. (*Ibid*, Chikmagalur 20 and 137). The temple of Vasantikadēvi at which it occurred is still represented by the present Vasantamma temple, which enjoys a great local reputation. There are other temples there in ruins, containing some fine carving, which indicate its former importance. The name *Angadi* means a market or shop, a rather rare thing in that mountainous region covered with forests (*cf.* Uppinangadi, Belladangadi, Hosangadi, etc., in South Kanara District). The change from Sosavūr to Angadi appears to have taken place during the Vijayanagar period and was, as suggested by Mr. Rice, perhaps due to "political motives." (*E.C.* VI, Introd. 14). Thus in 1359 A.D., under Bukkarāya, the place is called Sosavūr (*Ibid*, Mudgere 25) but in 1539 A.D., under Achyuta-Rāya, it is, according to an inscription in the Belur Taluk, called Angadi. The Hoysalas were accordingly, to start with, a family of hill chiefs in the Western Ghāts of Mysore,—the Malepas, over whom they rose to become predominant, thence assuming the title of *Maleparōl-ganda* or *Malaparōl-ganda*, which is used as their signature in some of their grants, and also appears on their coins. (*E.C.* VI, Introd. 14). They claim to be

Yādavas and of the Lunar race, and bear the title *Lord of Dvāravatīpura* (which represents both Dvāraka in Kathiawār, the reputed capital of Srī Krishna, the hero of the Yādavas, and their own capital Dōrasamudra). The first few kings of the line were Jains, and the progenitor of the family was Sala. It is of him the story above referred to is told. On a certain occasion, when he went to worship at the temple of his family goddess Vasantikādēvi at Sosavūr (above named) and was receiving instruction from the *Yati* there, a tiger bounded out of the forest, glaring with rage. The *Yati* hastily snatched up his rod—described as *betta* and in other ways (*E.C.* V, Introd. 10)—and handed it to Sala, saying *Poy Sala* (*i.e.*, Strike, Sala). Whereupon Sala hit it and killed the tiger, finishing it off perhaps with his dagger. (*E.C.* V, Belur 171). Moreover, from the rescued *Yati's* exclamation, Sala assumed the name of Poysala, of which Hoysala is a variant. This story or a modified version of it is repeated in all the accounts of the origin of the dynasty (see *E.C.* V, Introd. ix-x) and their crest on temples exhibits a free standing group of Sala stabbing a tiger (see *E.C.* V, Frontispiece), while the seal of copper-plate grants shows a dead tiger and the rod. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 6). According to an inscription at Sorab, the *Yati* mentioned in this story was Sudatta (*E.C.* II, Sravana Belagola 28) and according to another, he was named Vardhamāna Munīndra. (*E.C.* VIII, Nagar 46). Other inscriptions state that the *Yati* had been brought by Sala from some other place and had been established for some time at Angadi when the incident occurred. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 38 and 39).

Derivation of the names Poysala, Hoysala, etc.

The name *Poysala* occurs in the name of the Rāshtrakūta feudatory *Poysalamaruga* mentioned in the early inscription of about 950 A.D., of the time of Anniga, the Nolamba king, at Hosahallı, near Marale, Chāmarājanagar

Taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 69). It also occurs in an inscription dated in 1006 A. D., found at Kaliyur, on the opposite side of the river to Talkād. (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 44). The name also appears as *Poysana*, *Hoysana* and *Hoysala* in Kannada inscriptions and as *Poyichala*, *Pochala*, *Hoyichala* and *Hayichala* in Tamil inscriptions. In view of the earlier occurrence of the name Poysala, it is a question whether the story narrated of Sala should not be shifted back to at least half a century anterior to 1006 A.D., the date so far reckoned as the initial year of the Hoysala dynasty. The Kaleyur inscription refers to a battle that was fought between certain Poysala leaders and Apramēya, the Chōla general, who probably was killed in it. This would seem to indicate that about the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the Hoysalas had already made themselves felt as far south-eastwards as Talkād. Whether the Hoysala king referred to in this inscription is Sala is discussed below.

Hoysala inscriptions and where they are found.

Hoysala inscriptions are most numerous in this State, though they are also found in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and to a small extent in Coorg as well. They range from South Arcot in the East to Coorg in the West, and from Sholapur in the North to Tanjore, if not Rāmēsvaram, in the South.

Hoysala capitals.

At first the Hoysalas acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas, but became independent in the reign of Vishnuvardhana. As stated above, their most famous capital was Dōrasamudra, now represented by Halebīd in the Hassan District. Prior to that place becoming the royal seat, Sosavūr and Belur had had the honour of being the capital. In the time of Ballāla II, Kannanūr, near Srīrangam in the Trichinopoly District, became an alternative capital. After the destruction of

Dōrasamudra by the Muhammadans, Tiruvannāmalai, in the present South-Arcot District, became the capital.

Chief Hoysala titles.

The Hoysala kings had many distinctive titles, but those most commonly appearing in their records are the following:— *Yādava-kulāmbara-dyumani* (sun in the sky of the Yādava family), *Samyaktva-chūdāmani* (crest jewel of perfect devotion), *Maleparōl-ganda* (champion over the Malepas or hill chiefs), *Bhujabala-pratāpa-chakravarti* (strong-armed illustrious emperor), and from the time of Ballāla II, *Dakshina-chakravarti* or *Tenkana-chakravarti* (emperor of the south).

List of Hoysala kings.

The following is a list of Hoysala kings as made out from their extant inscriptions:—

Sala, Poysala or Hoysala	*Circa* 10th century A.D.
Vinayāditya I	1006 A.D.—1022 A.D.
Nripa-Kāma or Kāma-Poysala	1022 A.D—1047 A.D.
Vinayāditya II	1047 A.D.—1100 A.D.
Ereyanga I (only Yuvarāja)	1063 A.D.—1095 A.D. (? 1100)
Ballāla I	1100 A.D.—1106 A.D.
Bitti-Dēva or Vishnuvardhana	1111 A.D.—1141 A.D.
Udayāditya	Died 1123 A.D.
Ereyanga II (son of Udayāditya)	
Nārasimha I or Pratāpa-Nārasimha	1143 A.D.—1173 A.D.
Ballāla II or Vīra-Ballāla	1173 A.D.—1220 A.D.
Nārasimha II or Vīra-Nārasimha	1217 A.D.—1235 A.D.
Sōmēsvara or Vīra-Sōmēsvara or Soi-Dēva	1234 A.D.—1262 A.D. (According to the Badanalu inscription, his initial year was 1228 A.D. and according to Krishnarājapet inscription he died in 1256 A.D.)
Nārasimha III or Vīra-Nārasimha	1254 A.D.—1291 A.D.

Sala, *Circa* 10th century A.D.

Of the time of Sala, no records have been found. He may be taken to be the mythical founder of the Hoysala dynasty. As Romulus was to the Romans, so was Sala to the Hoysalas. The story of his striking the tiger and killing it has been told above. Nothing historical is known about him. An inscription which has been assigned to about 1220 A.D., assigns to him the founding of Sasākapura. (*E.C.*V, Belur 112). In view of the fact that the name Hoysala occurs as early as about 950 A.D., the eponymous hero Sala has to be antedated to some time anterior to that date. References in later inscriptions—of the time of Vinayāditya I, his son Nripakāma and his son Vinayāditya II—suggest that the Hoysalas were connected on the one hand with the Gangas and on the other with the Western Chālukyas. They had apparently as much by their own exertions as by marital alliances with these royal houses slowly risen to power from the position of petty hill chiefs to that of a ruling dynasty.

Vinayāditya I, 1006-1022 A.D.

Inscriptions relating to Vinayāditya range over a long series of years. If all these belong to only one king of that name, then he should have reigned for 88 years from 1012 to 1100 A.D. As the cognomens assumed by him indicate that he was a Chālukya subordinate, he should have been the contemporary of the three successive Chālukya kings Vikramāditya V, Sōmēsvara I and Vikramāditya VI. Mr. R. Narasimhachār who has discussed this question at some length has suggested that as there is evidence of the rule of a king named Kāma-Hoysala during this period, the existence of two kings of the name of Vinayāditya should be postulated, one the father of Kāma-Hoysala and the other, his son. As this suggestion explains the available facts, it may be tentatively accepted. On the basis of this assumption, the periods of rule of the three kings would be thus apportioned:—Vinayāditya 1006 A.D.; his son Kāma-Hoysala 1022-1047 A.D.; and Vinayāditya II 1047-1100 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 83).

All the inscriptions so far met with put Vinayāditya after Sala. Some state that there were kings between these two (*E.C.*V, Kadur 51 and 16), others represent Vinayāditya as the son of Sala (*Ibid*, Chikmagalur 20), while some others seem to identify Vinayāditya with Sala. (*Ibid* Kadur 143). If Mr. Narasimhachār's view proves acceptable, which seems to be supported by Kadur 51 and 16, then the Vinayāditya mentioned in Chikmagalur 38, dated in the *Vikrama-gāla* (*i.e.*, the Vikrama Era) 1060, cyclic year *Paridhāvi*, should be set down to Vinayāditya I. (See *E.C.* VI, Introd 15, where the date is given as 1070 Vikrama Era). The inscription has since been correctly read by Mr. Narasimhachār as 1060 of the same era. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 83). Though the use of the Vikrama Era in connection with the Hoysalas is rare, there is no doubt that is the era that is meant. Though 1060 Vikrama Era and *Paridhāvi* do not correspond, Mr. Narasimhachār does not doubt the genuineness of the inscription. The cyclic year actually corresponding to 1060 Vikrama Era is *Subhakritu*, and as the cyclic year should, in cases of this kind, be taken as correct, we arrive at 1070 of the Vikrama Era (=1012 A.D.) as the date intended for the grant recorded in the inscription. He was a subordinate of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya V, after whom he took the additional title of *Tribhuvanamalla*. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 38). The Jain work *Bāhubalicharitasataka* mentions Vinayāditya, but it is uncertain whether the reference is to Vinayāditya I or his grand-son Vinayāditya II. He was probably the Hoysala king, whose general Nāganna was defeated by Apramēya, the general of the Chōla king Rājarāja at Kalavūr. It is interesting to note that the inscription which gives details of this battle (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 44) gives Apramēya, the Chōla commander, among other titles, the one "the king of Death to the race of Malepas" (*Malepakula-Kālam*). As mentioned above, the Hoysalas describe themselves as the "Lord of the Malepas" (*Maleparōlganda*).

Apramēya is not only said to have defeated Nāganna, the Poysala minister, but also killed in battle the Poysala leaders Manjaga Kaliga (? Kaliganga), Nāgavarma and others and himself apparently lost his life in the battle that was fought on the plains of Kalavūr. (*E.C.* III. Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 44, Text and Translation).

The significance of the Kalavūr (or Kaliyūr) battle deserves to be noted. It probably refers to the beginning of a series of struggles which closed only with the complete evacuation of the Mysore country of the Chōlas and its occupation by the Hoysalas. The events recorded in the Honnaru, Rājēndrapura, and Gundatteranya inscriptions, perhaps, indicate the fights of the border-land between the Hoysalas on the one side and the Chola feudatories (the Kongālvas and the Changālvas) on the other, apparently during the reigns of Rājarāja's successors, Rājēndra-Chōla and Kulōttunga-Chōla I. Tamil inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōla I and other Chōla kings down to Kulōttunga-Chōla I refer frequently to battles fought at Kampili, Kollapuram, Koppam, Kudal-Sangama and Nagali against their Western Chālukya foes. It is not improbable that in some, if not all, of these, the Hoysalas took an active part on behalf of their overlords, the Western Chālukya kings. (Krishna Sāstri, *The Hoysalas* in *M.S.J.* II-114).

Nripa-Kāma or Kāma-Hoysala, 1022-1047 A.D.

Nripa-Kāma or Kāma Hoysala, son of Vinayāditya I, probably began his rule about 1022 A.D. There is now no doubt whatever of his having actually ruled over the Hoysalas. He was, as stated above, the father of Vinayāditya II. (See *E.C.* V. Arsikere 141 and 157; *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 83). He is, in a few records, described as a *Mahāmandalēsvara*. (*E.C.* VI. introd. 14). An inscription of his 7th year gives his alternative name as Rāchamalla-Pērmadi (*Rājamalla-Permadi-yenipa-kāma-Voysala*). Rāchamalla-Pērmadi is, as remarked by

Mr. Rice, a distinctive title of the Gangas, and it is not clear how he came by it, unless indeed he was the son by a Ganga princess. This would suggest intermarriage between the Gangas and the Hoysalas. (*E.C.* VI. Introd 15). That he ruled up to at least 1027 A.D., is clear, for his inscriptions dated up to that year are known. An inscription of his 7th year has been referred to above, another dated in 1022 A.D., and a fourth in 1027 A.D., are also known. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 19; *E.C.* V. Manjarābad 43, Arkalgud 76 and Manjarabad 44). In 1022 A.D., he appears repelling an attack by the Kongālva king. The enemy's general Kannana seems to have singled out Nripa-Kāma as his opponent, but the latter's general Jōgayya came to his rescue by charging against Kannana's horse and killing him, but lost his own life in the attempt. (*E.C.* V, Manjarābad 43). In 1026 A.D., we find him opposing the Kongālva king and claiming a victory at Manni (*Ibid* Arkalgud 76), and in the succeeding year helping apparently the Kadambas of Banavāsi. (Sravana Belgola 44=118 of New Edn.), which describes him as the patron of Echam or Echiga, the father of Ganga-Rāja, the Hoysala general, who, in 1116 A.D., captured Talkād and drove the Chōlas out of Mysore.

Vinayāditya II, 1047-1100 A.D.

Nripa-Kāma was succeeded by Vinayāditya II, who is actually described in Arkalgud 157 and 141 as his son, *Ātana tanaya.* (*E.C.* VI). His name appears also as Binayāyta and Vinayāta. (*Ibid* Arkalgud 179 and 102a). He was born at Sosavūr, which was doubtless his capital (Sravana Belgola 56). Hoysala-Dēvi, one of the queens of the Chālukya king Sōmēsvara I (1042-1068 A.D.) was possibly a sister of Vinayāditya II. (*E.C.* VII, Honnali I). He was a feudatory of the Chālukyas, like his forbears and so took the cognomen of Tribhuvanamalla (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 161), after one of the titles of

Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.). He appears to have extended his rule to Gangavādi 96,000. (*E.C.* V. Belur 200 dated in 1073 A.D.). Another record describes him as having ruled as far as Talkād. (*E.C.* V. Arkalgud 102a). This is further confirmed by another inscription which states that he was ruling over hill and dale. (*Ibid* Arkalgud 87). How exactly he came to claim the Ganga dominions over which he extended his jurisdiction is not clear. It would seem as if Gangavādi, which was in the possession of the Chōlas from the time of Rājarāja I, was regained by the Chālukyas already in the time of Sōmēsvara I. The statements made in the Tamil records of.the Chōla kings do not militate against this inference, for it is stated that Vikkilan (*i.e.*, the *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya VI) had actually been driven from Gangapādi over the Tungabhadra by Vīrārajēndra I and that subsequently to this event the daughter of the Chōla sovereign was given in marriage to Vikramāditya perhaps on political considerations. (H. Krishna Sāstri, *The Hoysalas in M. S. J.* II 115). But according to one record, he had, we are told, the six letters *Ra-kka-sa Po-ysa-la* inscribed on his flag: which is a possible reference to connection with the Ganga king Rakkasa. In one record, whose date is not certain but which describes Vinayāditya II as still ruling over his kingdom, we have its boundaries thus mentioned:—Konkana (North Kanara), Ālvakhēda (South Kanara), Bayalnād (Waināḍ) and Talkād (S.-E. of Mysore District) and Sāvimale, a hill somewhere to the north, not yet identified. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 160). In another record dated in *Saka* 954 coupled with *Sarvajitu* (a mistake for *Prajāpati-Saka* 970 or A.D. 1047), he is callled Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala-Dēva. It records a grant by the 1,000 of Talkād, the. 1,000 of Kirunagara and the *dēsis* of the 18 countries. (*M.A.R.* 1914-15, Para 76). A minister of his was Mahāsandhivigrahadandanāyaka Pōchimayya, the son of Dandanāyaka Echimayya. This Pōchimaya built a Siva temple somewhere near Arsikere. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 194, as revised, *M.A.R.* 1910-11, Para 97). His queen was Kaleyabbarasi, and had a son by her named Ereyanga. She took considerable interest in promoting a marriage between Mariyāne-Dandanāyaka and Dekave-dandanāyakitti. On this Dandanāyaka, Vinayāditya II bestowed in honour of the marriage, in 1048 A.D., the lordship of Sindagere. (*Ibid*). In a record at Mattavara, dated in *Saka* 991, Cyclic year *Pingala* (which should be *Kīlaka*), he is described as having built a *basti* at the place for the convenience of the people and richly endowed it. Taking the Cyclic year as indicating the correct date of the grant, the record has been assigned to *Saka* 1000 or A.D. 1077. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 84). He was apparently a devout Jain. A Sravana-Belgola record dated in 1129 A.D. states that he became a great king by the favour of the Jaina teacher Sāntidēva. (*Sravana-Belgola* 67-54 Old Edn.). Another states that he built any number of tanks, temples and Jaina shrines, besides many *nādus* (districts) and villages. (*Ibid* 143). The erection of Jain temples is thus related:—"The pits dug for bricks became tanks, the mountains quarried for stone became level with the ground, roads by which the mortar-carts passed became ravines—thus did king Poysala cause Jain temples to be built."

Entirely in keeping with this statement is the progress that architecture and sculpture made in his reign. The first temples built in the Hoysala style have been attributed to it:—the Basavēsvara temple at Tonachi (*Circa* 1047 A.D.); the Jain *basadi* at Angadi (*Circa* 1050 A.D.); the Kēdarēsvara temple at Balagāmi (*Circa* 1060 A.D.), and the Tripurāntaka temple at the same place; (1070 A.D.); the Kaitabēsvara temple at Kuppattūr (*Circa* 1070 A.D.) and the Ādinātha-basti at Chikka Hanasoge (*Circa* 1090 A.D.). Of these, Kēdarēsvara and the Ādinātha-basti are of the triple and the Tripurāntaka of the double type. Descriptions of these temples will be found in the Chapter on *Architecture and Sculpture* above.

Ereyanga, 1063-1095 A.D. (? 1100 A.D.)

Ereyanga does not appear to have ascended the throne. He probably predeceased his father. An undated record describes him as "Mahāmandalēsvara Vīra-Ereyanga-Hoysala-Dēva" and as "ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom," apparently by himself and as having dug two tanks. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 33). Two other records represent him in the same fashion. (Sravana-Belgola 144, and *E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 148 dated in 1093 A.D.). A recently found inscription at Dēvihalli, in Halebīd *hobli*, dated in 1095 A.D., describes him similarly as Mahāmandalēsvara and as ruling the kingdom (by himself) at his capital Dvāravati, *i. e.* Dōrasamudra. (*M.A.R.* 1924, No. 19). But as another record dated in 1096 A.D. states that he was associated with his father as "Yuvarāja," (*Ibid* Kadur 142), the inference seems plain that he was ruling as co-regent of his father and no more. He was a general under the Western Chālukyas and is spoken of as a powerful right arm to the Chālukya king. (Sravana-Belgola, 327, 345). We are told that he trampled down the Mālava army, burnt Dhāra and laid it in ruins (*E.C.* IV, Nāgamangala 30), dragged down the Chōla king and plundered his camp, and broke and ruined Kalinga. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 64; also *E.C.* VI. Arkalgud 102a; Belur 58; Hassan 65; Arkalgud 117). The last of these records, Arkalgud 117, states that the Mālava king's hill-fort, which was too strong for the Chālukyas, he without effort plundered while the Chālukya was looking on. His success against the Dhāra king is said to have "established the standard of his (the Chālukya Emperor's) fame in the north." (*E.C.* VI, Nāgamangala 30). In performing these victorious feats, Ereyanga must be taken to have acted as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. He was a devout Jain, his *guru* being Gōpanandi, to whom he made a grant in 1094 A.D. (*E.C.* V. Channarāyapatna 148). He appears to have had two queens Echaladēvi and Mahādēvi. The latter is spoken of as a Chōla princess and is referred to at length in Arkalgud 102a. (*E.C.* V.). She built a tank at Tereyūr, identified with the village of the same name in the N.-E. angle of the Tumkur District. (*E.C.* V, Introd. XI-XII). Apparently, she belonged to a local Chōla family which ruled over a part of Tumkur District. It should, however, be added that her father Irukkavēl belonged to a family of chiefs who were military officers under the Chōlas and had frequently intermarried with them. Irukkavēl's father, Pāndya, rendered valuable service to Vikramāditya by driving out his treacherous brother Sōmēsvara II and bestowed the kingdom on him. This, he should have done as an officer under the Chōla king Vīrarājēndra I who claims in his Tamil records to have *conquered* the seven and a half *lakshas* of Rattapādi and bestowed it on Vikramāditya. This alliance should have for some time at least established peace between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas. (H. Krishna Sāstri, *The Hoysalas* in *M.S.J.* II, 115). Hemmadiarasu (or Hermma-māndhāta-bhūpa), who is described as a Ganga king and as the father-in-law of Ereyanga, must accordingly have been the father of Echala-Dēvi. (See *E.C.* VII, Shimoga, 64). This Hermmadi-Dēva was in residence at Harige and ruled over Yedatore-Mandala 1,000. By Echaladēvi, Ereyanga had three sons, Bāllala I, Bitti-Dēva and Udayāditya.

Ballāla I, 1100-1106 A.D.

Of these, Ballāla I succeeded his grandfather on the throne in 1100 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 199). His reign, however, proved a short one. Inscriptions dated in his reign have been found up to 1106 A.D. (*E.C.* V.

Channarāyapatna 169). He recognises the suzerainty of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI, from whom he took the cognomen Tribhuvanamalla. He is referred to in inscriptions as Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala-Dēva. He visited Sosavūr in 1100 A.D. (*E.C.* V. Belur 199) but made Belur his capital. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 32; *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 160). The boundaries of his kingdom are given as those that existed during the time of Vinayāditya II. (*E.C.* IV, Nāgamangala 32; *E.C.* V, Belur 199). In 1103 A.D., he married simultaneously the three daughters of Mariyāne-Dandanāyaka and Chāmave. (*E.C.* IV, Nāgamangala 32; *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 160). This event is referred to in the inscriptions as of some interest. These three daughters of Mariyāne were, it would appear, so highly accomplished and skilled in science, singing and dancing, that they were (we are told) worthy to grace the capitals of three separate kings. These three girls—Padmala-Dēvi, Chāmala-Dēvi and Boppa-Dēvi by name—Ballāla I wedded on the same day in one pavilion confirming their father in the lordship of Sindagere "as the wages for their wet-nursing." Mariyāne-dandanāyaka was apparently a devout Jain. With the merchants of Belegerepattana, he set up the Jain image in the *basti* at Hatna in the Tiptur Taluk, the image being consecrated according to an epigraph on it, by the Jaina teacher Subhāchandra. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 93). Mariyāne and his brother rose to high military rank in the reign of Bitti-Dēva. In the year 1104 A.D., Ballāla I appears to have led an expedition against Changālva-Dēva. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 161,162). With his brother Vishnu, he is also said to have put down the pride of the Pāndya (the Pāndya king of Uchchangi) and seized the wealth of his kingdom. He also helped his brothers in beating off Jagaddēva's attack on Dōrasamudra and capturing his treasury and the central ornament of his necklace. (*E.C.* V, Belur 58; *E.C.* IV, Nāgamangala 30). The reason for this attack of Jagaddēva on the Hoysala capital is not vouchsafed to us in any of the inscriptions which mention the event. The same Jagaddēva appears also to have 'stood encompassing the city of Anumakonda' against the Kākatiya king Prōla, on behalf of his sovereign, the Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. It looks as if in the latter part of his reign Vikramāditya did not exert the same influence on his subordinates as in his earlier years, and that, consequently, some of them who were more adventurous than the others, appear to have made an attempt to throw off the imperial yoke. Of such, Vishnuvardhana with his brother Ballāla and the Kākatiya king Prōla were, perhaps, prominent. In a record from Sravana-Belgola, Vishnuvardhana is stated 'to have drunk the rolling sea or the armies of the lord of Mālava Jagaddēva, and others sent by the emperor (*chakrin*).' Dr. Fleet also concludes that, about the end of Vikramāditya's reign, there was an evident conspiracy of powerful chiefs to upset the Chālukya empire.

His death.

Ballāla I probably died in 1106 A.D. The circumstances of his early death are not known but certain inscriptions suggest that he probably fell a victim to some cruel ailment of which we have no particulars. (Sravana-Belgola, New Edn. Nos. 254 of 1398 and 258 of 1432 A.D.). According to these records, Ballāla I suffered from some terrible disease of which he was cured by the Jain *guru* Chārukīrti-pandita. According to tradition, as recorded in the *Bhujabali-sataka* of Doddaiya (*Circa* 1550 A.D.), Ballāla's life was threatened by some spirit, an enemy of his former birth, and Chārukīrti by saving his life got the title of *Ballāla-jīvarakshaka*. (*Sravana-Belgola Ins.* Introd. 31 and 63). He probably died from a recrudescence of the unnamed disease from which he is said to have suffered.

Bitti Dēva, or Vishnuvardhana, 1111-1141 A.D. His brother Udayāditya.

Ballāla I was succeeded by his younger brother Bitti-Dēva, better known as Vishnuvardhana. His other younger brother Udayāditya also survived him. Udayāditya took part in 1116 A.D., in the war against the Chōlas, which ended in the recovery of Talkād, Kolar and the whole of Gangavādi generally. He evidently joined in the pursuit of the remnants of the Chōla forces from across the Kolar border, for, we are told that his daughter died at Vijayitamangala, modern Betamangala in the S.-E. of Kolar District. (*E C.* VI, Chikmagalur 70). He appears to have lived till 1123 A.D., when he died at Kellavatti in Nirgundanād. Apparently Vishnuvardhana was affectionately disposed towards him. For, we are told, he granted in his memory the village in which he lived as a rent-free *agrahāra* to the Brāhmans dependent on him, (*i.e.*, Udayāditya,) forming it into 18 shares, of which two were assigned for the god Janārdhana, which had been previously set up there. (*E.C.* V. Hassan 102). Udayāditya's son Ereyanga II appears to have made a grant in favour of the son of a person who devotedly gave up his life on the same occasion. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 85). Of this Ereyanga II, we know no more. A *Kodage* grant of Udayāditya is recorded in Hassan 173, which is undated. Udayāditya, however, is best known as the builder, in 1120 A.D., of Seringapatam. (*M.A.R.* 1907, Para 57).

Date of accession of Bitti-Dēva.

Bitti-Dēva, younger brother of Ballāla I and elder brother of Udayāditya, was, perhaps, the greatest of the Hoysala line. He is celebrated as the rescuer of his country from the Chōlas and the establisher of the independence of the Hoysalas. By his many conquests, he greatly extended the boundaries of his kingdom. The year in which he began his reign is not yet definitely ascertained. The Hallukadi-betta inscription is dated in his 12th year, but no *Saka* or Chālukya-Vikrama year is given in it. (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 11). If the Doddaganni inscription dated in *Saka* 1028 (=A.D. 1106), in which he is styled simply Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala, can be attributed to him, it would be the earliest epigraph mentioning his rule. In that case, his reign may be taken to have begun in or about 1106 A.D., up to which we have inscriptions of Ballāla I. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 169). There is, however, no doubt that he was already ruling in the 25th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama Era, Cyclic year *Vikrama*, corresponding to 1100 A.D., for in an inscription of that year his full name Tribhuvana-Malla-Bittiga-Hoysaladēva is mentioned. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 164). In another inscription dated in the 35th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama Era (corresponding to 1111 A.D.), mention is made of him, (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 89) though no regnal year is given. As we have inscriptions of Ballāla I up to 1106 A.D., Bitti-Dēva probably ruled as co-regent of his brother for some time, say, from 1101 A.D., and from 1106 A.D. became sole ruler, though subject to the suzerainty of the Western Chālukya king.

His conversion to Vaishnavism, *Circa* 1113 A.D.

A notable event in his career was his exchanging the Jain faith for that of Vishnu, which, according to tradition, took place under the influence of Rāmānuja, the reformer, who is said to have fled from persecution by the Chōla king, a relentless Saiva, and had taken refuge in the Hoysala country. On his conversion, Bitti-Dēva is said to have called himself Vishnuvardhana, by which he is best known. The story of his conversion has been narrated under the section on *Chōlas* above. (See under *Kulōttunga-Chōla II*). The whole story still rests mainly on Vaishnava tradition and literature. The year in which the conversion was effected is, even accepting the tradition, not known. Rāmānuja's traditional date is 1017 to 1137 A.D. This period is covered by the reigns of the three Chōla kings Kulōttunga-Chōla I (1070 to 1120 A.D.), Vikrama-Chōla (1118 to 1135 A.D.) and Kulōttunga-Chōla II (1135 to 1145 A.D.). As already mentioned, Rāmānuja's last period of life fell in the reigns of Vikrama-Chōla and Kulōttunga-Chōla II. If the conversion took place actually in or about 1016-17 A. D., as suggested by Mr. Rice, then Rāmānuja should have been about 100 years old and the alleged persecution would fall into the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I. There is no evidence whatsoever of persecution of Vaishnavas during the reigns of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, Vikrama-Chōla and Kulottunga-Chōla II. As they were themselves founders or supporters of Vaishnava temples, the story of the persecution seems a later invention and may be given up as baseless. Rāmānuja, however, does appear to have visited the Hoysala kingdom and converted king Bitti-Dēva. His sojourn in Mysore is reflected in certain inscriptions which may be referred to here. The actual reason for his visit to Mysore may have been the existence of a number of Sri-Vaishnavas in the Hoysala kingdom during the period he lived. These, as we have seen, are referred to in many inscriptions dated in the pre-Rāmānuja period. According to tradition, Rāmānuja is said to have visited all the Vaishnavite shrines, north and south, and if there is truth in this statement (we might well believe in it), then his visit to Mysore is capable of easy explanation, without the embellishment of the story of his having been persecuted by the reigning Chōla king. He is believed to have reached Mysore from Srīrangam by way of the Nīlgiri hills. Among the places visited by him are said to be Vahnipushkarini, a place on the Cauvery about 40 miles west of Mysore; Mirle and Saligrāma, abcut 10 miles eastwards; and then Tonnur or Tondanur, where Bitti-Dēva then had his capital and actually resided. At Tonnur it was that he converted Bitti-Dēva and made him change his name to

Vishnuvardhana. It was also here, according to the traditionary story, that he defeated the Jains in a great controversy and despoiled their land grants and destroyed their temples and with their materials built the *Motitalāb* or Lake of Pearls. There seems no truth in these highly coloured stories, for we see Vishnuvardhana, even after his conversion, as a tolerant ruler and as a friend as much of Jainism as of Vaishnavism or Saivism. His most able generals were Jains and they are recorded to have restored Jain temples on an unprecedented scale. From the glowing account given of his consecration of the Chennakēsava temple in 1117 A.D., under the name of Vijayanārāyana, it might perhaps be inferred that his personal leanings were towards Vaishnavism. If Vishnuvardhana actually patronised Vaishnavism, he no less supported Jainism. There is reason to believe that Vishnuvardhana could not have behaved as an intolerant religious bigot. In fact, there is no evidence to show that he did. Though Rāmānuja is said to have stayed about twenty years in Mysore after the conversion of Bitti-Dēva, there is no evidence from the inscriptions that have so far been discovered that he either was the inspirer of religious persecution. There is the less reason for our drawing such an inference against him as he himself had been, according to the story, a victim of persecution and had to flee for his very life to the court of a foreign prince. That Rāmānuja stayed at Tondanur and at Melukōte (or Melkōte) and that he visited Saligrāma may be inferred from certain inscriptions. Thus an inscription found in the Lakshminārāyanasvāmi temple at Tonnur, which may be assigned to the reign of Vishnuvardhana, contains a grant to a *matha* of Rāmānuja. Another mentions one Tiruvarangadāsar, who in another inscription of the time of Nārasimha I found at the Krishna temple at the same place, calls himself a servant of Ilayālvān, a name by which

Rāmānuja was known before he became a *sanyāsin.* There is no doubt that Tonnūr was then the capital of the Hoysala kingdom, for it is described as such in Mysore 16 dated in 1128 A.D. Its alternative name was Yādavapura or Yādavanārāyana-chaturvēdi-mangalam. (*E C.* III, Seringapatam 64, dated in 1722). Another undated inscription of Vishnuvardhana found on a pillar of the *mantapa* in front of the Lakshmidēvi shrine in the Lakshminārāyanasvāmi temple at Tonnur states that the *mantapa* was built under the orders of Vishnuvardhana by his *Mahāpradhāna* (Prime Minister) Surigeya Nāgayya. The traditional date of Rāmānuja's visit to Tonnūr is 1099 A.D., which, it will be seen, does not fall in the reign of Vishnuvardhana but in that of Vinayāditya, his grand-father. It is possible that he actually reached there earlier and that he was in the Mysore State sometime before Vishnuvardhana's accession to the throne. If the date 1099 A.D. may be depended upon, Rāmānuja must have reached Tonnūr in his 82nd year and converted Bitti-Dēva 26 years later, taking it for granted that the conversion took place in or about 1116-1117 A.D. (See *M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Paras 37-40). Similarly, an inscription in the *navaranga* of the Nārāyanasvāmi temple at Melkōte records that Surigeyya Nāgidēvanna, the builder of the *mantapa* at Tonnūr, made a grant for the god. This confirms to some extent the traditionary story that Rāmānuja built the Melkōte temple with the aid of Vishnuvardhana. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 84). Then, again, a much worn inscription in characters of the 12th century, has been found on the door lintel of the Srīpada-tīrtha pond in the Rāmānujāchārya temple at Saligrāma. It confirms in a way his visit to that place. After obeisance to him and a Sanskrit verse in his praise, it records in Kannada that Embar, Āndān, and Achān of the *matha* (*i.e.*, the Rāmānujāchārya *matha*) of Srīrangam granted some privileges to the

Srīvaishnavas of Sāligāve (*i.e.*, Sāligrāma). The persons named were among the immediate disciples of Rāmānuja, the first two being in addition his close relatives. Embār was his cousin and Āndān, generally known as Mudaliyāndān, was his nephew. Achān, also known as Vidāmbiyāchchān, was a favourite disciple. (*M.A.R.* 1912-1913, Para 76). That these disciples at Srīrangam should have conferred certain privileges on the Srīvaishnavas at Sāligrāma shows their personal interest in them, which is capable of satisfactory explanation on the basis of Rāmānuja's own interest in them. The earliest direct epigraphical mention we have of Rāmānuja's visit to Melkōte (*Yādavagiri*) is contained in the Tondanūr copper-plates dated in 1722 A.D. It is stated in this inscription that Yādavagiri "had been the residence of that Yati-rāja," another name of Rāmānuja. (*E.C.* Seringapatam 64). Thus the indirect evidence derived from inscriptions indicates that Rāmānuja did visit Mysore somewhere about the time of Vishnuvardhana; and that he did convert him is proved by the fact that he not only changed his name (as testified to by inscriptions) but also by his active propagation of the newly embraced faith by building temples in honour of it. In an inscription dated in 1100 A.D., he is called *Bittiga-Hoysala-Dēva* (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 164); in another dated in 1112 A.D., he is called Bhujabala-Vīra-ganga-pratāpa Hoysala-Dēva, (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 37); while in a third dated in 1117 A.D., he is called Bhujabala Vīra-ganga-pratāpa Vishnuvardhana-Poysala-Dēvar. (*M.A.R.* 1911-12, Para 83). In 1117 A.D., we now know that Vishnuvardhana set up the image of the god Kīrtinārāyana at Talkād, after driving the Chōlas out of that place. (*Ibid*). In the self-same year, the image of Vijaya-Nārāyana at Belur was consecrated in the famous temple at that place. (*E.C.* V, Belur 58). The conversion of Bitti-Dēva may, accordingly, be set down, if it did take place, to some date between 1100 A.D. and 1116 A.D., the year in which the Chōlas were expelled from Talkād and in which the new name occurs for the first instance. We may not be far wrong if we set down 1113 A.D., as the actual year in which the event took place.

His conquests.

Shortly after his conversion, Vishnuvardhana appears to have entered on an extensive range of conquests.

Capture of Talkād, 1117 A.D.

First among these was the capture of Talkād, the old Ganga capital, in which the Chōlas had established themselves. This exploit was accomplished by his General Ganga-Rāja, who was also one of his ministers in or about *Saka* 1039, or A.D. 1117. An epigraph dated in that year (*E.C.* III, Malavalli 31) contains a lively version of the same. It is narrated that Ganga-Rāja appeared before Talkād and summoned Adiyama (also called Idiyama, probably a corruption for Adigaiman), the Chōla representative in command of the army there, to surrender. Adiyama haughtily refused to give up the country which his master, the Chōla king, had put in his charge and defiantly said, " Fight and take it (if you can)." Thereupon the two armies met in battle, and Ganga-Rāja gained a great victory, defeating Adiyama and putting to flight the chief Dāman, who barely escaped with his life as Ganga-Rāja was just about to cut him through the belt on his back, showing that he had already turned to flee, running off with the utmost speed in the direction of Kānchi, one of the Chōla capitals. Ganga-Rāja followed up this victory with so much vigour that he also put to flight Narasingavarma identified by Mr. Rice as a Pallava subordinate of the Chōlas, but more probably the Miladu chief mentioned in the Tirukōilyūr inscriptions, who was a contemporary of Rājēndra-Dēva, and all the other feudatories of the

Chōlas and recovered the various districts that had been taken from the Gangas. These he loyally made over to his sovereign Vishnuvardhana. Numerous inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana refer to this conquest and they give further particulars of it. Thus, one epigraph states that Vishnuvardhana burnt the city of Talkād, polluted the water of the Cauvery by throwing the corpses of the enemy into it, so that Rājēndra-Chōla, the Chōla king, was driven to use the wells in the vicinity, and delayed the setting in of the south wind because it was stopped by filling the nostrils of the skulls of his enemies slain on the banks of the Cauvery. Apparently the slaughter was heavy. Such, indeed, was the terror he created that even Yama—adds the record—was afraid to straighten his moustaches. (*E.C.* V, Belur 58 dated in 1117). Another inscription mentions one Hattagara Kete-Nāyaka as having taken an important part in the capture of Talkād city. It says that terrified at hearing the sound of his glittering shield, taking it for a rumbling of the earth or the rolling of thunder, Adiyama, crossing the river from the south side, fled and at the same time Kete-Nāyaka entered the fort of Talkād behind king Vishnuvardhana. (*E.C.* V. Channarāyapatna 209 dated in 1178 A.D.). This suggests that Vishnuvardhana was personally present at its capture and was the first to enter it at the head of his army. Another record states that Vishnuvardhana pursued the Chōla army after its defeat. (*E.C.* V. Belur 171). This pursuit of Adiyama (also called Adiga) is referred to in another inscription, where we have a few more details. Adiyama, this record adds, hesitated, thinking "He will not do what he says"—but found he was mistaken. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 69). From another record the inference has been drawn that Vishnuvardhana was, in this pursuit, accompanied by his brother Udayāditya and that the latter's daughter died at Vijayitamangala, identified with Betamangala of modern times.

The retreat of one section of the Chōlas must have been accordingly by way of Kolar. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 70). The retreat of the others appears by way of Talemale, in the present Coimbatore District. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 76). In this record, one of the time of Nārasimha I, son of Vishnuvardhana, we are told that Vishnuvardhana from Talemale onwards trod the mighty spreading *ghāts* to powder with the tramp of his armies, and crossing over them, pulled the areca and cocoa-nut groves and the teak plantations on the other side, as if plucking out the moustaches of Konga and Chengiri. Before the attack on Talkād commenced, Vishnuvardhana commanded Ganga-Rāja, his general, to ask for a boon, which, he said, he would be pleased to grant on the confident assumption he would succeed. He asked for a piece of land in Bindiganavale, which was granted to him. Ganga-Rāja duly made over this land to his *guru* Subhāchandra-Siddhāntadēva. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 91). Of Dāma, whom he pursued, we have further particulars in another record. (*Sravana-Belgola*, New Edn. 240=Old Edn. 90). From this record we learn that his full name was Dāmōdara, that he was a Chōla *Sāmanta* and that he had astonished people by his valour, which had "put to flight many in any number of battles." At last, he met his equal in Ganga-Rāja, who defeated him and put him to flight. He took refuge in the forest and dared not show himself again in the battle-field for fear of death. The further information is given that after escaping the blows from Ganga-Rāja's sword, Dāmōdara lived "like a Saiva ascetic eating from a skull (or potsherd) from which (even) a dog will not eat." It would appear that Ganga-Rāja, after the battle, "marching alone rapidly, taunting and making them (the Chōla forces) lose courage," put them to flight. He also "put to flight Narasingavarma and all the other *sāmantas* of (the) Chōla (king) above the *ghāts* and brought the whole *nādu* under the dominion of a single umbrella." Thus were the Chōlas driven out of Mysore and the old Ganga kingdom brought under the subjection of Vishnuvardhana. The event may be set down approximately to 1117 A.D. The conquest of Talkād was always looked on by Vishnuvardhana as a great triumph and as the first contributory to his later successes. Hassan 116, dated in 1123 A.D., compares it to making a clearing in the forest, fencing it round by piling up the bodies of hostile kings, burning it, ploughing it with the hoofs of his horsemen, forming seed-beds watered with the stream of his valour and sowing them with his lasting fame. (*E.C.* V).

Conquest of Kongu and other kingdoms.

The conquest of Gangavādi seems to have been followed by that of Kongu, Nangali, Nolambavādi, and Kovatūr, identified with Koyattūr in the Punganūr Zamindāri, etc. Apparently, the fall of Talkād was followed up by a war of conquest of the Chōla country generally. A great many inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana refer to his conquest of the south as far as Rāmēsvaram. In one inscription he assumes the title of *Kānchigonda*, the capturer of Kānchi. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 160). This record states that his victories were proclaimed at Kānchi by beat of drum, that Madura was squeezed in the palm of his hand and that Jananāthapura (Mahābalipura on the East Coast) was destroyed by one of his generals. That these claims are not altogether vain boasts is proved by an inscription found at Āduturai in which reference is made to the attempt made by the Hoysalas, during the war of the Periyavadugan (apparently Vishnuvardhana) to remove certain images from that place to Dōrasamudra. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Paras 46-47). It is evident that Vishnuvardhana's forces actually entered the Trichinopoly District and passed through it on their way to Madura and Rāmēsvaram. In *E.C.* V, Belur 171, we have a reference probably to the invasion of Madura. "On Pāndya flourishing his sword, Hoysalēsa cut him down with his own sword, and left only half a man to look on in the Tigula army."

The Chālukyas defeated at Kannegala.

Ganga-Rāja also appears to have driven off in a night attack the Chālukya army encamped at Kannegāl, near Hassan. By these successes, he caused Vishnuvardhana to stand erect, *i.e.*, enabled him to assume independence. (*Sravana-Belgola*, New Edn. 73=Old Edn., and 59 and 240=Old Edn. 90). These two records thus graphically describe the manner in which Ganga-Rāja beat off the forces Vikramāditya sent against him:—"When the army of the Chālukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla-Pērmadi-Dēva, including twelve *sāmantas* (or tributary chiefs) was encamped at Kannegāl, this Ganga-Rāja, saying, 'Away with the desire to mount a horse; this will be a night battle for me,' attacked and defeated with ease all the *sāmantas* so that people said that the sword in the arm of Ganga-dandadhīpa caused the men of the army who were entering the camp to enter mire, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his own lord."

Conquest of Nilgiris.

Another general Punīsa-Raja is said to have "frightened the Tōdas (the well-known aboriginal tribe on the Nīlgiris, drove the Kongas (the Tamils) under ground (or perhaps to the low country), slaughtered the Pōluvas, put to death the Maleyālas (the people of Malabār), terrified king Kala, and offered up the peak of Nīlgiri (the loftiest point in the Western Ghāts overlooking Malabār) to the goddess of victory." (*E.C.* IV, Chāmrājnagar 83). The record which mentions this conquest of the Nīlgiris also adds that on receiving the king's order, Punīsa "seized Nīlādri and pursuing the Maleyālas, captured their forces and made himself master of

Kērala (Malabār) before showing himself again in Pongal-näd (or Wainād)." (*Ibid*).

Conquest of the Pāndyas of Uchchangi.

While the expeditions mentioned above were being carried out in the south and west, Vishnuvardhana's attention was directed to the north. In the same year in which Talkād was taken, the Pāndyas of Uchchangi were attacked and defeated at Dumme, just on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldrug Districts. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 99). The conquest of Uchchangi was effected by prince Chāma-Dēva, a son of the Orissa king Chōla-Ganga, who was born in the Mysore country. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 29 and 30).

Other conquests mentioned in his inscriptions.

Many other conquests of Vishnuvardhana are found mentioned in his inscriptions but details are lacking. For instance, he is, in Belur 58, said to have destroyed the army of Jagaddēva, apparently the Sāntara king of the time; devoured the fierce elephant Sōmēsvara, evidently the Chālukya king Sōmēsvara III; displayed his valour before Mānikya-Dēvi of the Chakrakunta throne; destroyed the serpent Chengiri, identified with Senji or modern Gingee in the South Arcot District; broke down the plantain stems the spears of Irungōla, doubtless the chief of Nidugal in the present Pāvugada Taluk; uprooted Kovatūr (Koyatūr in the Punganūr Zamindāri); shook Teriyūr, in the N.-E. of Tumkur; crossed over Vallūr, in the Pāvugada Taluk, etc. About Chengiri and its ruler, one record, dated in 1136 A.D., contains a few details worthy of note. Narasinga-Dēva was apparently its ruler and he is said to have deserted his queens, forsaken his kingdom and died, evidently after his defeat on the battle field. On this, Vishnuvardhana is said to have taken possession of his wives. (*E.C.* V, Belur 17). Also, he is said to have turned in the direction of the Gangas, and slew the kings of the northern regions. Having succeeded in this expedition to the north, he is said to have defeated the Pāndyas and others. We are told, in highly hyperbolic language, that he sought out and subdued every country, hill-fort or king that was famous. "He having gained the fame of Kripa and Arjuna, why," asks another record, "should there be a separate *Bhārata* story? Is not the history of king Vishnu enough?" (*E.C.* V, Hassan 53). This record states that its description is as "mere eulogy." That the northern expedition included an attack on Dhāra, which had been brought to great fame by king Bhōja, is also specifically stated in this record. His expedition against Mālwa and against Kānchi and the east generally is, however, discredited by Sir John Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 497-498), who stigmatises them as "undoubtedly fictitious or hyperbolical." But his southern expedition has been confirmed, as mentioned above, by recent discoveries of inscriptions in the Trichinopoly District. There is, therefore, some ground for believing his northern expedition as well, especially in view of the definite language used in Hassan 53, which is one of the reign of Nārasimha I, son of Vishnuvardhana. The capture of Chakragotta carries the scene of his activities into the present Bastar State in the Central Provinces. Chakragotta has been identified with the country mentioned in the Bastar records of a line of kings who claimed connection with the Sinda family. The Sōmēsvara of this line defeated by Vishnuvardhana may, it has been suggested, be the one who ruled and died before 1112 A.D. If this is so, this victory against the Sindas should have been gained by him while he was still a *Yuvarāja* ruling with his brother Ballāla I. (Krishna Sāstri, *The Hoysalas*, *M.S.J.* 118). All the same his northern expeditions were not as uniformly successful as his own inscriptions would have us believe. The Sinda records maintain that at the request of

Vikramāditya VI, Achugi II pursued and prevailed against the Hoysalas; also that Permadi went to the mountain passes of the "marauder" Bittiga, besieged Dōrasamudra, pursued him till he arrived at and took his city of Bēlupura (*i.e.*, Belur), drove him on further to the mountain pass of Vāhadi, and thus seized upon his royal power. (*Bombay Gazetteer* 497, f.n. 7).

Boundaries of his kingdom.

The boundaries of his kingdom extended on the east to Nangali, *i.e.*, the eastern part of Kolar District (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 22; Kadur 102, etc.); south to Kongu, Chēram and Ānemale (*i.e.*, Salem, Coimbatore and Travancore); west to Barkalūr in South Kanara; and north to Sāvimale (somewhere towards the Krishna). The southern boundary is given as Rāmēsvara, towards the east of Madura District. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 30 dated in 1134 A.D.). One record states that on the east, south and west three oceans were boundaries of the land he ruled, and that on the north he made Perdore (*i.e.*, the Krishna) his boundary. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 119). The course of his conquests is thus vividly described in another record:—The lion, the Hoysala king's valour, having sported in plunder at Talkād, attacked the lofty elephant Uchchangi, calmly marched by Banavāsi, daringly seized on Belvola, and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore, planting his feet on Hanungal, (*E.C.* VI Kadur 69). Belur 38 (*E.C.* V) describes his conquests in general, and Nagamangala 70 (*E.C.* IV) gives a list of all the important forts captured by him. The provinces over which he ruled were the following:—Kongu, Nangali, Talkād, Gangavādi, Nolambavādi, Banavāsi, Hanungal, Kaligere, Halasige, and Belvola. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 160, Kadur 80, etc.).

His capital cities.

Dōrasamudra was his recognized capital (*E.C.* V. Belur 147; *E.C.* III, Mandya 29, etc.), but there were provincial capitals as well at which he resided at intervals of time. Thus in 1128 A.D., he was at Yādavapura or Tonnūr. (*E.C.* III, Mysore 16). In 1137 A.D., Bankāpura in the north and Talkād in the South are mentioned as his capitals. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 144). Kōlāla (modern Kolar) was another important city in the south.

His generals and ministers.

According to inscriptions, Vishnuvardhana had under him a number of able generals and ministers. Of the latter, five are mentioned together as *pancha pradhānar* (cabinet of five ministers) and they apparently formed a sort of final court of appeal for the decision of important questions. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 260b). Foremost among his generals was Ganga-Rāja, the conqueror of Talkād. A number of inscriptions collected in the Sravana-Belgola and Hassan volumes refer to him,—his pedigree, his exploits and his pious deeds are given in them. (See *Sravana-Belgola*, Introd. 51-57; *E.C.* V, Introd. XIV). His father Ēcha, also called Baudhamitra, is said to have served under Nripa-Kāma Hoysala. He had an elder brother called Bamma-Chamūpa, apparently a general in the army. Among his many titles were *Mahā-sāmantādhipati* and *Mahāprachanda-dandanāyaka* and *Drōhagharatta* or *Svāmidrōha-gharatta* (a mill stone to traitors to his lord). As he is described as a *pūrna-kumbha* (vessel filled with water) for the coronation of king Vishnuvardhana, it may be inferred that he took a leading part in the king's coronation. He took part in the driving off of the Chālukyas at Kannegāla; in the capture of Talkād; and in the conquest of Kongu, Chengiri and other places. He was a great supporter of the Jaina religion, perhaps the greatest after Chāmunda-Rāya. He is said to have taken great delight in gifts of food, shelter, medicine and learning. An eulogy of him states that he was the disciple of Subhāchandra-Siddhānta-Dēva and that he restored all the Jina temples of Gangavādi. He had also the enclosure built around Gōmmatadēva. It then goes on:—"Wherever he marched, wherever he was encamped, wherever his eyes rested, wherever his mind was attracted, there he had Jina temples made; and thus the country was everywhere brought through Ganga-Rāja to the condition in which it had been in days of yore." He is said to have converted the Gangavādi 96,000 into Kopana, identified with Hiuen Tsiang's Konkanapura and Kopal, a Jain place of pilgrimage in the S.-W. of the Nizam's Dominions. He built Jinanāthapura, close to Sravana-Belgola. Grants conferred on him he made over to his *guru* for use in connection with Jain temples or for other charitable purposes. Thus, was granted by him for the use of the Jain temples founded by his mother and wife, the village of Parama, which was given by him after his success at Kannegāla. (*Sravana-Belgola* 73 and 125). Similarly, Bindiganavile, which was given him on the eve of the conquest of Talkād, was gifted by him to the same *guru* for use in connection with the holy place of Bindiganavile. (*E.C.* III, Nagamangala 19). After the capture of Talkād, the village of Gōvindavādi, which was conferred on him by the king, was re-gifted for the worship of Gommatēsvara. (*Sravana-Belgola,* 240, 251 and 397). He caused to be built the Jaina temple Indira Kulagriha, now known at Sāsana-basti, at Sravana-Belgola, (*Sravana-Belgola,* 75); also the Kattale-basti for his mother Pōchavve, (*Ibid* 70). His wife Lakshmi was a large donor. She set up an epigraph in honour of her brother and built the Eradakatte-basti in honour of her sister Dēmati, who died in 1120 A.D. (*Ibid* 129, 130). Dēmati was the wife of the royal merchant Chāmunda and ended her life by the rite of *samādhi.* (*Ibid* 126). Lakshmi died in 1121 A.D., her mother-in-law Pōchikabbe in 1120 A.D., and Subhāchandra in 1123 A.D. Epitaphs were set up for all these three by Ganga-Rāja, (*Ibid* 118, 128 and 117). Ganga-Raja's elder brother's wife Jakkanabbe was also a pious and charitable lady. She built a tank and a Jaina temple. Her husband Dandanāyaka-Ēcha, son of Ganga-Rāja's eldest brother Bamma, was even better known as a builder and donor. He is spoken of as having built Jaina temples at Kopana, Sravana-Belgola and other holy places. He died by the rite of *Sanyāsana*. Ganga-Rāja's son, Boppa, set up an epitaph for him. (*Sravana-Belgola* 384). This Boppa is said to have driven out the Kongas and other arrogant adversaries who were thorns to the country. He built the Jaina temple Trailōkya-ranjana, also called Boppana-chaityālaya, after himself. (*Sravana-Belgola* 120). When Ganga-Rāja died in 1133 A.D., Boppa erected in his honour the Pārsvanātha-basti, naming it Drōha-gharatta-Jinālaya, after one of the titles of his father. He also built the Sāntīsvara-basti at Kambadahalli, Nagamangala Taluk, also in memory of his father. (*M.A.R.* 1915, Para 78; *E.C.* V, Belur 124). Boppa, in latter years, was in immediate attendance on the king. He it was, who, in 1141 A.D., brought down the king's body from Bankāpura where he died, to Mudgere. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 96). He was probably the Boppana who is described as Bitti-Dēva's general and is said to have made an attack in 1120 A.D. on Bhujabala-Ganga-Pemmādi-Dēva and gained a victory at Halasur. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 12). It will thus be seen that Ganga-Rāja and his immediate relations were great devotees and supporters of Jainism. So liberal and charitable indeed was Ganga-Rāja, that supernatural power came to be attributed to him. It is stated that just as the Gōdāvari stopped flowing on account of the Jaina devotee Attimabbarasi (identified with Attimabbe mentioned in connection with the Kannada poets Ranna and Ponna of the 10th century A.D.), the Cauvery, though it swelled and surrounded him, did not touch him, thus testifying to the depth of his devotion to the Jaina faith. (*Sravana-Belgola,* Introd. 52; Trans. 40 f.n. 2). It is not surprising that an inscription at Bastihalli describes him as the glorious abode of Jina-dharma and as the chief agent in increasing the wealth of Vishnuvardhana by the three constituents of regal power, *sakti-traya.* (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 39).

Closely related to Ganga-Rāja were the generals Mariyāne and his brother Bharata, who were sons of Mariyāne, the senior. To the latter, Ganga-Rāja was related as his brother-in-law, while the younger Mariyāne and his brother Bharata were the brothers-in-law of his son Boppa. Bharata—or Bharatēsvara—and his brother Mariyāne were both generals under Vishnuvardhana and his son Nārasimha I. Bharata erected the two images of Bharata and Bāhubali, the sons of Rishabhanātha, the first Tirthankara, at Sravana-Belgola. He also put up the *happalige* (railing) of the hall near those images as also the hall around the Gommatēsvara and the grand flight of steps. He is further credited with the building of eighty new *bastis* and renovating two hundred old ones in Gangavādi. (*Sravana-Belgola,* 265 and 267; *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 32; *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 160). An equally famous general was Punīsa, who was the conqueror of the Nilgiris. (See above). He is said to have been generous to those he had conquered, and employed his wealth, we are told, without any fear, in restoring Jaina *bastis* throughout Gangavādi as they were in the days of the Gangas. The Pārsvanātha-basti at Chāmrājnagar was founded by him. His *guru* was Ajitasēna-panditadēva, referred to in some of his inscriptions. (*M.A.R.* 1916, Para 53). (*E.C.* IV, Chāmrājnagar 83). He built the Mūlasthāna-*basadi* of Vishnuvardhana-Poysala-Jinālaya at Basti-Hoskote, in Krishnarājpete Taluk, where his wife also had built a stone *basadi*. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarājpete 37 and *M.A.R.* 1920, Para 72). His wife was Dandanāyakitti Jakkiyabbe and she is praised in a poetical epigraph at Basti-Hoskote. This epigraph says that the only women that could compare with her were Sītē and Rukmini. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 72). Then there was the young general named Vishnu or Bittiyanna, and surnamed Immadidandanāyaka. His exploits are set out in one record. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 53). He seems to have been a special object of the king's favour. He received his education under Srīpāla, a celebrated Jaina teacher and logician of the time. His father was an old minister of the time of Ereyanga. The king treated him like a son and perhaps had some idea of adopting him (having then no son of his own), as he himself had his *upanayana* performed, and after seven or eight years of age, when he had become proficient in the use of arms, obtained for him a virgin-jewel as a bride and himself took part in the marriage ceremonies. At the age of ten or eleven, the boy having become as sharp as *Kusa* grass, and perfect in the four tests of character, the king invested him with the title of *Mahāprachandadandanāyaka* and made him *Sarvādhikāri.* He justified his patron's confidence by gaining important victories in the south with extraordinary rapidity—in half a month, we are told—especially burning Rāyarāyapuram (or Talkād) and brought back troops of elephants together with much spoil. The later history of this young man is not known. Making some allowance for exaggeration, there seems no doubt that the story of this young man as detailed in the inscription is in the main a credible one.

Pergade Vāsudēva, who is said to have spread the fame of this king, is mentioned in an inscription in the Kēsava temple at Grāma, Hassan Taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1917, Para 97). His son Udayāditya erected a Jina temple called Vāsudēva Jinabasti in his father's name. (*Ibid*). Other generals of some note were Bheppayya who is mentioned in an inscription at Nāranapura as making a grant of land in favour of god Mahādēva of Betivani (*M.A.R.* 1912-13, Para 75); Heggade Sūrigeya Nāgayya, mentioned above as the builder of the *mantapa* in front of the Lakshmi-dēvi temple at Tonnūr, who made a grant for the Nārāyana temple at Melkōte (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908. Para 38; *M.A.R.* 1912, Para 84); and Heggade Mallimayya. (*Ibid* Para 39).

A feudatory worthy of mention is mentioned in one record. (*E.C.* IX, Nelamangala 84). He is described by the names Bitti-Dēva, Vishnu-sāmanta and Vishnuvardhana, apparently after the king, and is spoken of as belonging to the Adala-vamsa and Mitra-kula (or Solar race). He is said to have erected the Gangādharēsvara temple on the Sivaganga hill and endowed it. He also built the Brahmēsvara temple and the Brahmasamudram village in the name of his father, besides Jinālayas and Adalēsvara temples, the Vishnusamudra tank, the Bōchasamudra tank in the name of his mother, and endowed a temple of Kēsava. This family of chiefs has been met with in connection with Kaidāla in the Tumkur Taluk. (*E.C.* XII, Tumkur 9). There they are described as lords of Mānyakhēdapura (identified with Malkhēd, the Rāshtrakūta capital) and Gangaputras ruling over Maragare-nād. They were unusually liberal minded and were patrons, it would appear, of the four creeds,—Jaina, Bouddha, Saiva and Vaishnava. (*E.C.* IX, Introd. 20-21). Apparently they were originally connected with the Rāshtrakūtas, but later, on the rise of the Hoysalas, passed under their yoke.

Architecture and sculpture.

During the reign of Vishnuvardhana, a great impetus was given to the building of temples and *bastis*, not only by the king and his generals but also by rich merchants. The following have been assigned to his reign:—

Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddavalli (*Circa* 1115 A.D.), a quadruple temple built by a great merchant and his wife (*E.C.* V. Hassan 149), the famous Kēsava temple at Belur, one of the finest specimens of its class, built by the king, in 1117 A.D., and dedicated by him; Kappe-Chennigarāya at Belur, a double temple, (*Circa* 1117 A.D.); Kīrtinārāyana at Talkād (1117 A.D.); Kēsava and Siddhēsvara temples at Marale (1130 A.D.); and the Pārsvanātha-basti at Halebid (1133 A.D.) which was built by the general Boppa, son of Ganga-Rāja. Descriptions of the architectural and sculptural beauties of these temples will be found in sufficient detail in the chapter on *Architecture and Sculpture* above.

Domestic life.

Like his contemporaries, Vishnuvardhana appears to have had a number of queens. These were Sāntala-Dēvi I, Lakshmi-Dēvi, Bammala-Dēvi, Sāntala-Dēvi II, Dēvaki-Dēvi, and Rājala-Dēvi. Of these, Sāntala-Dēvi was at first a strenuous upholder of the Jaina faith but later undoubtedly embraced, with the king, the Vaishnava religion. She is eulogised in *Sravana-Belgola* 132 (=Old Edn. 56) as the builder of the Savati-gandhavārana-basti at that place. She was the eldest daughter of Mārasinga and Māchikabbe. She was, we are told, to king Vishnu the goddess of Victory in battle, the goddess of wealth always resting on his breast and the goddess of fame spreading to the remote points of the compass the greatness of his valour. Among the epithets applied to her are a Brihaspati in discrimination, a Vāchaspati in ready wit, the cause of the elevation of the four *samayas* or creeds, expert in singing, instrumental music, and dancing, a rampart to the Jaina faith and a rutting elephant to ill-mannered co-wives (*udvritta-savatigandhavārane*). The temple of Savatigandhavārane at Sravana-Belgola was founded by her in 1123 A.D. after this last mentioned title of hers. The circumstances under which this particular title of hers came to be given to the temple are not known. She endowed the temple with a village and certain lands which she presented to her *guru* Prabhāchandra. (*Sravana-Belgola* 132). The god she set up in this temple was Sānti-Jina, after which saint she herself was apparently named. (*Ibid* 131). She must have been a lady of great beauty if the verses occurring in this epigraph are not mere poetic hyperboles. Her father Mārasingayya was a Saiva and her mother, Māchikabbe, a devoted Jaina. Māchikabbe belonged to a distinguished family, her father and grand-father having been generals. (*Ibid* 132). Sāntale was the *patta-mahādēvi*, having assumed the crown (*pattamam dhariyisidal*) in or about 1117 A.D., the year of the great victory over the Chōlas at Talkād. (*E.C.* V, Belur 16 and Channarāyapatna 260*b*). In 1123 A.D., the king made a grant to her of the village of Sāntigrāma (now called Grāma, east of Hassan), the villages dependent on it being gifted to 220 Brāhmans. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 116). Sāntale appears, however, to have changed her religion with her lord, for, according to an inscription found on the pedestal of the image in the Kappe-Chennigarāya temple at Belur, the image was set up by her, who is there described as *Pattamahādēvi*. Likewise, an inscription on the pedestal of the principal image in the Kēsava temple at Belur states that that image was set up by the victorious Vishnuvardhana. (*M.A.R.* 1911, Para 98). In the Kappe-Chennigarāya temple, statues of Vishnuvardhana and Sāntale are to be seen, thus showing their special interest in it. To the Kēsava and Chennigarāya temples, grants are recorded in an inscription dated in 1117 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 58). This, however, does not mean that either the king or queen Sāntale became inimical to Jainism, for we find grants dated in later years (*e.g.*, Belur 9 dated in 1129 A.D., Belur 124 dated in 1133 A.D., etc.,) in favour of Jaina shrines. Queen Sāntale died in 1131 A.D., at Sivaganga, about 30 miles S.-W. of Bangalore. (*Sravana-Belgola* 143). The inscription which records her death says that she was "dear to the heart and eyes of that famous king Vishnu." (*Ibid*). It also bears testimony to her unfaultering faith in the Jain religion. It records that her *guru* was the Jaina teacher Prabhāchandra and "her ever favourite god, Jinanātha." Her parents also died soon after. Her mother overcome with grief, practised "severe *sanyāsana*," renounced the world and fasted for one month and gave up her life. (*Ibid*). Apparently after Sāntale's death, Vishnuvardhana married Lakshmi-Mahādēvi. It was her son, Vīra-Nārasimha (also called Vijaya-Nārasimha and Pratāpa-Nārasimha) who succeeded Vishnuvardhana on the throne. He was born in or about 1133 A.D., just at the moment when he had obtained a notable victory against one Masana, apparently a general of the Chālukyas, who had invaded his territories in great force. (*E.C.* V, Belur 124). He blessed the moment of his birth, and with affection gave him the name of Pratāpa-Nārasimha and crowned him from the time he was born." (*E.C.* V, Belur 93). Not long after, that is, in or about 1135 A.D., Vishnuvardhana married another Sāntala-Dēvi, the beautiful daughter of a chief named Kēteya-Nāyaka and his wife Jakkiyabbe. The issue of this marriage was a lovely daughter, named Chikka-Sāntale. But both mother and daughter soon died and Jakkiyabbe erected Siva temples in their memory. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 89). There is at least one record which suggests that Lakshmi and Sāntale II were queens at the same time. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 186, dated in 1143 A.D.). An inscription dated in 1136 A.D., however, shows that the senior crowned queen at the time was Bammala-Dēvi, a Pallava princess. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 32 and *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 3). A riding school was apparently maintained in her name. (*E.C.*

V, Arsikere 58, dated in 1140 A.D.). In another inscription dated in 1140 A.D., she is described as *patta-mahādēvi*, and another queen named Rājala-Dēvi, described as "sister" in the sense of co-wife, is spoken of as *piriyarasi*. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 96; Chikmagalur 122). Bammala Dēvi is described (*E.C.* XII, Gubbi 13, dated in 1140 A.D.) as beautiful and "famed for her grace." She was the daughter of Chavudabbarasi and king Govinda. By her amiable and skilful disposition, she is spoken of as having captured "the inmost heart" of Vishnuvardhana. She was in residence with the king at Hanungal in 1140 A.D., and from there made a grant for Bammalēsvara (apparently a god set up in her name) and the Brāhmans. (*Ibid*). Rājala-Dēvi is said to have belonged to the Chālukya *vamsa*. She is said to have been raised in 1141 A.D. to the position of senior queen, though Bammala-Dēvi continued as the "crowned queen." An inscription dated in 1129 A.D. mentions one Kumāra-Ballāḷa-Dēva and describes him as the eldest son, as if there were other sons of Vishnuvardhana at the time. Whose son he was, is not known. As he is not heard of again, probably he died soon after. This prince had apparently sisters younger than himself, the eldest of whom was Hariyabbarasi or Hariyala-Dēvi, who had married the *vibhu* (or lord) Singa. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 22 and Chikmagalur 160).

Coinage and Currency.

Vishnuvardhana was the first of his dynasty to issue a currency of his own. His coinage was in gold. Three different coins seem to have been introduced by him. One of these, probably the first of the series, bears on the reverse the legend *Malaparōl ganda*. The other two bear the legend, each in three lines, of *Srī Nonambavādi gonda* and *Srī Talakādu gonda*. On the obverse is a *sārdūla* or mythical tiger, facing the right, with a smaller one above, which is between the sun and the moon; in front of the larger tiger is an elephant-goad or more probably a lamp-stand. The title *Malaparōl ganda* means "the lord among hill chiefs." The titles *Srī Nonambavādi gonda* ("the conqueror of the glorious Nonambavādi") and *Srī Talakādugonda* ("the conqueror of the glorious Talkād") seem to have been adopted in imitation of *Gangai Kondān* adopted by Rājēndra-Chōla I. (See *ante* under *Chōlas.*)

Relations with the Western Chālukyas.

Vishnuvardhana kept on a friendly intercourse with the Western Chālukyas. His title *Mahāmandalēsvara*, the description of him as *Chālukya-mani-mandalika-chūdāmani*, or "crest-jewel among the feudatory chieftains of the jewel of the Chālukyas," and the application to him of the feudal expression *tatpādapadmopajīvin* which means "subsisting like a bee on the water lilies which are the feet of the paramount sovereign" show the feudatory position he occupied under Vikramāditya VI and his successor Sōmēsvara III. The formal preambles attached to his records not only confirm this inference but directly mention the suzerainty of the Western Chālukya sovereigns over him. At the same time, as suggested by Sir John Fleet, (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 498) the terms used in regard to his rule plainly indicate not only that he belonged to the more powerful among the *Mahāmandalēsvaras* who enjoyed a certain amount of independence and exercised much freedom of action but also that Vishnuvardhana himself aimed at, and probably even enjoyed, still greater power than was enjoyed by his peers; for, while most of his records show simply the use of the technical expression of intermediate rank and authority belonging mostly to him and his equals, a few of them disclose the fact that he not infrequently described his authority by the current expression of paramount sovereignty. (For instance in many of his inscriptions the words *Vijaya-rājyam-uttarōttarā-abhivriddhi-*

pravardhamānam ā-chandrārka-tāram-baram sallutam ire frequently occurs in his inscriptions.). As a matter of fact, in certain inscriptions belonging to his reign, all reference to Chālukya supremacy completely disappears. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 149, dated in 1125 A.D.). All the same, a close examination of Hoysala inscriptions shows that the nominal suzerainty of the Chālukyas was recognised by the Hoysalas up to about 1200 A.D., which marks the end of the Chālukyas as a ruling dynasty. Thus, a number of Hoysala inscriptions in the Kadur District, dating from 1090 to 1137 A.D., *i.e.*, from Vikramāditya VI to Jagadēkamalla II, and from 1136 to 1203 A.D., *i.e.*, from Jagadēkamalla II to Sōmēsvara IV, recognize the suzerainty of the Western Chālukya kings. Similarly, a number of Hoysala inscriptions, dating from 1099 to 1174 A.D., in the Hassan District and others ranging from 1040 to 1200 A.D. in the Tumkur District, recognize the supremacy of the Western Chālukyas. In the reign of Nārasimha II, there is observed a break in this respect, because not only had the Western Chālukyas disappeared as a ruling dynasty but also the Hoysalas themselves closed in on them and occupied a part of their territories, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri occupying the rest.

Religion and Society.

Buddhism, Jainism and Vaishnavism flourished in the reign of Vishnuvardhana as friendly faiths. The inscriptions show that though he left Jainism for Vaishnavism, his interest in the former did not abate. It is certain he was not hostile to it. If he was an unbeliever in its tenets or a sectarian, as some stories would have it, the fact would have leaked out in the many inscriptions we have of him. On the other hand, we have evidence enough to infer that his interest in Jainism was well sustained throughout his reign. Thus in 1125 A.D., long after his conversion to the rival faith, we find him building a Jaina temple for Srīpālatraividya-Dēva, and presenting him a village as an endowment for it. From the references we have for this renowned teacher, it would seem he was a great logician and dialectician. His descent is traced, in one record, from Mahāvīra himself and the title of *Shat-tarka-shanmukha* shows his eminence among his contemporaries. He also inherited the titles of *Vādibhasimha*, *Vādi-kolāhala* and *Tārkika-chakravarti.* (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 149). He is spoken of as a supporter of the Akalānka-matha, to which he apparently belonged. He was proficient, it is stated in another record, both in prose and poetry. (*Ibid* Arsikere 69). Special mention is made of his commentaries. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 53). Many other Jaina teachers flourished in Vishnuvardhana's reign, among these being Mallishēna-Maladhāri, well known as the Ganadhara of the *Kali* age, of whose death we have a record in *Sravana-Belgola* 54 (*E.C.* II); Prabhāchandra, a disciple of Mēghachandratraividya, the *guru* of queen Sāntale I; and Subhāchandra, the guru of Ganga-Rāja, who is described as a Siddhanandi in philosophy. (Sravana-Belgola 130, 118 and 384). Two of the greatest promoters of the Jaina religion Ganga-Rāja and Punīsa, flourished during his reign. The reign of Vishnuvardhana should accordingly be set down as one of the brightest in Jaina history as it certainly proved to be one of the greatest to the Srī-Vaishnava religion as well. The religion of Siva was equally patronised by the king and the people. The Kālāmukhas were in the ascendant and their great centre was Baligāmi. About this time, which synchronised with the reigns of the Chālukya kings Vikramāditya VI and Sōmēsvara III, Baligāmi was probably in the height of its glory, spiritual and temporal. (See *ante* under *Chālukyas*). The Kālāmukhas had extended their influence far and wide under continued royal patronage. A record dated in 1136 A.D.

found at Halebid, mentions a *matha* of theirs at the Hoysala capital itself. It was an ancient and well established one presided over in succession by Īsana-sakti, whose ascetic virtues and learning are highly praised, Dēvēndra-pandita and Kalyāna-sakti-pandita. Attached to this *matha* was the shrine of Mānikyēsvara, among whose devotees were the rich merchants of the three capitals of Dōrasamudra, Belur and Vishnusamudra, identified with Keresante (see *E.C.* VI, Kadur 88 to 93), who dealt in precious stones. They were evidently members of the Banajiga caste as they are described as "attainers of Vīra-Balancha perfection." They are spoken of as emigrants from Ahichchatra and upholders of the *Nānādēsi*, a term signifying merchants of foreign countries. As we have seen, *Nānādesis* are spoken of in certain inscriptions found in Burma and elsewhere as merchants upholding the Vaishnava religion. (See *ante* under Chōlas). Here apparently they followed the Saiva creed of the Lakulīsa school. They were, we are told, the joy of the *sahavāsis*, a term we have seen used of by adherents of the Buddhist *Vihāras* at Baligāmi. The *sahavāsis* referred to here were adherents of the Saiva *matha* and interested in its prosperity. Brāhmanism was thus in the ascendant, the waning influence of the rival faiths giving an opportunity to it. The king himself was a great patron of the older faith. The *tulā-purusha* and other ceremonies (see *E.C.* V, Arsikere 144 dated in 1137 A.D.) should have rendered him even more popular with its adherents. But there is no trace whatever of sectarianism either in the king, whose respect for the faith of others was as great as for his own, or in the people, for we hear of no disputes between their followers as we do a couple of centuries later. Members of the Brāhman caste led armies, traded as merchants and followed secular occupations, while the profession of arms was naturally highly respected.

This cannot well have been otherwise when we remember that much of the time of the kings of the period was devoted to wars carried far and near, so much so even Brāhmans could not have escaped the spirit of the times. Caste, whatever may be said of it, was not altogether unaccommodating in matters of this nature. It was both flexible and charitable enough wherever the good of the State as a whole was concerned.

An estimate of his reign.

Reading the numerous inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana recording his achievements, one feels that he should have been an active prince, blessed with indomitable energy. His conquests show that he was not only ambitious to make a name for himself but also to make the most of the weaknesses of his neighbours. His expulsion of the Chōlas appears to have brought him great renown. Whatever doubt there may be about his military adventures in the north, there appears no doubt now that he did lead expeditions to the south, most of which could only have added to his fame as a conquering general and no more. He appears to have taken a personal part in his wars, often leading his forces in the thick of the fight. He is, indeed, described in one record (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 149) dated in 1125 A.D., as one of the four great Kshatriyas that the country had known—the three others being Dilīpa, Rāma (Dasaratha's son) and Krishna-Rāja. His change of faith did not mean any want of patronage in favour of the Jains, with whose teachers he seems to have kept close intercourse. He was not merely tolerant; he was active in helping them to flourish. His personal encouragement of Vaishnavism by the construction of stately edifices which have been the marvel of ages produced an enormous effect on his successors who added to the architectural and sculptural grandeur of the country. His rule must have been, despite the wars he indulged in, a peaceful and prosperous one. Trade should have flourished for we find rich merchants vying with himself in the construction of beautiful structures. The king and his generals and ministers seem to have been unsparing in extending the kingdom, in adding to or adorning the temples and in securing the peace and prosperity of the country. Judging from his records, Vishnuvardhana should have been active in the discharge of his royal duties, whether as general or as administrator. He toured the kingdom and apparently halted for periods of time in his provincial capitals. But there is reason to believe that his eye was on the northern frontiers, where he established a new capital, Bankāpura, to keep in check as much the Sindas as the Chālukyas, who otherwise would have threatened with impunity the peace of his kingdom. He appears, despite the vigour with which he conducted his military campaigns, a thoroughly human personage. His desire for a successor who could continue his policy of military adventure combined with peaceful prosperity is detected in the manner in which he adopted and brought up young Vishnu and made him a great general and warrior like himself. The gladsome manner in which he received the news of the birth of a son by Lakshmi on the day he won a victory over the Chālukya forces shows him in the light of one blessed not only with the greatness of a king but also with the highest attributes of a mere man. His treatment of his trusted generals shows how he reciprocated their great services. A person so human, so worldly and so wise cannot have been the sectarian he is represented to have been in certain traditionary stories. These are undoubtedly later inventions worthy of no credence. Society too would not have tolerated such vandalism as the wild destruction of Jain temples which is attributed to him under the influence of Rāmānuja. Nor is there anything in the whole personal history of this great reformer to support such an inference. In the light of what we actually know about Vishnuvardhana from the inscriptions and of Rāmānuja from his own writings, we have to give up such stories. It is certain that Vishnuvardhana could not have been the author of such desecration, much less would he have allowed it even if others had desired it.

Date of his death, 1141 A.D.

Vishnuvardhana appears to have died in 1141 A.D., at Bankāpura. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 96). His body was brought down by Boppa-dēva-dandanāyaka, doubtless Boppa, the son of Ganga-Rāja, to Mudgere, where we are told, a fight took place for the elephant and treasure. (*Ibid*). The record which mentions this incident describes Vishnuvardhana as the "Senior King," the other being his son Nārasimha I, who, as we have seen, was crowned from the date of his birth. The person who secured the elephant, probably the State elephant and the treasure, was one Binna-Gauda of Miriyalpalli in Taligenād, evidently one who was interested in Nārasimha's succession to the throne. Why there should have been a fight and why the body was brought to Mudgere are not clear, though it is possible that the body was being removed to Sosavūr, the ancient family seat of the Hoysalas and that there was some dispute as to the succession. Nārasimha was only an infant aged about 8 or 9 years at the time and it is probable that Boppa tried to secure the throne for him. There is no hint as to who his competitor might have been. Bute-gauda, the son of Binna-gauda who secured the elephant and the treasure and fell in the fight was, at the request of the chiefs and farmers of the Taligenād, granted by Nārasimha with one *hana* of land. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 96 dated in 1141 A.D.).

Though Vishnuvardhana died in 1141 A.D., there are a number of inscriptions dated in 1142, 1145, 1148 and 1149 A.D., mentioning him as the ruling sovereign.

(*E.C.* V, Arsikere 110 and Hassan 65 and *M.A.R.* 1912, Para 85). These are probably so dated, because Vishnuvardhana's son was, as an infant, not firmly established on the throne at the time the grants mentioned in them were made and it was deemed safe to continue the dating of public documents in the name of Vishnuvardhana. Such a sort of reckoning has been observed to prevail among the Chōla kings of about the same time and it is possible that the system had greater vogue than is apparent from inscriptions. (See *ante* under *Chōlas*.).

Nārasimha I,, Pratāpa-Nārasimha, 1143-1173 A.D.

Nārasimha I succeeded his father when he was but a boy of about 8 years. The succession appears to have been disputed. A title of his mentioned in *Sravana Belgola* 345 is significant in this connection. It calls him "a fire to the forest (of) rival heirs." A possible claimant suggested by Mr. Narasimhachār is some one connected with queen Sāntale I. But as we do not hear of any son to Vishnuvardhana by her, Kumāra-Ballāla-Dēva described as the eldest son in certain epigraphs (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 22) or one claiming through him may have tried to dispute the succession. Vishnu's generals should have made short work of this claim and put Nārasimha on the throne. His reign appears to have been a peaceful one except for minor attempts at incursions by neighbours. He is credited in 1145 A.D. with the slaying of the Changālva king in battle and the capture of his elephants, horses, gold and new jewels. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 76). As he could have been only 12 years at the time the event took place, it should have been the exploit of one of his father's generals, most of whom sustained Nārasimha's power by loyal and devoted service. Among these were Chokimayya, Hulla, Bittiga and others, who are represented in some detail below. Numerous records describe Nārasimha not only as a terror to most of the kings of the south, but also as their conqueror.

This, however, is nothing but an echo of the conquests of his famous father. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 74; *E.C.* VI, Kadur 51; *E.C.* V, Hassan 137). A Changālva incursion is referred to in an inscription assigned to about 1150 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Hunsur 143). In 1161 A.D., he is said to have defeated a Kadamba force that threatened Bankāpura, his capital. (*E.C.* V, Belur 193). The Chālukya king Jagadēka-malla attacked him in 1143 A.D. and appears to have asserted his supremacy in 1149 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 85; *E.C.* XII, Chiknāyakanhalli 29 and 30). This supremacy, as stated before, was more often than not in a dormant state and was put forth only when the power of the Hoysalas was on the wane. Nārasimha I was not only a boy but also a weak ruler. Accordingly, we find him assuming the prefix Jagadēkamalla in 1153 and 1155 A.D. (*E.C.* X, Kolar 100a and 169), but immediately after this the Chālukya throne was usurped by Bijjala, the founder of the Kalachurya line. About this period, a part of the kingdom appears to have been ruled by a Mahāmandalēsvara called Jagadēka-Vīra-Hoysala Sāntara Māra-Dēva. (*E.C.* VI, Koppa 101, dated in 1162 A.D.; Mudgere 37, dated in 1154 A.D.). He was apparently connected with the Hoysalas.

His Rule.

Nārasimha I, though a Vaishnava, was tolerant towards Jainism, the religion of most of his generals. He visited Sravana Belgola in 1159 A.D., and made grants of villages to the temple built by Hulla. (*E.C.* II, Sravana Belgola 240 and 349). Vaishnavism was also spreading slowly in his reign. Tonnur and Melkote were its chief centres. At Tonnur, one Tiruvarangadāsar, described as a servant of Rāmānuja, kept himself busy during this and the next reign obtaining grants for the temples from generals and others. (*M.A.R.* 1907-8 Para 41). Nārasimha, however, eventually lapsed into a voluptuary.

He was, we are told in one epigraph, "the sandal to the goblet breasts of a bevy of 384 well-born women." (*E.C.* V, Belur 193 dated in 1161 A.D.). This is confirmed by another epigraph dated in 1173 A.D., in which he is described as 'sporting" in the company of women of many different countries—Āndhra, Simhala, Karnāta, Lāta, Chōla, Gaula, Bangāla and Mālava. (*Ibid* Belur 114.) He had, besides, his legally married wives, at least four of whom are known. Of these, the senior queen was Changala-Dēvi. (*Ibid*). Gujjala-Dēvi was another. (*Ibid* Arsikere 142 dated in 1162 A.D.). Another queen, Mailala-Dēvi, is mentiond in another epigraph. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarājapete 32 dated about 1150 A.D.). Echala-Dēvi, who is found mentioned more generally in his inscriptions, was the fourth. This last-named queen was the mother of Ballāla II. He is first mentioned in an inscription dated in 1165 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 210), but it is not quite clear whether that was the year of his birth. That it cannot be the date of his birth seems inferable from the fact that in 1173 A.D., the date of the death of Nārasimha I., he would be but 8 years old. As we know that Ballāla II, his son, led in or about 1172-1173 A.D., an insurrection against him, he ought to have been at least a grown up young man. This is the more probable, as we find him described in Channarāyapatna 191 dated in 1168 A.D., as ruling along with Mahādēvi (or Mahādēvi-arasi), his queen, probably as co-regent of his father (*E.C.* V), who must have been then about 35 years of age.

His generals and ministers.

Among the ministers and generals of Nārasimha was the celebrated Chāma-Dēva, the Chōla-Ganga prince, who had successfully assaulted Uchchangi under Vishnuvardhana. He was the son of Chōla-Ganga Mahāpāla. Some of his cousins appear to have held petty chieftainships under the Hoysalas and the grants of some of these are recorded. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 29 and 30, both dated in 1149 A.D.). Another was the Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikāri Senādhipati Dandanāyaka Lakmayya, who is eulogised in *E.C.* III, Nanjangud 175. He founded in 1159 A.D., a temple at the royal city (*rājadhāni*) Sottiyur on the banks of the Kapini, the present Suttur. Hulla, the treasurer, was another minister of Nārasimha. He was a Jain and was the builder of the Chaturvimsati-basti at Sravana-Belgola to which Nārasimha I granted in 1159 A.D., a village to provide for its repairs and worship. He was so pleased with it that he re-named it *Bhavya-Chūdāmani* after Samyuktva-Chūdāmani, one of the titles of Hulla. (*E.C.* II, Sravana Belgola, 349). Hulla had served under Vishnuvardhana and is praised as one superior to Brihaspati in politics and to Yōgandharōyana in administration. (*Ibid* and Sravana Belgola 345). He was a minister during the reign of Ballāla II as well. (*Ibid* Sravana Belgola 240). He was a firm supporter of the Jain religion, indeed claimed to be one of the three greatest of its supporters, Chāmunda-Rāya, Ganga-Rāja and Hulla. (*Ibid* Introd. 59). He restored several Jain temples at Bankāpura, Kalivita, Kopana and Kallengere, all places held sacred by the Jains, besides building five Jain temples at Kallengere and the Chaturvimsati temple at Sravana-Belgola, above named. (*Ibid* Introduction 59). Chokkimayya was another general of Nārasimha I. He had also seen service under Vishnuvardhana, (*E.C.* X, Bowringpete 9). He calls himself the senior general and Vishnuvardhana's *garuda*, *i.e.*, a general faithful unto death. He caused a *mantapa* to be built at the Gangādharēsvara temple at Sivaganga for the spiritual welfare of his mother Malliyavve. (*M.A.R.* 1915, Para 30). He obtained certain signal victories over the chiefs named Sankha and Panarjotta, at Nangali, in the present Kolar District, and over the rulers of Kānchi and Kongu, in which he captured superior elephants. He appears to have administered Gangavādi 96,000. To commemorate his successes, he not only distributed gifts among the poor and helpless, but also restored the great tank at Vijayādityamangalam (present Bētamangalam) which had been breached for a long time, had the big sluice built and erected there a temple of Durgaiyār, endowed it with lands and established a *mahā-grāma*. This was in 1155 A.D. Some years later, in 1167 A.D., the commander-in-chief Amarēsvara-dandanāyaka, built a permanent encampment at the place and lived there. (*Ibid* Bowringpete 8). Then, we have the great minister Heggade Damayya. A grant of his dated in 1162 A.D. is recorded in the Krishna temple at Tonnur. (*M.A.R.* 1907-08, Para 41). Two other ministers of Nārasimha I are referred to in *E.C.* IV, Krishnarājpete 36. These were Hergade Sivarāja and Hergade Somēya. (*M.A.R.* 1920, Para 73). Another was Māchaya, styled great minister and Sarvādhikāri. (*Ibdi*).

Provincial Rulers.

A subordinate chief (Sāmanta) was Gūli-Bachi, who ruled over the Marugare-nād in Kaydāli in the Tumkur District. He is described as the lord of Mānyakhēdapura, *i.e.*, Malkhēd in the Nizām's Dominions. He was probably connected with the ancient Rāshtrakūta rulers of that place. His genealogy extending to several generations is given in (*E.C.* XII) Tumkur 9 dated in 1151 A.D. He was the son of Adala and a Gangāputra. He was the patron of the four creeds, Bauddha, Jaina, Saiva and Vaishnava. He built in Kaydala temples dedicated to Ganēsvara, Nārāyana, Chalavarīsvara (after his grand-father), Gangēsvara (after his father) and Rāmēsvara (after his daughter), besides Jaina *basadis* in the name of his mother. He also made the big Bhīmasamudra and Adalasamudra tanks. He was evidently a very liberal minded chief and made Kaydala a grand place. His *sēnabōva* further made the

Mārasamudra tank. Another *sāmanta* was Bitti-Dēva, the son of Sāmanta Chatta, the Huliyera chief. His mother Sāntale was a supporter of the four creeds (see above). His descent is traced through Chatta, who had won fame as a great soldier. When Nolamba's senior queen had the misfortune to be taken captive, he rescued her and received from the king the title of *Vīra-talaprahāri.* He also slew Doddanka at the camp of Āhavamalla, the Chālukya king, and received from the latter the title of *Doddanka-badiva.* His son was Bhīma, who for attacking and killing Sitagara-ganda, received from Vishnuvardhana his name as a further title. Bhīma and his wife Chattiyakka had four sons, Macha, Chatta, Malla and Govi-dēva. Of these Chatta (the second of that name) married Sāntale, above named, and their son was Sāmanta Bitti-dēva *alias* Vishnu-sāmanta. To him, king Nārasimha gave Hemagere "for the expenses of the elephants." (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 21). Bitti and his brothers were devout Jainas and the gifts made by his brother Gōvi-dēva on the death of his wife are mentioned in the record quoted above. Gōvi-Dēva distinguished himself in the war against the Changālvas. A record dated in 1169 A.D. at Kampanhalli states that the wounds which he inflicted with his spear on the face of the elephant on which the Changālva king was seated resembled the characters of an inscription recording his own valour. (*M.A.R.* 1909-1910, Para 76). He was the builder of the beautiful Pārsvanātha *basti* at Heggare in 1160 A.D., as a memorial to his dead consort Mahādēvi-Nāyakitā. His another wife Srīya-dēvi presented a Jaina image which was once in the Ranganātha temple at Huliyur. (*M.A.R.* 1918, Para 94). Bitti had been general in the time of Vishnuvardhana and claims to have subdued Nilāchala, cut off the head of Kāla and reduced to powder the Konga army. Apparently he was engaged in the wars against the Nīlgiris and the Coimbatore country. (*E.C.* IV, Introd. 21). The Dandanāyakas Mariyane and Bharata served in this reign also. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 32; *E.C.* Sravana-Belgola 115).

Architecture.

Until towards the close of the reign of Nārasimha I, conditions continued peacefully enough, to permit of the construction of temples in the newly developed style of architecture. Nārasimha's reign saw the addition of many of these, as many as the five specimens being known. These are:—

Hoysalēsvara, at Halebid (*Circa* 1141 A.D.);
Jain *basti* of triple type at Chōlasamudra, (1145 A.D.);
Kēsava temple at Honnavara (1149 A.D.);
Īsvara temple at Anekonda (*Circa* 1160 A.D.);
Kēsava temple at Dharmapura (1162 A.D.);
Kēsava temple at Hullekere (1163 A.D.);
Hoysalēsvara temple at Tenginigatta (*Circa* 1163 A.D.);
Kēsava temple of the triple type at Nagamangala (*Circa* 1170 A.D.);
Brahmēsvara temple at Kikkēri (1171 A.D.); and
The Buchēsvara temple at Koramangala (1173 A.D.).

Further details about these temples will be found in the chapter on *Architecture and Sculpture.*

Insurrectionary war of Ballāla II, 1772-3 A.D.

About 1772-3 A.D., Nārasimha's son Ballāla II raised an insurrection against the king. As we have seen, he was already in 1168 A.D., co-regent of his father and ruling with him. Probably disgusted with the lascivious life of his father, and helped at least by one leading general who subsequently became his minister, he rose in rebellion against his father and attempted to set up independent rule. One contemporary record (a *virgal* dated in 1172 A.D., near the Īsvara temple to the south of Huvinahalli, Hole-Narsipur Taluk) suggests that the king was then resident at Dōrasamudra and that in the course of Ballāla's insurrection some villages were destroyed and many people were killed. One Baneya-Nāyaka of Hūvinahalli took part in the fight and lost his life. He apparently fought on behalf of the king and from his title *Billamotta* (head of archers) must have occupied some important position locally. (*M.A.R.* 1913, Para 77). Another contemporary record (also a *virgal* dated in 1173 A.D., at Kelagur, Chikmagalur Taluk) states that Ballāla II during his insurrection entered the Taligenādu and Kodagi-nādu and in the resulting fight Gōvaganda of Murugur fell. A record dated in 1177 A.D., (*E.C.* V, Belur 86) gives more interesting particulars. It would appear from it that when Ballāla II, "leaving his father, passed over Malē (or the hill country)," one Tantrapāla-Hemmadiyanna "making all the subjects and farmers of Malē, together with the Kongālva, Changālva and the other chiefs of Malē visit him," caused, "the diadem of empire to be bound on him and obtained the rank of minister." It would thus seem that the rebellion was supported by the Malēnād chiefs, particularly the Kongālva and Changālva kings and that Tantrapāla Hemmadiyanna, the descendant of an immigrant family of bangle-sellers of Ayyavale, saw his opportunity, and helped Ballāla II to get himself crowned at his hands, himself becoming minister. The risings indicated by the *virgals* in Hole-Narsipur and Chikmagalur taluks show that there were adherents of the king as well, who fought for him and fell. In the very year of the rebellion (1173 A.D.), Nārasimha I seems to have died, being, at the time, only about 40 years of age.

Ballāla II, Vīra-Ballāla, Yādava-Nārāyana, 1173-1220 A.D.

Ballāla II, or Vīra-Ballāla, surnamed Yādava-Nārāyana, succeeded Nārasimha I on the throne. He had been co-regent of his father during his life-time and later about 1177 A.D., had rebelled against him. Apparently on the death of his father, he was crowned king in his own right. An inscription dated in 1173 A.D., states that he was crowned at Dōrasamudra on the 22nd of July 1173 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 4, 136 and 139). His reign vied in glory with that of his grand-father Vishnuvardhana and the whole dynasty came to be later called *Ballāla* after him.

Expedition against the Changālvas, 1173 A.D.

Though the Changālva king had helped him in his rebellion in 1171 A.D., Ballāla had to send, in 1173 A.D., an expedition against him. Bettarasa, the Hoysala general, attacked Mahādēva, the Changālva king, who retired to Palpare, a fort in Kiggatnād in South Coorg. Bettarasa pursued and defeated him and made Palpare his own capital. But the Changālva chief Pemma-Vīrappa later on attacked him, aided by the Kodagas of all the *nāds*, and was near gaining the victory, when Bettarasa eventually triumphed with the aid of an officer named Mādayya-Nāyaka, who fell in the fight. This is the earliest specific mention of the Kodagas (or people of Coorg) we have so far found. (*E.C.* IV, Hunsur 20). This determined attack of Ballāla II may have been provoked by the assumption (or imitation) at the time of their titles—Lord of Dvārāvatipura and *bhuja-bala*—by the Changālvas together with a claim to be independent. (See *Ibid*, Hunsur 111).

Conquest of the Pāndyas of Uchchangi, *Circa* 1117 A.D.

But Ballāla's great victories were to the north. An early conquest of his was that of Uchchangi, the Pāndya fortress, to which repeated references are to be found in his inscriptions. Highly exaggerated accounts of the strength of this fort occur in them. Thus we are told that its extent was such as to enclose the three worlds, while its summit soared with the sky higher than the king of the birds. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 209). The Chōlas had, it is said, laid siege to it for twelve years without success and abandoned the task as hopeless. On hearing this, Ballāla, it would appear, attacked it and mounting on it but one cubit was able to bring it under his possession. From this event, he acquired the title of *giridurga-malla* and as it was on a Saturday he won the success, he took the title of *Sanivārasiddhi*. (*Ibid*, Belur 137, 175; Arsikere 178). This latter title, however, is one which Bijjala had taken before him. Uchchangi is said to have had a moat as deep as Pātāla (the nether world, and as broad as the eight cardinal points and as high as the sky. (*Ibid*, Belur 72). Apparently it was a far-famed fortress and its conquest brought fame and name to Ballāla II. When Kāma-Dēva, the Pāndya king, craved for mercy, he restored him to his kingdom. (*Ibid*, Belur 72). This event must have occurred shortly before 1117 A D., as an epigraph of that year represents him not only as the conqueror of Uchchangi but as making it his royal capital and as ruling from it. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknayakanhalli 36).

War against the Kalachurya king Sankama, *Circa* 1179 A.D.

A conflict with Sankama-Dēva, the Kalachurya king, is referred to in an inscription assigned to about 1179 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Mudgere 33). Sankama's elephant was pierced to death but he himself escaped.

Victory over the Sevunas, 1191 A.D.

But his most decisive victory was gained against the formidable army of the Sevunas at Soratur, near Gadag. There are numerous accounts of this victory in the inscriptions of Ballāla II. Bhillama, the Sevuna king, came with as many as 200,000 infantry armed with thunderbolts and 12,000 cavalry conspicuous with high saddles and jewelled breast-plates. Ballāla II, seated on his one elephant, charged the Sevuna king's army, put them to flight, and slaughtered them all the way from Soratur to the banks of the Krishna. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 140). He is also said to have destroyed a city named Vīravardhana, which seems to be the city Srīvardhana mentioned by Hēmādri as having been captured by Bhillama from a king named Autula or Autara. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Para 45). At the end of the pursuit, Ballāla II halted and re-formed his forces and reduced all the forts between Soratur, Embarrage (Yelburga in the Nizām's Dominions), Kurugod (near Bellary), Gooty (in Anantapur District), Bellittage (probably Belatti near Lakshmēsvar), Rattahalli (in the Dhārwār District) and the proud Virātanakōte (*i.e.*, Hangal). The reduction of these forts was probably effected between 1193 and 1196 A.D. (*Bombay Gazetteer* 505). About 1193 A.D., Lokkigondi in the Dhārwār District became his temporary capital and from there he appears to have moved on to Erambarage about 1195 A.D. From these places he reduced the forts mentioned. Some of these did not yield easily. Lokkigondi was defended by Jaitugi, the Yādava (Sevuna) king, and seemed invulnerable with high ramparts and lofty bastions on which were mounted astonishing flag staves. (*E.C.* V, Belur 204; Arsikere 5, both dated in 1194 A.D.). The possession of these strongholds made his power secure over all the southern part of the dominions which had passed from the Kalachuryas to Sōmēsvara IV, the last Western Chālukya king, and from the latter to Bhillama, the Sevuna king. From the Gadag and Annigere records of Ballāla II, dated in 1192 A.D., we learn that in his campaign against Bhillama, he pushed to the north of the Dhārwār District, defeated Brahma, the general of Sōmēsvara IV, and Bhillama and his minister Jaitrasimha, who has been identified with Jaitasimha of another Gadag record of 1191 A.D. (*E.I.* III, 217). The same records put forward the claim, that, as the result of these conquests, Ballāla II, by the favour of the god Nārāyana (of Gadag), acquired the supremacy over the Kuntala country, and the universal sovereignty of the Western Chālukyas. This must have occurred about the middle of 1191 A.D., when according to the Gadag record, the country in that neighbourhood was in Bhillama's possession. In his Gadag and later records, Ballāla accordingly assumed the paramount titles of *Samastabhuvanāsraya*, *Srīprithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhīrāja*, *Paramēsvara-Paramabhattāraka* and the style of *Pratāpa-Chakravartin*, *Bhujabala-Chakravartin*, *Bhujabala-pratāpachakravartin*, *Hoysala-chakravartin*, *Bhujabala-pratāpa*; *Hoysala-chakravartin* and *Yādava-chakravartin*. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 64; *E.C.* VIII, Sorab 140, etc., etc.; *Bombay Gazetteer*, 503). The assumption of these titles is, however, not inconsistent with the plain title of *Mahāmandalēsvara* prefixed to his name in certain Mysore inscriptions even of this late date. (*E.C.* III, Nanjangud 71, dated in 1192 A.D. and *not* in 1312 A.D., as suggested by Mr. Rice; also Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 31, dated in 1195-6). The boast that he reduced the whole of the Kuntala country seems clearly inadmissible. Probably the northern boundary of the Hoysala kingdom, thus extended, was evidently the Malprabhā and the Krishna, where the Malprabhā joins it. While Ballāla's inscriptions have not so far been found on the north of these rivers, they have been abundantly traced to their south. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 503-504; *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 105).

Among other achievements attributed to Ballāla are the conquests of Talkād, Kongu, Nangali and Nolambavādi. But these were certainly the achievements of Vishnuvardhana and not his own. In or about 1215 A.D., Ballāla II took the Haneya fort, where he founded a city called Vijayagiri. (*E.C.* XI, Molakalmuru 12). The Haneya fort is on the Brahmagiri, where the edicts of Asōka have been found. (*E.C.* XI, *Ibid*).

Founding of the Ballāla Era, 1191-1192 A.D.

To mark his position as paramount sovereign, Ballāla II established an era of his own, running from the first year of his reign as paramount sovereign, which, records show, was the *Virōdhikrit* year, *Saka* 1114, 1191-1192 A.D. He maintained his position and it was enjoyed by his successors also, though with a more limited extent of territory, in some cases. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 503).

His generals, ministers and feudatories.

His first minister Tantrapāla Hemmadi has been already referred to. What became of him after Ballāla II assumed the throne is not known. In the earlier part of his reign, Bharatamayya and Bāhubali were his ministers. (*E.C.* IV, Introd. 21). In 1175 A.D., Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikāri Dandanāyaka Bittimayya was evidently the prime minister. (*E.C.* IV, Mysore 8). Mahāsāmanta Gōvi of Huliyera is mentioned in two epigraphs. (*E.C.* XII, Chiknāyakanhalli 13 and 20 dated in 1181 and 1188 A.D.). He is praised as the supporter of the four creeds—Mahēsvara, Bauddha, Vaishnava and Arhat. An epigraph dated in 1182 A.D. mentions Chandramauli, the ornament of ministers. He was a worshipper of Siva and evidently not only a patron of learned men and learning, but also himself well versed in logic, literature, Bharata-Sāstra and many other arts. His wife was Achāmbike, a lady of great grace and beauty. (*E.C.* V, Channarayapatna 150). She was the daughter of one Sovanna and a devout Jain in religion. She caused to be built the Pārsva-dēva temple at Sravana-Belgola, now known as Akkana *basti*, to which at Chandramauli's instance, Ballāla II generously granted a village. (*Ibid*, *E.C.* II. Sravana-Belgola 327). She obtained from the king the grant of another village for the worship of the Gommata. (Sravana-Belgola 256). She had a son named Sōma. (*Ibid*, 327). Then we have the general Machimayya, who, in 1189 A.D., was ruling over Konganād. (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 79). About 1194 A.D., the kingdom was in a state of great prosperity under general Madhuba or Madhusūdhana. (*Ibid*. Arsikere 118). He was devoted to the worship of Siva.

Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikāri Srī-Karanada-Heggade is mentioned in some inscriptions. The person referred to by this name was better known as Ereyanna, a general of Ballāla II. (See *M.A.R.* 1912, Para 88). Another minister was Kēsava-dandanātha or Kēsirāja, who is mentioned in an epigraph dated in 1210 A.D. He belonged to a family of hereditary ministers, (*Ibid*, Channarayapatna 244), who held the position of minister to successive Hoysala kings. The general Vasudhaikabāndhava Rēchimayya or Rēcharasa, who had rendered eminent services to the Kalachuryas, joined Ballāla II and served under him. He caused to be built, about 1220 A.D., at Arsiyakere (modern Arsikere) the Sahasrakūtajinālaya and endowed it with the sanction of the king. The record which mentions this fact states that Arsikere at that time contained a thousand steadfast Jaina families and is styled the southern Ayyavale (*i.e.*, Aihole). Its Brāhmans, we are told, were learned in the *Vēdas*, the guards brave, the traders wealthly, the fourth caste of unshaken speech, the women beautiful, the labourers submissive, the temples ornaments to the world, the banks deep and wide, the woods full of fruit and the gardens full of flowers. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 77). Rēcharasa set up also the god Sāntinātha at Jinanāthapura near Sravana-Belgola. (*E.C.* II, Sravana-Belgola 380).

A feudatory of Ballāla was Macha-Dēva, who had about 1205 A.D., the charge of the Holalkere-nād and the Honkunda Thirty. His minister Sōmi-dannāyaka, the senior *dannāyaka*, was, about 1214 A.D., governing the Bemmather-pattana, *i.e.*, Chitaldrug. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 2). In 1184 A.D., we find Gōparasa, the minister and general, ruling over the Banavāsi province, with Balligrāma as his capital. (*E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 185). In 1193, Eraga or Ereyana, another minister and general, was ruling over it. (*Ibid*, Shikarpur 105). The next year, Kumāra Padmi-Dēva was appointed governor of the province. (*Ibid* Shikarpur 133). In 1204 A.D., it was governed by Kammata-Malla-dandadhipa, who is described as "the celebrated minister" of Ballāla II. He is also spoken of as an "abode of fame" and "in literature a Vidyādhara." The latter's minister was Sūrya Chamupati. (*Ibid* Shikarpur 225). The names of others will be found in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, 505-506. They are omitted here as their jurisdiction lay outside the present limits of the Mysore State.

Domestic life.

Ballāla seems to have had a number of queens, of whom at least eight are known from inscriptions. These were:—

Padmāvati or Padmale, entitled Pattadarasi;
Ketaladēvi, also called Piri-arasi and Pattadarasi;
Tulavamahādēvi; Bammaladēvi;
Umādēvi; Sāntala-dēvi;
Abhinava-ketaladēvi and Baichala-dēvi.

Bammaladēvi is mentioned in inscriptions dated in 1174 A.D., and 1177 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 229 and Arsikere 62). She is represented as ruling the kingdom with Ballāla II from Dōrasamudra. Her uncle (*māva*) is praised in Arsikere 62, in which she herself is spoken of as a terror to co-wives and as the uprooter of the families of the hill-chiefs. Ketala-dēvi is mentioned in Hassan 54, assigned to 1176 A.D., as "a rutting elephant to co-wives." (*E.C.* V). Tuluvala-Dēvi is mentioned in an epigraph dated in 1189 A.D., found at Dyamenhalli, Arsikere Taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1911, Para 101). We have mention of Umādēvi (or Mā-dēvi) for the first time in an inscription dated in 1173 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1926, No. 41); then in another record dated in 1190 A.D. (Arsikere 85); again in a third inscription dated in 1209 A.D., she is spoken of as "the senior queen" and "the crowned consort." (Arsikere 40). Her household officer was Kēsimayya, a grant by whom is recorded in a record dated in 1173 A.D. The great minister Kumāra-Panditayya-dannāyaka was the "promoter" of her interests. This Kumāra-Panditayya is described in another inscription of 1209 A.D., as the son of Ballāla and Umā-dēvi. (Channarayapatna 172). She must be the queen referred to as Rāma-dēvi by Sir John Fleet. (*Bombay Gazetteer* 501, f.n. 7). The latter's son, Hodeya-Bittayya, built a tank and founded a town, for which a grant (an *umbali*) was made. (Arsikere 85 and 40). Chōlamahādēvi is mentioned in an epigraph dated about 1200 A.D., in which she is described as the senior queen and the crowned consort. She is spoken as ruling Kembala. (Channarayapatna 205). Of her a touching story is told in the epigraph referred to. While at Kembala, it was reported to her that some wicked persons at Bevur had used hard words about her. She, in consequence, ordered it to be attacked, and Keta-malla, son of Machigauda, apparently the local headman, was killed in the assault. Feeling compunction for this, she sent two of her chief men to the family, saying:—"We have caused harm to our children; go and encourage them with our words, and in the presence of the sixty families of Kembala, console Keta-malla's son and make to him the grant of a rent-free estate." Ketala-dēvi is spoken of as a jewel-mirror to the face of the kingdom. (Belur 136, dated in 1217 A.D.). Another inscription (Belur 115, dated in 1220 A.D., in the first year of Nārasimha II) refers to queen Abhinava Ketala-Dēvi, who, with Ballāla II, is said to have set up the god of Kēdarēsvara. (Belur 136; see also *E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 23). She is also referred to in a Davangere record dated in 1218 A.D., as the establisher of a Wednesday fair at Kundavada, reckoned to be the Southern Surashtra, for the benefit of the local god Sōmanātha, to whom the merchants and others granted various dues. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 105). In 1207 A.D., she was instrumental in obtaining a grant for a new temple erected at Bandalike. (*E.C.* VIII, Shikarpur 235). Her younger brother Mādhava-dannāyaka is mentioned in an inscription dated in 1209 A.D. (*Ibid*, See translation, under No. 235). Mr. Rice has suggested that as the Kēdarēsvara temple at Halebid has been attributed to Ballāla II and Abhinava-Ketala-Dēvi, it seems probable that they were influenced to erect it by the example of the Dakshina Kēdarēsvara temple at Balagāmi. (*E.C.* VIII, Introd. 32, f.n. 2). Padmala-Dēvi's son was, according to numerous inscriptions (Belur 115, etc.), Nārasimha. This Nārasimha became *Yuvarāja* during Ballāla's life-time (Channarayapatna 243, dated in 1210 A.D.) and was in 1220 A.D. crowned king by Ballāla II himself before his death and established in the kingdom. (Channarayapatna 1721). Nārasimha had a younger sister Sōvala-Dēvi, whose beauty, virtues and extensive liberality are praised (in Channarayapatna 243, dated in 1210 A.D.). Sōvala-Dēvi established the *agrahāra* of Sōmanāthapura, which was equal to Valabhi, at Hāruvanahalli (modern Harnhalli in Arsikere Taluk), where there is a fine temple of Sōmēsvara (Arsikere 123). Ballāla II, Padmala-dēvi and their son Nārasimha are all represented in inscriptions dated in 1210 A.D., as ruling together. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 13, 14). Baiebala-dēvi is mentioned in only one epigraph dated in 1218 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 129). She founded the *agrahāra* of Prasanna Mādhavapura, previously known as Kēsiya-halli and built a Prasanna-Mādhava temple in it. She was the daughter of Madiyakka, and obtained a grant of lands for it with copper *sāsanas* signed by the king's own hand. (*Ibid*). It does not appear that of these eight queens known to us, any more than two had children born to them. While Umā's son Kumāra-Panditayya is not known except as the promoter of her mother's interests, Nārasimha, son by Padmale, was, as we have seen above, crowned successor to the throne by Ballāla II himself.

His capital cities.

Ballāla II appears to have resided at his different capital cities during the progress of his campaigns or tours. Apart from Dōrasamudra, we have mention of Arasiyakeri as a *rājadhāni* or royal city. It is also described as *bandara-vada* or treasury town. (Arsikere 71 dated in 1173 A.D.). Its praises occur in many other epigraphs showing that it was a populous and prosperous place, with large number of Brāhmans, Jainas and Kōyilal. (Arsikere 79, 90, 77, 88 and 90). It attracted the attention of donors like Recharasa, who built the Sahasrakūta-chaityālaya in it in or about 1220 A.D. (Arsikere 77). In 1194 A.D., we find the king residing in Bagali, of which we have a glowing description. It was filled, we are told, with crowds of people, and its treasury was filled with wealth. In 1196 A.D., during the campaign against the Sevunas, he lived at Erambarage; in 1197 A.D., at Kukkanur Koppa and in the following year at Huligere. (Arsikere 104 and 23, Belur 77 and Arsikere 103). In 1200 A.D., we find him in residence at Vijayasamudra, which is called a *rājadhāni*, and is said to be on the Tungabhadra. (Hassan 139 and Channarayapatna 172). It is evidently the same as the Vijayapur of other records, (*e.g.*, Channarayapatna 244), which is said to be Hallavur. He was residing at the same place in 1205, 1209, 1210 and 1211 A.D. (Channarayapatna 181, 172 and 244 and Arsikere 40 and 137). This place has been identified with Hulloor on the Tungabhadra in the Rāni-Bennur Taluk of Dhārwār District.

Religion, Architecture and Sculpture.

During the reign of Ballāla II, Jainism and Vaishnavism flourished side by side, without the exhibition of any ill-will towards each other. An interesting

Vaishnava grant of this reign dated in 1175 A.D., is one in favour of the Adalaperumāl (or Varadarāja) temple at Kānchi. In certain grants, the grandsons of the immediate disciples of Rāmānuja appear as donors. A *mantapa* called after himself was caused to be built by Vīra Ballāla at Tonnur, rendered sacred by its association with Rāmānuja. The *gōpura* at the Krishna temple at that place is also connected with his name. (*M.A.R.* 1907-1908, Paras 42-43). The Kālāmukhas continued in favour in and around Banavāsi, Arsikere, etc. (See Arsikere 62 and 103 and *M.A.R.* 1911, Para 101). Ballāla II visited Sravana-Belgola and made grants there as usual. Buddhism seems to have lingered on in and about Baligāmi but was decaying. Despite the wars which were more of the offensive than of the defensive kind, the country enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity so much that the descriptions we read of in the inscriptions of the reign leave the distinct impression that the people were happy, that the cities were filled with corn and other goods and that there was general contentment. This universal peace in the land is reflected in the increased activity shown in the building of temples and beautifying them on a colossal scale. The largest number of temples built in any single Hoysala king's reign was in that of Ballāla II. At least twenty-two temples, some of them double and a few triple, are known to have come into existence during the period he was king. These are :—Akkanna basti at Sravana-Belgola (1182 A.D.) ; the Amritēsvara at Amritapura (1196 A.D.) ; Singēsvara at Hebbalalu (1200 A.D.); Sāntināthe-basti at Jinanāthapura, Mahālingēsvara at Māvattanahalli, Chattēsvara at Chatchattanahalli, Trimūrti and Anekal at Bandalike, Kōdanda-Rāma at Hiremagalur, Siddhēsvara at Kodakani, Mallēsvara at Huliyar, Āndāl and Sankēsvara at Belur, Kēsava at Angadi and Sāntinātha-basti at Bandalike (*Circa* 1200 A.D.) ; Kīrtinārāyana at Heragu (1218 A.D.); Kēdarēsvara at Halebid (1219 A.D.); Vīrabhadra at Halebid (*Circa* 1220 A.D.); Sahasrakūta-basti at Arsikere (1220 A.D.); Īsvara at Arsikere (*Circa* 1220 A.D.) and Īsvara at Nanditavare (*Circa* 1220 A.D). It will be seen that the era of construction began in right earnest after the termination of the war against the Sevunas which ended about 1196 A.D. From that year to the date of his death the work of building and beautifying went on apparently uninterruptedly throughout the whole period of a quarter of a century that remained of Ballāla's reign. No wonder that a reign so successful in war and in peace came to be reckoned an epoch by itself and made Ballāla's name famous in the history of the period to which it relates. (For further particulars about the temples mentioned above, see *ante* under *Architecture and Sculpture*).

Social condition.

As throwing light on the social conditions of the time may be noted a few facts. We read in one epigraph an account of some merchants of Brāhman descent, one of whom imported horses, elephants and pearls in ships by sea and sold them to kings and another who transported goods from the east to the west and from the north to the south and *vice versa*. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 22 dated in 1188). Devoted servants and others gave up their lives in a variety of ways such as by hook-swinging, burying under, death from an eminence such as from above a high pillar, killing by means of swords, by self-inflicted wounds, etc., in fulfilment of their vows that they would not survive their patrons, masters, or sovereigns. Thus we hear of a woman giving her head to the hook on the death of her mistress. (*E.C.* XI, Molkalmuru 12, dated in *Circa* 1215 A.D.). The suicide of prince Lakshma and his thousand followers referred to below is another notable example of this kind of devotion.

Death of Ballāla II, 1220 A.D.

Ballāla II died in or about 1220 A.D., in the heyday of his fame full of years and deeply mourned by his people. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 211*b* and 172*b*). His death proved too much to Kuvāra-Lakshma (*i.e.*, Kumāra-Lakshma) his minister and general, cherished by him as his son. As the pillar inscription recording his self-sacrifice at Halebid puts it, "between servant and king there was no difference; the glory and marks of royalty were equal in both." "His wealth and his life, Kumāra-Lakshma devoted for the gifts and for the victories of Vīra-Ballāla-Dēva and conquered the world for him as far as the southern ocean." "Of the sixty-four branches of learning, there was not one of which he was ignorant: of two only was he ignorant,—how to say no to supplicants, and to suffer defeat." He had received the decorations of the *Todar* and the *pende* (jewelled anklets). His wife was Suggala-Dēvi, who also wore a *todar* on her left foot as a sign of devotion to her husband. He had a company of a thousand warriors, vowed to live and die with him. He set up a *vīra-sāsana* on which, as evidence that Garuda alone was his equal in fidelity to his master, images of himself and of Garuda were equally engraved thereon. "While all the world was praising him as the founder of the greatness and increase of king Ballāla and the cause of his prosperity—the *dandēsa* Lakshma, together with his wife, mounted up on the splendid stone pillar, covered with the poetical *vīra-sāsana*, proclaiming his devotion to his master; and on the pillar they became united with Lakshmi and with Garuda." (*E.C.* V, Belur 112). The sculptures on the pillar point unmistakably to suicide, being all representations of men with swords cutting off their own arms and legs, even their own heads. Mr. Rice has suggested that Lakshma was a prince of royal blood and was perhaps a half-brother of Ballāla II, whose devotion to him was so great that he and his men refused to survive their sovereign. (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 104).

Thus ended the energetic and distinguished rule of forty-seven years of Ballāla II, during which the Western Chālukyas and Kalachuryas came to a close, the Sevunas were driven back, the Chōlas were breaking up, and the Hoysalas remained as a dominant power in the south. There was thus ample justification for Ballāla II styling himself *Emperor of the South* in his later inscriptions. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 140).

Nārasimha II, Vīra-Nārasimha, 1217-1235 A.D.

Nārasimha II next succeeded to the throne, having been crowned king on the 16th of April, 1220 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 172*b*). He was known also as Vīra-Nārasimha. He had been co-regent of his father during the latter's lifetime. He proved himself a worthy successor to his father. If his father extended his conquests to the north, he made the Hoysala name famous as far as Rāmēsvaram. Hardly had he ascended the throne than he had to beat off an attack of a certain Bijjana. Bijjana's forces were destroyed and his horse was seized alive and made over to the king. (*E.C.* V, Belur 113, dated in 1220 A.D.) In several inscriptions he is spoken as the uprooter of the Magara kingdom, the displacer of the Pāndya and the establisher of the Chōla kingdom. That these claims are not mere poetic embellishments is proved by a number of records both in and outside the State.

Destruction of the Magara kingdom, *Circa* 1220 A.D.

Of these, the destruction of the Magara kingdom is first referred to in an inscription of his dated in 1220 A.D. The identity of this kingdom and its exact location are not yet settled. From an epigraph dated in 1220 A.D., we might infer that his attack on this kingdom was a wholly unprovoked one. Saying to himself, "Why am I called master elephant when there are no troops of elephants of which I am master"—he marched without stopping for a hundred *gāvudas* and overthrowing formidable enemies in the east, captured hundreds of elephants with which Magara came against him and brought them in with his horse. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 72). As the result of this expedition, he became possessed of a wealth of elephants, horses, jewels and other valuables, such as had never been acquired before. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 197, dated in 1223 A.D.). In connection with this campaign is related an incident in another record (Channarāyapatna 203 of 1223 A.D.) which is noteworthy. When advancing against the Magara king, Nārasimha encamped at Chudavādi and gave a feast to celebrate the addition to his necklace of an emerald received from Munivarāditya. This must have been a stone of unusual size and value. Mr. Rice identifies Chūdādi with Chūdagrāma, or Mudiyanur in the present Mulbagal Taluk, (*E.C.* X, Mulbagal 157) and suggests that Munivarāditya was "an old title belonging apparently to a landed chief in Melai (or western) Marayapādi (Channagiri 162) and the Magara kingdom may have been identical with the Mahārājavādi of which the Bānas were in possession in the ninth century." (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 104-5). Dr. Hultzsch, however, locates this territorial division somewhere in the Coimbatore or Salem district and Mr. Venkayya has suggested that it may correspond to the Magadai-mandala (in the present South Arcot district) of Tamil inscriptions, which was ruled over at the time by a certain Ponparappinān.

Restoration of the Chōla king Rājarāja III, *Circa* 1220 A.D. and *Circa* 1232 A.D.

That Nārasimha II actively interfered in the affairs of the Chōla kingdom there can be no doubt whatever as contemporary records in the Chōla country testify to it. (See *ante* under *Rājarāja-Chōla III*). He beat off the Pāndya king, Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I, from the Chōla country ("cleft the rock that was Pāndya" as it is expressively put in one record) and established Rājarāja-Chōla III on the throne. This should have occurred somewhere about 1220 A.D., as inscriptions of about that date (*e g.*, *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 56; *E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 197) refer to the latter incident. Rājarāja III had been apparently imprisoned and Nārasimha II advanced as far as Srīrangam, beat off the invading Pāndyas and released him from the hands of Kopperanjinga, a vassal of his who had revolted against him. Rājarāja III was, however, so weak a prince and his kingdom had been so badly broken up by the Pāndyan war of succession and other causes, that this Pallava feudatory Kopperanjinga raised a second revolt against him and imprisoned him a second time, on this occasion in the fortress of Sēndamangalam in the present South Arcot District. (See *ante* under *Rājarāja-Chōla III*). On this occasion, Nārasimha vowed, "This trumpet shall not be blown unless I shall have maintained my reputation of being the establisher of the Chōla kingdom." (*E.C.* XII, 45; *E.I.* VII, 160). He accordingly sent an army under generals Appanna and Goppaya to the rescue of Rājarāja III and they released him for a second time from confinement. The story of this rescue has been already told at some length in the account of the reign of Rājarāja III. (See *ante*). This second restoration of Rājarāja III probably took place between the years 1229 and 1232 A.D., the Tiruvendipuram record which refers to it being dated in the latter year. (See *ante* under *Rājarāja-Chōla III*). After relieving Rājarāja-Chōla III, Nārasimha seems to have fought the combined army of the Pāndyas and Kādavas (Pallavas) in a ninety days battle at Srīrangam and defeated them. This was followed by his establishing a capital near Srīrangam. A record dated in 1233 A.D. states that Nārasimha himself was in residence at Pānchāla in the Chōla country. (*E.C.* VII, Channagiri 52). The battle fought at Srīrangam and the release of

Rājarāja-Chōla III are not only fixed by inscriptions but also by a Sanskrit work called *Gadyakaranāmrita* by Sakala-Vidya Chakravarti, who fixes the events just before the marriage of Sōmēsvara, the son of Nārasimha II, in 1234 A.D. The name of Perunjinga is given in this work as Nijāku (?) and the fortress where he was confined as Jayantimangalam, apparently another name for Sēndamangalam of the inscriptions. (*M.A.R.* 1924, Para 70).

Sevunas turned back, *Circa* 1224 A.D.

The Sevunas, whom Ballāla II had so valiantly fought and beaten, again made attempts (*Circa* 1224 A.D.) to press towards the south, but their multitudinous army was opposed and their leaders Vikramapāla, Pavusa and others were left dead on the field. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 121; *E.C.* XI, Davangere 25). A spirited account of this war is given in a record dated in 1249 A.D., in the reign of Sōmēsvara, the son of Nārasimha II. On seeing the commanders of the army of the haughty Sevuna king coming against him, Nārasimha being enraged, saying "I will show them the terror of my arm; *bhai, bhai*," set the lusty elephant on which he was mounted towards them, and slew the undoubted heroes Vikramapāla and Pavusa mad on war." (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 20. See also *E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 98, dated in 1229 A.D., and Krishnarajpete 63 dated in 1237 A.D.). Evidently Nārasimha II took a personal part in this war. This battle was so sanguinary that, we are told, the Tungabhadra was filled to the banks with streams of blood. The Sevuna army was apparently done to death almost to a man. (*E.C.* V, Hassan 84 of 1230 A.D.). Despite this success, there is reason to believe that Nārasimha II lost most, if not all, of the territory north of the Vardha and the Tungabhadra. It is evident the Sevunas recovered from their defeat and took the offensive against the Hoysalas and Nārasimha just succeeded in keeping them away from crossing the Tungabhadra, which marked his northern boundary. An inscription at Basral states that it was the hereditary minister Dandanāyaka Harihara, of Addayida, who actually defeated the Sevuna troops when they laid siege to a place in the Hoysala territory. He is specially credited with capturing whole lines of cavalry from the Sevuna army, mounted on his one thorough-bred horse. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 121).

War against the Pāndyas of Madura, *Circa* 1224 A.D.

Numerous inscriptions show that Nārasimha II had come into conflict with the southern Pāndyan king of the time, Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I. He is described in one record (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 25, dated in 1224 A.D.) as having received the submission of the Pāndya king (he is said to have rolled on the ground) and to have finally set up a pillar of victory in *Setu* (*i.e.*, Rāmēsvaram). In this same inscription, he is represented as the thunderbolt to the rock Pāndyas. (See also *E.C.* V, Belur 151 of 1227 A.D., where he is spoken of as having reduced the Pāndya king to the position of a servant and *E.C.* VI, Kadur 12*a* dated in 1223 A.D., where he is spoken of as the confiner in narrow limits of the Pāndya empire).

Occupation of Kānchi, *Circa* 1229.

After the restoration of the Chōla king Rājarāja III, for the second time, Nārasimha II seems to have occupied Kānchi, the old Pallava capital. The boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom are given in a record of 1228 A.D., as Nangali on the east, Kongu on the south, Ālvakhēda on the west, and the Heddore on the north. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 204). But in a record of the following year, he is said to be ruling from Kānchi, with the surrounding ocean as his boundary. (*E.C.* XII, Tiptur 42). Another record, dated in 1223 A.D., states that Nārasimha "pursuing after the Trikalinga kings, penetrated their train of elephants, displaying unequalled valour." This probably refers to the driving out of Kānchi, some years before he occupied it, the Telugu-Chōda chief Tikka, who also claims to have been a *Chōla-sthāpanāchārya*. (See *ante* under Rājarāja-Chōla III).

Nārasimha's titles, generals and ministers.

Nārasimha ruled as an independent sovereign, most of the records relating to his reign giving him the paramount titles of *Samastabhuvanāsraya*, *Srīprithivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēsvara* though the Basral record quoted above styles him simply *Mahāmandalēsvara*, but adds *Nissankapratāpachakravarti*. A Sravana-Belgola record (*Sravana-Belgola* 186) styles him *Pratāpachakravarti*. A minister was Amita and he and his son Ballāla-dandadhīpa were, according to a record dated in 1223 A.D., among his chief supporters. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 197). Amita founded a temple at Sivara "for all the gods such that it seems as if a creation of Aja, Hari and Hara." (*Ibid*). This should be the present Amitēsvara temple at Sivara in the Channarayapatna Taluk. The generals Appayya and Samudra-gōpayya, who rescued Rājarāja III, the Chōla king, have been above referred to. His chief minister and perhaps greatest general was undoubtedly Polālva-Dēva, who had for his titles *Tolagadakamba* (unshaken pillar) and *Vaishnava-chakravartin* (or chief among Vaishnavas). He had served under Ballāla II, but came to more prominent notice during Nārasimha's reign. He belonged to Nāranapura in the Āndhra country and was the son of Atirāja or Attarasa. His praises are set forth at great length in a Harihar record dated in 1224 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 25). He built the great Harihārēsvara temple at Harihar in 1224 A.D. In the council, we are told, he was the tongue, the other councillors being like statues; in war he was a shield against the four-fold armies of the southern king. As among kings—the composer of Davangere 25 adds—Nārasimha was the first, having by his bravery defeated Bānōdara (*i.e.*, the Magara chief), so among councillors Pōlālva was the first, having guarded the whole of the Hoysala empire. Can further praise be added, he says, quoting the proverbial saying—"After drinking milk, can anything else be taken?" Pōlālva is said to have composed a *Haricharitra* in *Shatpadi* metre which has not come down to us. (*E.C.* XI, Introd. 21; *Karnātaka-Kavicharite*, new Edn. 344-5). Nārasimha's chief accountant was Visvanātha, a Brāhman of Lokkagundi in Belvola, whose eldest brother claims to have taught the king letters and accounts and made him proficient in arts. Visvanātha himself was so clever that he could write the letters with both hands, and perform a hundred *avadhānas* (mnemonic feats) so that the learned who examined him nodded their heads doubtless in approval. The two brothers are said to have become ornaments in the council of the king. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 203, dated in 1223 A.D.). Visvanātha is spoken of as a follower of the *Svāmi* of Sindavige. Another disciple of this *Svāmi* was Vēdārtha Vaijanātha-bhatta (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 123, dated in 1237 A.D.) who has been identified with the poet Vaijanna, the author of a Sanskrit couplet inscribed on the Hoysalēsvara temple at Halebid. (*E.C.* V, Belur 238 assigned to about 1230 A.D.). The period of Nārasimha's reign was not apparently wanting in literary effort.

Architecture and Sculpture

During Nārasimha's reign, the Hoysala kingdom enjoyed internal peace and external fame. If we may believe the composer of Arsikere 82 (*E.C.* V), the country had, during his time, *yōjana* to *yōjana*, towns surrounded with gardens, tanks filled with lotuses, and groves for travellers to rest in. Trade seems to have flourished and people certainly appear to have been happy and contented. A very interesting description is given in the record referred to above of a merchant from Kērala named Dāmōdara-setti, who was greatly honoured in the Hoysala kingdom. He was a native of Kolemūka, to the east of the Pērēru river, and was, it is stated, an expert in the examination of goods and animals. An inscription dated in 1255 A.D., gives further information about him and his family. Dāmōdara's brother Kunjanambi is said to have been an expert in testing all manner of gems. It would appear he made himself agreeable to both the Hoysala emperor in the south and the Ballāla (apparently the then Sevuna king) in the north and gained great credit as a truthful negotiator by effecting an alliance between the two kings. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 108). There was scope during this reign for the further construction of temples. Among the more important of these were the following:—the Harihara temple at Harihar (1224 A.D.); Mūla-Singēsvara at Bellur (1224 A.D.); Kallēsvara at Heggere (1232 A.D.); Galagēsvara at the same place (*Circa* 1232 A.D.); Sōmēsvara at Harnhalli (1234 A.D.); Kēsava at Harnhalli (*Circa* 1234 A.D.) and Mallikārjuna at Basaral (1235 A.D.). Of these, Harihar is one of the most famous, while as examples of triple temples, the Mūle-Singēsvara and Basaral are worthy of note. (For further information on these temples see *ante* under *Architecture and Sculpture*).

Domestic life and death, 1235 A.D.

Nārasimha II seems to have had only two wedded queens Umā-Dēvi and Kālala-Dēvi. (Belur 182 and Channarāyapatna 203). Of these, Umā-Dēvi appears to have been the senior queen. Kālala-Dēvi had, by 1223 A.D., borne Nārasimha, a son Sōyi or Sōmēsvara-Dēva, to whom the king's sister Sōvala-Dēvi was like a mother. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 123). According to another record, (Channarāyapatna 204, dated in 1228 A.D.) Nārasimha had a son named Ereyanga-Dēva by Gaurala-Dēvi, the daughter of Bellappa-Nāyaka, one of his body-guards. She is described as "a jewel of women." Nothing is known of the subsequent history of this prince. Nārasimha II seems to have died in or about 1235 A.D., as we have records of his up to that year. (Channarāyapatna 221).

Sōmēsvara, Vīra-Sōmēsvara, Sōvi-Dēva, or Sōma, 1234-1262 A.D.

Sōmēsvara, also called Vīra-Sōmēsvara, Sōma and Sōvi-Dēva, succeeded Nārasimha II on the throne. As an epigraph dated in 1254 A.D. is stated to be of his 21st year, he should have been made co-regent from about 1233 A.D. (*E.C.* III, Seringapatam 110). According to the Badinalu inscription, however, his initial date is 1228 A.D. He was a contemporary of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla III, who succeeded Rājarāja III, after murdering him. (See *ante* under Chōlas).

War against the Chōlas, *Circa* 1237 A. D.

Rājēndra-Chōla III was the nephew of Sōmēsvara, who appears to have helped him in his war against the Pāndyas. Sōmēsvara indeed claims that he uprooted Rājēndra-Chōla III in battle but gave him protection when he claimed refuge. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 123 dated in 1237 A.D.).

Campaign against Kādavarāya, *Circa* 1237 A.D.

In this year, we hear of Vīra-Sōmēsvara being engaged in a victorious expedition against the Kādavarāya, apparently one of the successors of Kopperunjinga. (See *ante* under *Chōlas*).

Expedition against Pāndyas of Madura, *Circa* 1237 A.D.

A record of 1240 A.D., from Kadur states that he was marching against Gandagōpāla. This is evidently a reference to the conflict with the Pāndyas that occurred in 1237 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 180). Vīra-Sōmēsvara appears to have pushed on his victory against the Pāndyas as far as Rāmēsvaram, where he erected a pillar of victory. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 25; *E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 203 dated in 1223 A.D.). This expedition was, probably under the command of Appanna-Dandanāyaka the same general who defeated Perunjinga and released Rājarāja-Chōla III from his captivity. According to an inscription at Tirumaiyam in Pudukkōttai, he settled some disputes between the Saivas and Vaishnavites of that place. This inscription is dated in the year of Māravarma-Sundara-Pāndya II (A.D. 1239-1251), whose contemporary Sōmēsvara should have been. Among the tracts conquered by Appanna were Kana-nādu and Murappunnādu in the Pāndyan country. In the latter, the Pāndyan king Māravarma-Sundara-Pāndya II made the grant of a village in Sōmēsvara's name. (*M.E.R.* 1907, Para 26).

Kannanūr, new capital in Chōla kingdom, 1239 A.D.

He evidently took possession of part of the Chōla kingdom, which was now completely broken up, and was ruling from there, from about 1239 A.D., his capital being at Kannanūr or Vikramapura, to the north of Srīrangam, in the Trichinopoly District. (*E.C.* VII, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 103 and Nanjangud 36). He is said to have created Kannanūr for his pleasure by the might of his own arm and there, with an interval in 1252 A.D., he stayed till 1254 A.D. Whether Kannanūr is identical with Vijayarājēndrapattana, another town which he is said to have brought into existence in the Chōla kingdom, is not yet settled. (*M.A.R.* 1913, Para 80). This latter town is referred to in two inscriptions at Ellesapura in Hole-Narsipur Taluk, dated in 1238 A.D. At Kannanūr are still to be seen the remains of an extensive fort, parts of its ramparts being still visible. In the fort is a temple partially in ruins, on whose south wall is to be seen an inscription of Vīra-Rāmanātha-Dēva, in which the temple is called Poysalēsvara. This is apparently the temple referred to in an inscription of

Vīra-Sōmēsvara in the Jambukēsvara temple in which he mentions "the image of the lord Poysalēsvara, he set up at Kannanūr *alias* Vikramapuram." (*M.E.R.* 1892, Para 7). In the Jambukēsvara temple, Sōmēsvara set up images in the names of his grand-father Ballāla II, his grand-mother Padmala, his father Nārasimha II and his own queen Sōmala. (*Ibid*). One record describes Vīra-Sōmēsvara as the talisman (*rakshāmani*) or protector of the Chōla king (Rājēndra-Chōla III). This is dated in 1257 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarājpete 9). A record of 1272 A.D., refers to his speedy conquests of the Chōla king and of the foremost leaders of the Pāndyan king. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 125). This refers obviously to the events that took place between 1237-1240 A.D., as narrated above. The Hoysala records, however, do not reflect the fact that Rājēndra-Chōla III later became a bitter foe of Sōmēsvara. His permanent settlement in the Chōla country was probably the cause of this later enmity. Having come to help, he had preferred to stay on. This naturally gave offence to the nephew. Hence we find Sōmēsvara being treated as a foe by Rājēndra-Chōla III in certain of his records. In these, Sōmēsvara receives the title of *Māma-Sōmēsvara-Kāladandan* or the hostile rod of death to uncle Sōmēsvara. In one record, we are told that Sōmēsvara was so thoroughly humbled that he was compelled to put on Rājēndra-Chōla's leg, with his own hands, the "anklet of heroes." In another record, we see mentioned certain of the ministers and officers of Sōmēsvara engaged in a temple enquiry in the dominion of Rājēndra-Chōla III. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 13; Appendix C. No. 49). This indicates that the power of Rājēndra-Chōla was recognized by the reigning Hoysala sovereign. Of course, such a state of affairs cannot have been reached without preliminary contests which apparently enabled Sōmēsvara to call himself the "uprooter of

Rājēndra-Chōla III" in his own inscriptions. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 43).

War against the Sevunas, *Circa* 1229 A.D.

An inscription dated in 1229 A.D. states that he "first" fought against "the famous Krishna-Kandhara." This is doubtless a reference to the Sevuna king of that name who ruled from about 1247 to 1260 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Nagamangala 98). Another dated in 1237 A.D., uses the same phrase. A third inscription dated in 1248 A.D. terms him a "wild-fire to the forest, the Sevuna king." (*E.C.* V, Arkalgud 12). An echo of the same fight is heard in another record (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpete 8, revised as mentioned in *M.A.R.* 1915, Para 83) where the forces of Singhana, the predecessor of Krishna Kandhara, are referred to as having been successfully opposed in 1242 A.D. by Kanneya-Nāyaka, the general of the Kannadiga troops. As he is said to have fought the Sevuna king in 1229 A.D., *i.e.*, five years before he came to the throne, (following Seringapatam 110), he must have led an expedition against him while he was still *Yuvarāja*. If, however, the Badinalu record is correct in fixing his year of accession in 1228 A.D., this expedition against the Sevunas should have occurred in the very first or second year of his rule. The Sevuna king, however, continued to make incursions into the Hoysala country. A general of Krishna Kandhara, for instance, claims in a record of his sovereign at Dhārwār, that he acquired the territory of the turbulent Hoysalas and even set up pillars of victory near the Cauvery. (Fleet, *Kan. Dyn. Bomb.* 73). This is not heard of in Hoysala inscriptions of the period. Similarly a record at Pandhapur (near Sholāpur) states that the Hoysala king Sōmēsvara made a gift to the god there in 1236 A.D. (*Bomb. A.R.*, 1897-1898).

In 1237 A.D., the boundaries of Sōmēsvara's kingdom are thus described :—

Kānchi on the east; Belur on the west; the Peddore (Krishna) on the north and Bayalnād (Wynād) on the south. (*E.C.* IV, Mandya 122).

Within a few years from that date he had established his capital at Kannanūr, where he stayed on till 1254 A.D. This indicates an extension of his territories southwards as far as Srīrangam.

His principal generals and ministers.

The *Mahāpradkāna Paramasvāmin Dandanāyaka* Harihara who had previously held office under his father, continued to serve under Sōmēsvara. He was the recipient in 1237 A.D. of a grant in favour of the temple of Mallikārjuna built by him at Basaral in the name of his father. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 122). Srīranga-Dannāyaka and his son Pērkadi-Dēva are also mentioned as high officers during this reign. (*M.A.R.* 1917, Para 101). They appear as donors in certain inscriptions at Agaram, near Yelandur, one of them dated in 1243 A.D. (*Ibid*; *M.A.R.* 1918, Para 96). Another general of Sōmēsvara was Brahma-dandanāyaka. He apparently led the expedition into the Pāndya country. He is said to have forced the enemies, by destroying their groves, towns and *chatras* to take refuge under the scanty shade of trees the branches of which had been broken of by buffaloes. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 238 dated in 1249 A.D.). This Brahma-dandanayaka was probably the same as the Bommanna-Dandanāyaka, who granted the villages of Kondajji and Halli Hiriyur in the Gubbi Taluk as a *Sivapuri* to Sivayōgi Chikka Aghamana-Dēva. A few of the donees mentioned in this grant, it is worthy of note, were women. (*M.A.R.* 1907, Page 4). That women held a high position during the period is testified to by another record (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 108 dated in 1255 A.D.). This relates the conferment of the title and status of *Ganakumāri* on one Chandavve, the daughter of a famous Malayāla merchant resident at Sōmēsvara's Court.

Domestic life.

Sōmēsvara appears to have expended his wealth in making costly gifts such as the *hiranyagarbha*, *tulāpurasha*, etc., and assumed, while at Kannanūr, the grand title of *Sārvabhauma*, or universal emperor. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 108). At least three of his queens are known: Bijjala-Dēvi (or Bijjala-Rāni or Bijjali), Sōmala-Dēvi, and Dēvala-Dēvi, the Chālukya princess. By Bijjala-Dēvi, he had a son named Nārasimha III or Vīra-Nārasimha, and by Dēvala-Dēvi, a son Rāmanātha or Vīra-Rāmanātha and a daughter called Ponnambalamahādēvi. (*E.C.* V, Belur 74 and 92; Channarāyapatna 231).

Trade and progress in Architecture.

Despite the wars Sōmēsvara indulged in, there seems to have been peace in his home provinces and trade appears to have flourished. A trader of the Malayāla country Kunjanambi by name seems to have wielded at the time considerable influence at his court as also at the court of Krishna Khandhara, the Sevuna king. He was instrumental in getting an alliance established between the two kings. He appears to have been a great merchant and an expert in testing all kinds of gems. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 108 dated in 1255 A.D.). The peaceful nature of the times is reflected in the number of temples, some of them of great sculptural beauty, that were erected in this reign. Among these were the following thirteen:—

Lakshmi-Nārasimha, a triple one at Nuggihalli (1249 A.D.); Sadāsiva at Nuggihalli (*Circa* 1249 A.D.);
Lakshmi-Nārasimha at Javagal (*Circa* 1256 A.D.) also a triple temple;
Īsvara temple at Budanur (*Circa* 1250 A.D.);
Padmanābha at the same place (*Circa* 1250 A.D.);
Panchalinga at Gōvindanahalli (*Circa* 1250 A.D.), a quintuple one;
Kēsava and Kēdarēsvara—at Galapura (*Circa* 1250 A.D.);
Mallēsvara at Hulikal (*Circa* 1250 A.D.);
Kēsava at Tandaga (*Circa* 1250 A.D.);

Lakshmi-Nārāyana at Hosaholalu (*Circa* 1250 A.D.), a triple one; and

Kēsava at Aralaguppe (*Circa* 1250 A D.).

For further information as regards these temples, see *ante* under *Architecture and Sculpture.*

Death, 1254 A.D.

Sōmēsvara visited Dōrasamudra in 1252 A.D., and appears to have died two years later in 1254 A.D. On the occasion of his death, one of his generals Kanneya-Nāyaka, his three wives and ten maid servants and twenty-one men servants, it is said, six times embraced Garuda (to show their lasting loyalty towards Sōmēsvara) from the head of an elephant and killed themselves. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpete 8 and 9; *M.A.R.* 1915, Para 83). It was this Kanneya-Nāyaka who opposed the Sevuna forces in 1242 A.D. (See above). This act of self-sacrifice is comparable to the death of Prince Lakshma and his thousand followers on the death of Nārasimha II. (See above).

Nārasimha III, Vīra-Nārasimha, 1254-1291 A.D.

On the death of Sōmēsvara in 1254 A.D., a division of his kingdom was effected between his two sons. Nārasimha III, also called Vīra-Nārasimha, got the greater part of the ancestral kingdom, with Dōrasamudra as its capital, while his half-brother Rāmanātha (or Vīra-Rāmanātha) remained in possession of what is now Kolar District and the Tamil territories conquered in the south by Nārasimha, with Kannanūr as his capital. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 231). This division was apparently made as a matter of convenience, for we find inscriptions of both the brothers as far south as Tanjore, at Sendalai and Mannargudi. (*M.E.R.* 1896-1897.) The collisions that frequently occurred between them probably show that they were either dissatisfied with or did not like the partition and the fact that inscriptions of both are found far down south, indicates that each claimed the southern part as his own. Nārasimha III was born on 12th August 1240 A.D., while his father was marching with his troops against the Pāndyas (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 100) and was accordingly only about 14 years of age when he ascended the throne. His *upanayana* (investiture of the sacred thread) was, it would appear, celebrated on the 25th February 1255 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Belur 126). To mark the occasion, he paid a visit to the Vijayapārsva *basadi* at the capital and made a grant to it. (*Ibid*, Belur 124). He is described in one record as *Sāhitya-Sarvajna*, or omniscient in literature. (*Ibid*, Chennarāyapatna 269). The same record makes it plain that he was the pet of his father. His steadiness seems to have impressed his father, with whose consent he is said to have assumed the Hoysala crown. His reign, however, was a disturbed one, partly owing to his differences with his brother and partly owing to more than one formidable invasion by the Sevunas of the Hoysala territories.

Collisions with Rāmanātha, 1260 to 1290 A.D.

Much of the time of Nārasimha III was lost in fighting against his brother, who again and again invaded his part of the kingdom. These conflicts are recorded to have taken place in 1260, 1278, 1280, 1282, 1289 and 1290 A.D. Besides these half a dozen fights, which are recorded in different epigraphs, there might have been others which are not known. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 206 and 269, Arsikere 149, Belur 187, Hassan 47; *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur II as revised in *M.A.R.* 1916, Para 90, Channarāyapatna 232). In all these, Rāmanātha appears as the assailant.

Invasion of the Sevunas, 1276 A.D.

Nārasimha, who appears to have remained for the most part at his capital, had to meet worse foes in the Sevuna Kings of Dēvagiri. First under Mahādēva, their king, there was an invasion, about 1271 A.D., which is referred to in a record from Nāgamangala. (*E.C.*, IV, Nāgamangala, 39).

The incidents referred to in this record should be the same as those mentioned in another from Channarāyapatna dated in 1276 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 269). These are confirmed by a third record from Chitaldrug. (*E.C.* X, Chitaldrug 12 of 1286). As Mahādēva's rule ended in 1271 A.D., the details furnished by the latter inscriptions should be referred back to 1271 A.D., the date of the Nāgamangala record, the more so as they are nearly identical. According to the Nāgamangala epigraph, the great Sevuna king Mahādēva was marching forth to battle without fear, mounted on his elephant, when it refused to stand, and he had to take to his fine horse; but this also becoming frightened, he said in terror "Flight is best" (*palāyanam kusalam*), and fled in one night. The Channarāyapatna record adds the detail that having entered the battle, Mahādēva was unable to endure, and leaving his cavalry force, ran away in a night, saying flight was best, *i.e.*, safest in the circumstances. In both these inscriptions, the name of Perumāla-Dēva-Dannāyaka, the great general of Nārasimha III, is mentioned, and he is described as a source of "security" to his sovereign. The context does not make it clear whether it was he who led the Hoysala forces to battle against the Sevunas. It is said of him that in view of both armies, he offered up the lotus of the brave Ratnapāla's head to the goddess of Victory, and captured his *javanike* (curtain or tent), and received the name of *Javanike Nārāyana*. Ratnapāla was probably the leader of Māhadēva's forces and he lay dead on the field at the hands of Perumāla. The Sevunas, however, did not forget their defeat, the more so as they appear to have established themselves in a part of the present Chitaldrug District, not far away from Harihar. An epigraph at this place (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 59) states that in the reign of Mahādēva, Sāluva Tikkama, his general, had led a victorious expedition to the south, and invaded

Dōrasamudra and brought back as tribute all kinds of wealth, especially elephants and horses. Mahādēva apparently paid a visit to Harihar and becoming duly impressed with its sanctity, made it rent-free in his name. On his second visit, Mahādēva made it free from all taxes, and Tikkama himself, after obtaining royal permission, set up an image of Lakshmi-Nārāyana near the image of Harihara, in his (king's) name. Though the image was actually set up in 1279 A.D. and the temple completed in 1280 A.D., there is no doubt that the events relate actually to the period of Mahādēva's rule, which closed in 1271 A.D. Sāluva's attack on Dōrasamudra, whenever it occurred, probably in 1271 A.D., was apparently bought off, while Mahādēva's attempt was repelled by Perumāla and ended in his flight. Mahādēva's successor Rāmachandra (or Rāma-Dēva) renewed the attack on Dōrasamudra in 1276 A.D. His general Tikkama was in command of the forces, and he was helped by Jeyi-Dēva and Haripāla, and strengthened by the army of Irungōla, the chief of Nidugal. He suddenly made his appearance and encamped at Belvādi, which is to the north of Dōrasamudra, saying "I will take Dōrasamudra in only one minute," and laid siege to the fort. But under the leadership of Chikka-Kēteya-Dannāyaka who is described as a son of Nārasimha III, and with the heroic example of his son named Ankeya, a tremendous battle took place on the 25th of April 1276, resulting in the utter rout of the enemy, who were driven back in confusion beyond Dummi, the hill on the Shimoga and Chitaldrug frontier. The badge of honour on Sāluva's face was damaged and he fled saying, "I am disgusted," while Haripāla was stricken with fear and Jeyi-Dēva beat his mouth. (*E.C.* Belur 164 and 165). Though Sāluva's army was spread over the whole country in Belavādi, Ankeya, it is added, gave him time neither to remove his last encampment nor to take food, but drove him back as far as Dummi. (*Ibid* Belur 165). Ankeya was helped in his heroic onslaught by Nanjeya and Gullaya, who, it is said, forced the enemy back, crying "The king, the king!" (*Ibid*, Belur 164). Three years later, in 1279 A.D., the brave Chikka-Kētaya and his son Ankeya incurred the king's displeasure, the former being put under arrest and the latter being attacked, apparently under royal command. (Belur 166). Ankeya's son Duggaya ran to his father's aid from Dōrasamudra, but fell fighting in battle at Belavādi. (Belur 167).

Renewed attempts.

In the conflict of 1278 A.D., one Singaya-Dannāyaka was killed. In the renewed attempts of 1280 A.D., Rāmanātha appears to have been assisted by the then Gajapati king and after a battle fought at Soleūr, a compromise seems to have been effected. In the fight of 1289 A.D., which was not far away from Belur, a number of men fell, after doing some destruction among the invaders. In 1290 A.D., Rāmanātha made a final attack with his specially raised forces on Dōrasamudra, where his brother was then residing. Apparently he was beaten off and compelled to retreat.

Attack against Nidugal fort, 1285 A.D.

In 1285 A.D., Nārasimha III led his forces against the Nidugal fort, and by destroying Bageyakere, broke its pride. The ruler of Nidugal, it will be recalled, had rendered help to the Sevuna general, Sāluva-Tikkama, against Nārasimha III in 1276 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Arsikere 151).

Generals and ministers of the reign.

Among the most distinguished of the generals of Nārasimha III was Perumāla-Dannāyaka, a Brāhman and a distinguished warrior. Nagamangala 39 and Channarāyapatna 269 furnish many interesting details about him, his parentage and his acts of charity. The conspicuous gallantry he displayed in repelling the Sevuna attack of 1271 A.D. has been narrated above. The king rewarded him with an estate in the neighbourhood of Belur, in the present Nāgamangala Taluk, which was apparently converted into an *agrahāra* under the name of *Udbhava-Nārasimhapura*, after the royal donor. (*E.C.* IV, Nāgamangala 38 and 41). Here Perumāla carried out some valuable irrigation works. (*Ibid* 48 and 49). Besides the title of *Javanike-Nārāyana*, he was known as Rāvutarāya and champion over traitors to his lord. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 269). He was evidently a very enlightened and public spirited man. According to one record (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 27 dated in 1290 A.D.) he purchased certain lands at Mailange (the present Malingi) for the purpose of endowing a college, wherein, besides professors to impart instruction in the *Rig-Vēda*, there were to be masters for teaching Nāgara, Kannada, Tamil and Marāthi. Provision was made for the proper cultivation of the lands in question and for the pay and of the endowments by the tenants, "their children and children's children for ever and ever." His *guru* was one Rāmakrishna, in whose name and in his own and Srī-Allālanātha he set up images and had them dedicated. (Nāgamangala 38). He was evidently a devout Vaishnava. He survived his sovereign and in the reign of his son, he is represented as exercising regal authority with the king. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 66). Chitaldrug 12 of 1286 (*E.C.* XI) also refers to him and Chitaldrug 7 (*E.C.* XI) states that he made the Brahmapuri hill (one of the heights above Chitaldrug) into Perumāle-pura. He also purchased some lands close by and gave them to the Brāhmans of the new settlement which he got established at the Huliwell of the Bemmatur-durga. He also re-built the tank of Kusubhu-Kaleya, which commanded them and named it

Perumāle-samudra after himself. Other charities of his in favour of the Panchalingatīrtha are recorded in Chitaldrug 32. (*E.C.* XI). Another famous general of Nārasimha was Sōma, who was humble enough to describe himself as having descended from the race born from the feet of Brahma. Some of his forbears had seen service under the Chālukya kings. He caused to be built the splendid temple of Sōmanāthapura, one of the best examples of Hoysala art and the *agrahāra* adjoining it. (*E.C.* III, Tirumakudlu-Narsipur 97 and Introd. 19 and 35). He also caused to be built the lofty eastern gate of the Harihara temple of five storeys at Harihar. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 36, dated in 1268).

Domestic life.

No details are available about the queens of Nārasimha III, but that he had a son named Ballāla III (or Vīra-Ballāla) and certain other unnamed sons seems certain. One record speaks of him as the "own son" of Narāsimha III (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 47, No. 81 of 1912) which shows that he had other sons, probably by *mesalliance*. Chikka-Kētaya, who is described as his son, was probably so called by way of courtesy, the more so, as Chikka-Kētaya is spoken of as having a son Ankeya in the same inscription capable of the heroic deeds attributed to him. (Belur 164 and 165). At the date of these inscriptions, 1276 A.D., Nārasimha III could have been only 36 years and he could not have had a son and grandson capable of taking such prominent parts in war as are attributed to Chikka-Kētaya and his son Ankeya. Another epigraph (Belur 150 dated in 1274 A.D.) mentions another son Kumāra-Malli-Dēvadannāyaka and refers to a gift made by him.

Architecture and Sculpture.

The reign was peaceful enough for the people to build and dedicate temples in the names of their chosen gods. Thus we find in this reign the following among other temples coming into existence :—

Kēsava and Mūlasankēsvaru at Turuvekere (*Circa* 1260 A.D.) ;
Yōga-Mādhava of the triple king at Settikere (1261 A.D.);
Kēsava at Sōmanāthapur, also of the triple type (1268 A.D.) ;
Mādhavaraya at Belur (*Circa* 1270 A.D.) ;
Lakshmi-Nārasimha at Hole-Narsipur (*Circa* (1270 A.D.) ; to the same God at Vignasante (1286 A.D.) and Bālalingēsvara at the same place (*Circa* 1286 A.D.).

For further particulars about these temples, see *ante* under *Architecture and Sculpture*.

Vīra-Rāmanātha, 1254-1295 A.D.

Vīra-Rāmanātha-Dēva seems to have ruled over the southern part of the Hoysala kingdom from about 1254 A.D., as his 6th year is stated to have corresponded to *Saka* 1182-1260 A.D. (*M.E.R.* 1911, para 48). Inscriptions of his dated from his 2nd to the 41st years are known. (*M.E.R.* 1892, Para 7; *M.E.R.* 1903, Para, 14; see also *E.I.* III, 10; *M.E.R.* 1912, Para 46; *M.E.R.* 1913, Para 69; *M.E.R.* 1920, Para 58; *E.C.* Bowringpete 82 and 25a). Tamil inscriptions of his dated from 1257 to 1294 A.D. have been found in the northern and eastern parts of the Bangalore District (*E.C.* IX, Classified List of Inscriptions, page 3, Introd. 22) and also in parts of the Kolar District (*E.C.* X, Introd. XXXII). His fights against his brother are recorded in epigraphs dated up to 1295 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 28 and Channapatna 183). He thus appears to have exercised sovereignty over his dominions for 41 years, which more than covers the reign of his half-brother Nārasimha III. His capital was at Kannanūr, while he appears to have had a residence at Kundani, identified with Kundana near Dēvanhalli in the Bangalore District. This identification has, however, been disputed. Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri has identified it with Kundana near Hosur in the Salem District. He also thinks that this is the Kundana after which Hesar-Kundani mentioned in Malur 100 (*E.C.* X) takes its name, it being so called to distinguish it from Kundana of the Bangalore District. (*M.E.R.* 1911, Para 48). A few Hoysala inscriptions have been found at this place (Kundani near Hosur) though none of them refers to it as *rājadhāni.* It, however, appears to have borne the alternative of Dēvar-Kundani, *Dēvar* being an abbreviation for Dēvasamudram, a tank close by it. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 46). The southern boundary of his dominions extended from about Honnudike in the Tumkur Taluk to Lakkur in the Malur Taluk, the western being east of the range of hills north from Dēvarāyadurga. His queen was Kamalādēvi, the daughter of a certain Āriya-pillai, and his queen's younger sister seems to have been known as Chikka Sōmala-Dēvi, being so called apparently to distinguish her from queen Sōmala-Dēvi, the mother of Rāmanātha. (*M.E.R.* 1892, Para 7). Rāmanātha too assumed the title of *Sārvabhauma Chakravartin* or *Sārvabhauma Pratāpa-chakravartin.* (*M.E.R.* 1909, Para 76). Another probable title of his was *Rājakkalnāyan, i,e.*, father of kings, a title which was subsequently assumed by the Pāndya king Jatāvarman Vikrama-Pāndya. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 50). His minister (in the 11th year of his reign) was Pakkadikara Sōmaya-Dandanāyaka. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 69). His chief minister, however, was Mahāpradhāni Vīrayya-Dandanāyaka, mentioned in an epigraph (*M.E.R.* 1920, 21 of 1920) in which his sons appear as donees. (*Ibid* Nos. 41 and 56 of 1920). In the Kolar area, Ilavanjirāyar appears as one of his ministers (*E.C.* X, Kolar 239), along with Manjiyarmavuttār who is (*Ibid*, Bowringpete 23 and 25a) called the king's son. Towards the close of his reign, he appears to have made an attempt to extend his territory over the portion of the kingdom which did not belong to him. But these efforts were frustrated, for beyond the succession and short rule of his son Visvanātha no more is heard of this Tamil branch except in a little corner of the present Salem District. (See below). There is reason to believe that the kingdom was reunited in the reign of Ballāla III, son of Nārasimha III. (See below).

Visvanātha, Vīra-Visvanātha, 1293-1298 A.D.

Rāmanātha was succeeded by his son Visvanātha, also known as Vīra-Visvanātha. His rule appears to have been a short one. An inscription of the 27th year of his father records a grant for his prosperity. (*M.E.R.* 1913, Para 69). Two inscriptions of his dated in his 3rd year corresponding to *Saka* 1219, cyclic year *Hēvilambi* (=1297-1298 A.D.) have been found at Kundani near Hosur. (*M.E.R.* 1912, Para 46). Another inscription of his, dated in his 3rd year, has been found in the Kolar District. (*E.C.* X, Chintāmani 45). As a few more of his inscriptions have also been found in the Salem District (*M.E.R.* 1900, Nos. 9 and 10; and *M.E.R.* 1910, No. 25), it has been suggested that his dominions were confined only to a portion of that District. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 52). Probably a part of Kolar also was for a short time included in it. He appears to have lost it at or about the 4th year of his reign, or A.D. 1297-1298.

Ballāla III, Vīra-Ballāla, 1291-1342 A.D.

Ballāla III, son of Nārasimha III, who had succeeded his father in the ancestral dominions, became sole ruler of the entire Hoysala kingdom in or about 1298 A.D., when we hear no more of Visvanātha. Ballāla III was crowned on the 31st January 1292 A.D. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 36) when Rāmanātha was still alive and continued to reign down to the very foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom by the brothers Harihara I and Bukka I. During his rule, the Hoysala power rapidly declined and practically came to an end. Except for the loss of the southernmost provinces of the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts, the Hoysala kingdom does not appear, however, to have suffered otherwise in extent. The whole of Kongu and practically the whole of the Mysore country was still in the possession of Ballāla III. The fight for dominion which began in the last days of Nārasimha III must have continued also into his reign as is evidently hinted at in one epigraph from the Bangalore District. (*E.C.* IX, Kankanhalli 28). Subsequent to the short reign of Visvanātha, there was apparently none left to continue the line of Rāmanātha. Ballāla III thus became the sole ruler. In an undated inscription, assigned by Mr. Rice to about 1300 A.D., he is represented as securely seated on his throne at Hosavīdu and ruling the kingdom. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 49). Whether this inscription belongs to 1300 A.D., or is later than 1310 A.D., as it might well be, from the mention of the capital Hosavīdu, he was undoubtedly ruling in 1301 A.D., over the territories round Kolar, till then in the possession of Rāmanātha and his son Visvanātha, for we find him remitting the taxes on temple endowments and making fresh grants to the temples throughout the area. (*E.C.* X, Chikballapur 20 dated in 1301 A.D. and Malur 71 and 100 both dated in 1301 A.D.; *E.C.* IX, Bangalore 51 and 65 dated in 1301 A.D. and Nelamangala 38 dated in 1301 A.D.).

Insurrection put down, 1299-1300 A.D.

In 1299 A.D., he appears to have put down certain refractory chiefs in the Banavāsi area. Koti-Nāyaka, one of them, was taken prisoner and his elephant captured. (*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 45). He next marched on Gāngēya-Sāhani and demanded tribute, encamping at Sirsi. (*Ibid*). A number of chiefs headed by Gāngēya advanced on him and demanded the surrender of his elephant. A sanguinary fight ensued. Hosagunda, which had been captured by Ballāla III, was laid siege to. (Sagar 45 and 96). The result of the fight is not known, but it might be presumed that the chiefs were worsted in the fight.

War against the Sevunas, 1305-1307 A.D.

In 1305 A.D., Ballāla marched against the Sevuna king (apparently Sankara-Dēva), which the latter met by issuing an order for battle saying.—"You must take the king of the Karnātakas, and seize and give me that tiger's cub." The reference is apparently to Ballāla. The hero to whom this order was given performed various exploits but they proved futile so far as capturing Ballāla was concerned. (*E.C.* VIII, Sagar 156). The Sevuna army was attacked by Sōmeya-Dannāyaka, Ballāla's brother-in-law, who was governing the Bemmapurdurga, modern Chitaldrug. Kampila-Dēva was the Sevuna general. Sōmeya, though he exhibited great personal bravery in the fight, lay dead on the field at Holalkere. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 93; and *M.A.R.* 1913, Para 85). This was probably a renewal of the original attack, as the *virgals* which refer to it are dated in 1307 A.D.

First Muhammadan invasion, 1310 A.D.

In this reign occurred the Muhammadan invasions from Delhi which eventually brought the Hoysala kingdom to an end. The first of these was led in 1310 A.D., by Malik Kāfur, the general of Ala-ud-din Khilji. He marched against Dōrasamudra (*E.C.* V, Hassan 51 and 52) and was stoutly opposed at Dudda (*Ibid*) but he pressed on and reached the far-famed capital. The country was laid waste. King Ballāla was defeated and taken prisoner. Dōrasamudra was sacked, and the enemy returned to Delhi literally laden with gold. (Briggs, *Ferishta* I. 373; Elphinstone and Cowell, *History of India*, 396). Ballāla was, however, soon liberated and set up the semblance of a rule again at Dōrasamudra. His son, carried off as a hostage, was restored in 1313 A.D.

(*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga 68). He re-entered Dōrasamudra on 6th May 1313 A.D., when the king gratefully remitted certain taxes to the god Rāmanātha at Kūdali. By 1316 A.D., the capital was rebuilt. (*E.C.* III, Mandya 100).

Second Muhammadan Invasion, 1326 A.D.

But a second Muhammadan invasion, sent by Muhammad of the house of Tughlak, in 1326 A.D., completely demolished the great city. (The attack mentioned in Arsikere 31 dated in 1331 A.D. probably refers to the second expedition of the Muhammadans). Ballāla appears to have retired at first to Tondanur (Tonnur near Seringapatam) and thence to Arunasamudra or Annāmale (Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot District, the well-known Trinōmalee of the days of the Mysore wars). He is represented as having resided there in 1318 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 73) but he was next year at Dōrasamudra (*Ibid* Channapatna 12). He returned to Unnāmale-pattana in 1328 A.D., and lived on there till 1331 A.D., and even as late as 1342 A.D., (*E.C.* IX, Dodballapur 14 18 ; Dēvanhalli 1 ; Hoskote 124 ; Dēvanhalli 60 ; Channapatna 71 ; Bangalore 21,24,129 ; Hoskote 149 ; Dēvanhalli 46). But he visited Dörasamudra in 1334 A.D., (Channapatna 7) and resided frequently at a place called by a variety of names—Vīra-Vijaya Virūpākshapura (Hoskote 43), Hosavīdu, Hosanād, Hosadurga, etc. This place has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Mr. Rice locates it in Mysore and has identified it with Hosur in Goribidnur Taluk and Hosadurga in the Chitaldrug District (*E.C.* X, Introd. XXXII). Mr. Krishna Sāstri would, however, suggest that it is the same as Hosapattana or Hospet in the Bellary District, where Bukka-Vodeyar of Vijayanagar was ruling in the early years of his reign. (*The Hoysalas* in *M.S.J.* II 128). Others have suggested it was a place subsequently called Vijayanagara. (See below). Meanwhile, the Muhammadans established themselves at Sagar, to which charge Baha-ud-dīn, a nephew of Mahummad Tuglak, was appointed Governor. But he rebelled against his uncle, and being defeated, deserted his post at Sagar and fled to the Hoysala Court. He was, however, given up to Tughlak by Ballāla III, whom Ferīshta calls Ballāladēva. (Briggs, I. 418-419).

The probable causes of the Muhammadan Invasions.

The causes that led to the Muhammadan invasions are not indicated in any of the inscriptions. There is, however, hardly any doubt that they were due to cupidity and the love of plunder on the part of the Muhammadans. The Muhammadans had doubtless heard of the wars between the Sevunas and the Hoysalas and the large plunder carried away by the Sevunas from Dōrasamudra under Sāluva Tikkama. The frequent wars should have materially disabled, if not quite exhausted, the Sevunas and they themselves fell a prey to Muhammadan aggression and thus prepared the way for their onward march on the Hoysalas and in the south as far as Madura and beyond it. The Hoysalas since the time of Ballāla II had kept up an unceasing fight against the Sevunas, who were also Yādavas like themselves and thus committed the great political blunder of turning into active enemies those who should have been their warmest friends. Nor did the Sevunas consider it imprudent, in view of the changing political conditions in the north, to keep on fighting with the Hoysalas. Their fights not only ended in their mutual destruction but also cleared the way for the descent of the northern invaders into the uttermost parts of the south.

An inscription dated in 1342 A.D. gives Ballāla III a title suggestive of his having set up a pillar of victory at Rāmēsvaram. But as there are no details of his conquests extending so far south, it is probably an echo of the conquests of his forbear, the more famous Ballāla II. (*E.C.* X. Malur 82).

Generals, Ministers, etc

Chief among the generals of Ballāla III was Mādhava-Dannāyaka, the son of Perumāla-Dannāyaka, who appears to have lived in the earlier part of this reign as well. He and his sons are the Nava-Dannāyakas of tradition. (See *Coorg Inscriptions*, Introd. 20-21). Mādhava was *Mahāpradhāna* or chief minister. He is said to have been born at Maggeya, modern Haradanhalli, Chamarajnagar Taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1912, Para 93). Mādhava or Mādanna is said to have received favours from the great minister Bembeya-dannāyaka. (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga 69 dated in 1320 A.D.; Introd. 34). Madigidēva-dannāyaka is another minister who is mentioned in several inscriptions. (*E.C.* XI, Holalkere 136 dated in 1307 A.D.; *M.A.R.* 1915, Para 85). Mādhava-Dannāyaka was governor of Padinālkunād with his seat of government at Terakanāmbi in the Gundlupet Taluk. He was in power from 1311 to 1318 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Gundlupet 45 and 58; Chamarajnagar 116 and 193). He is described as death to the Kongas, subduer of the Nīlgiris, pursuer after one Arasuganda-Rāma (see Gundlupet 44 and 65), an influential chief spoiler of the goods of Sarbha and lord of Svastipura, a place not yet identified. He was a devout Vaishnava. He set up the god Gōpinātha at Gōvardhana-giri, now known as Gōpālasvāmi-betta, in the S.-W. of Gundlupet Taluk. He granted a large sum of money for building a *mantapa* at Melkote in 1312 A.D. (*M.A.R.* 1907, Para 24). He was the conqueror of the Nīlgiris and the founder of the Dannāyakanakōte, now included in the Satyamangalam Taluk of Coimbatore District. (*M.E.R.* 1906-07, 49-51). He had two sons Ketaya and Singaya. A grant made by Ketaya, who succeeded his father in the governorship of Terakanāmbi (Gundlupet 69), was made for the merit of his younger brother Singaya in 1345 A.D., the gift consisting of land included in the village of Ottaikkumindan, identified with modern Ootacamund. After Mādhava (also called Mādappa), Tirupattur, in the present North Aroct

District, was called Mādhava-chaturvēdimangalam. (*M.E.R.* 1910, Para 52). Singaya is spoken of as the minister of Ballāla III in inscriptions dated in 1335 and 1338 A.D. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarājpet 40 and Hunsur 82). Māchaya-Dandanāyaka, the king's son-in-law, is spoken of as his minister in many inscriptions (*e.g.*, *E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 1). The latter's son Gangi-Dēva Dannāyaka was in 1333 A.D. governing Penukonda. One Kathāri-Sāluva Irasaya-Nāyaka is described as the master in an inscription dated in 1317 A.D., found at Kuriki, Malur Taluk. He is spoken of as the destroyer of the Muhammadan army. (*M.A.R.* 1914, Para 87). The king had a *guru* of the name of Sarvajna-Vishnu-Bhattārya, whose son Harihara-Bhattārya named his son after the king. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarājpet 44 and 43).

Domestic life.

Nothing is known of the queens of Ballāla III, though there is one mentioned in an epigraph dated in 1335 A.D., where her name is unfortunately effaced. (*E.C.* IV, Krishnarajpet 40). We have references to a number of his sons in his inscriptions. It is not quite clear whether the six "princes" mentioned in an inscription of his dated in 1328 A.D. (*E.C.* XI, Chitaldrug 4) were actually his sons, though their residing with him at Unnāmalai would seem to suggest that they were. There are two sons mentioned in certain inscriptions found in the Kolar District dated in the same year. Of these, the names of two, Ballappa-Dandanāyaka and his younger brother Singaya-Dandanāyaka, occur in the Chitaldrug inscription as well, though in the latter they are referred to not as "princes," the term applied to the other six mentioned in it, but in each case as "the great minister." In 1340 A.D., he performed an anointing to the kingdom, which probably was that of his son who is called Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāla-Dēva. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore iii; *E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 105). He is the Ballāla IV of history. He is called Hampeya-Vodeya as well in certain records. (*E.C.* IV, Yelandur 29 dated in 1342 A.D.). Ballāla III had, besides the above mentioned brothers, another son of the name of Tipparasa-Bhairavadēvarasa, (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 80), and a daughter who married Mahāpradhāna-Māchaya-Dandanāyaka, who receives the sobriquet of "aliya" (meaning "son-in-law") in some inscriptions. (*E.C.* X, Goribidnur 16). It was his son Gangi-Dēva who was governor of Penukoda in 1333 A.D.

Death of Ballāla III, 1342 A.D.

The Muhammadans appear to have invaded the country once again in 1342 A.D., when Ballāla III attacked them but lay dead on the field of battle at Berili on 8th September 1342 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Kadur 75 dated in 1367 A.D.). The disturbed character of his rule is fully reflected in the want of activity during his period in the architectural line. Except for two temples erected at Hedatale (Lakshmikāntha and Nagarēsvara), *circa* 1292 A.D., there is little else to his credit. He was a weak though personally brave king. He was wholly unequal to his task and though he fell fighting for his kingdom, there is not much to admire in him.

Break-up of Hoysala kingdom, 1343 A.D.

At about the time of the death of Ballāla III, Harihara I, the founder of the Vijayanagar dynasty, was already established in the Konkan. Ballāla's viceroy at Barukur in 1340 A.D. was a certain Dēvappa-Dandanāyaka. Ballāla visited this stronghold in 1341 A.D. A representative of his, further north on the West Coast, was a certain Sankaranāyak, to whom the Rāni of Barselore was subordinate. The latter has been identified with the chief of that name subdued by the rising Vijayanagar chiefs, Harihara and Bukka. Another subordinate, Vallappa-Dandanāyakar, who frequently figures in the later records of Ballāla III, has been identified with *Aliya* or "son-in-law" Vallappar, a Mahāmandalēsvara under Harihara I. Another feudatory who practically asserted independence about this time was Gōpinātha, a descendant of the famous Perumāla-Dandanāyaka, who describes himself as the "king of the south" (see below). Other chiefs who rose to even greater prominence and effectively subverted the Hoysala kingdom were Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Vijayanagar dynasty, whose exact subordinate position to Ballāla III is not yet established from inscriptions. (H. Krishna Sāstri, *The Hoysalas* in *M.S.J.* II. 129).

The dynasty cursed.

To account for the destruction which befell the Hoysalas during Ballāla's reign, the following story is related:—The king's sister, married to the Senjirāja, was now a widow. She therefore came on a visit to her brother, accompanied by her two sons, Lakkana and Vīrana, who were very handsome young men. One of the king's wives conceived a guilty passion for them, but her advances being alike repelled by each in turn, her love changed to hate, and she denounced them to the king as having made overtures to her. The king, justly enraged, ordered them to be at once impaled, and their bodies exposed like those of common malefactors at one of the city gates. Hearing what had happened, their unfortunate mother hastened to the palace to demand an inquiry and justice. But it was too late, the fatal order had been executed, and she was not only put out of the palace, but the inhabitants were forbidden to give her any assistance. In the agony of despair she wandered from street to street, invoking the vengeance of the Almighty on her brother, and predicting the speedy downfall of his empire. Arriving at the potters' street, worn with fatigue and sorrow, she requested and received a draught of water in return for which act of kindness she declared that in the destruction of the capital that street should be spared. It is the only one that has survived.

Ballāla IV, Vīra-Virūpāksha-Ballāla or Hampa-Vodeyar, 1343 A.D. Absorption of the Hoysala kingdom in that of Vijayanagar, *Circa* 1346 A.D.

Ballāla III was succeeded by his son Vīra-Virūpāksha entitled Ballāla IV, who was anointed to the crown on 11th August 1343 A.D. (*E.C.* VI, Chikmagalur 105). By this time, the Vijayanagar kingdom had been established for six years and the Hoysalas cease to exist as a ruling dynasty. In keeping with the unsettled nature of the times, is an epigraph dated (with the most minute particulars) in 1342 A.D., mentioning a grant by Gōpinātha, the son of Bileya-Dannāyaka, who is described as "the king of the south." He was apparently the son of Kētaya or Singaya-Dānnayaka, above mentioned. (*E.C.* IV, Heggaddevankote 112). Local chiefs saw their opportunity and began to assert their independence. (*M.E.R.* 1918, Para 80). The latest date that has been found for Ballāla IV in inscriptions is 1346 A.D. (*E.C.* IX, Bangalore 120). The Hoysalas thus pass out of history. The transition from their rule to that of Vijayanagar is marked by no bloody conflict; it seems as though the same dynasty continued under a new name and with a new capital. This suggests the close connection that the founders of the new dynasty bore to the old. The first Vijayanagar chiefs seem to have wrought a silent but an effective revolution, which, within half-a-dozen years from their first beginnings, compelled the disappearance of Ballāla IV from the scene.

The fall of the Hoysalas.

There is, all the same, something pathetic in the fall and the final disappearance of the Hoysalas as a ruling race. A dynasty that counted amongst its members such great names as those of Vishnuvardhana, Ballāla II and Nārasimha II was unable to stem the Muhammadan tide. The perpetual fight against the Sevunas proved fatal to both sides; the internal dissensions that arose on the death of Sōmēsvara weakened the resisting capacity of the State as a whole against the foreigner; and the sloth and luxury that undoubtedly overtook the later kings of the dynasty made its downfall only a matter of time. While it lasted, during a period of nearly two and a half centuries, it ran a course of brilliant exploits both in peace and in war. Its glories lie in its architectural and sculptural gems which even now, after the lapse of nearly six centuries, extort admiration from the most exacting critics. Their memory is also preserved in their beautifully inscribed slabs which testify to their greatness and in a small section of Brāhmans, called Hoysala or Hoysana Karnātakas, who are found not only in the Hassan District of this State but also in the districts of Salem, North Arcot and Tinnevelly in the Madras Presidency, which were included to the very last in their dominions. In the 17th century A.D., a petty chief Kanhōji, resident at Venkunrum in the North Arcot District, claimed descent from Vithala (or Vishnuvardhana), the Hoysala king of Halebīd, and erected there a rest house for the merit of his mother. This is the last we hear of the Hoysalas. (*M.E.R.* 1900, Para 88).

Hoysala Coinage.

The coinage of the time of Vishnuvardhana has been referred to above. In the reigns of Nārasimha I, Ballāla II and Ballāla III, frequent mention is made to *gajjānam* or *gadyānam*; *pon*; and *nishka*. Thus an inscription of Nārasimha I, dated in 1150 A.D., records a gift of three *gajjānam*; another mentions a gift of 3 *pon*. (*M.A.R.* 1909-10, Para 75). An inscription of the reign of Ballāla II refers to a gift of eight *gadyānam* to the shrine of the goddess in the Nārasimha temple at Maddur. A copper-plate inscription of Ballāla III from Belaguli, Chiknāyakanhalli Taluk, refers to the payment of 18 *gadyānas* to be made by the *mahājanas* for providing rice, etc. A gift of 10 *pon* is recorded on a pillar in the Vīrabhadra shrine at Hondalgere in the Mandya Taluk. (*M.A.R.* 1909-10, Paras 75 and 78; 86 and 87). The *nishka* is mentioned in two Nāgari inscriptions of

Ballāla II dated in 1209 and 1220 A.D. In one, the rent of an *agrahāra*, including tribute, is fixed at 100 *nishka*, out of which 18 *nishka* are assigned for the recital of the *Vēdas* and *bhatavritti*. (*E.C.* V, Channarāyapatna 172). Of these different coins, the *gadyānam* is probably the *gadhiyapaisa*, which has been identified by Cunningham with the *Sadbōdhika drammas* of the Jaunpur inscription. They are found in S.-W. Rajputana, Mewār, Mālva and Gujarāt. They are thick pieces of silver derived from the Sassanian type, but so degraded in execution as to show little similarity to their originals. (See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 34). The name of *gajjānam* so commonly met with in the Mysore inscriptions of this period is distinctly a corruption of *gadyānam*, which itself seems a variant of *gadhiya*. The *pon* was a gold coin based on the weight of the seed *kalanju*, or molucca bean (*cæsalpina bonduc*) probably about 50 or 60 grains in weight. The *hun* of later days was doubtless a corruption of the Kannada *honnu* and the Tamil *pon*. The *nishka* originally signified a gold ornament but later was the name given to a gold coin, which has a history going back to Buddhist times. (Rapson, *Ancient India*, 217). It is not a little curious that these ancient coins should have persisted during Hoysala times despite the new coinage introduced by Vishnuvardhana.

An inscription of Nārasimha II mentions the gold coin *Bhujabala-madai* (*M.E.R.* 1897, No. 406 of 1896) apparently coined on the model of the Chōla gold coins called *mādai*. A *mādai* was equal to half a *pagōda*. Though the abovementioned coins are referred to in inscriptions, no finds of them have so far been made in the State.

Pedigree of the Hoysala Dynasty.

The accompanying pedigree of the Hoysala dynasty is based on the materials thus far made available in the different archæological and other reports.

SĒVUNAS.

The Sēvunas (also called Yādavas of Dēvagiri), who were the great rivals of the Hoysalas in contending for the possession of the Western Chālukya and Kalachurya dominions, claim descent from Krishna, through Subāhu, a universal monarch, who divided his empire between his four sons. The second son, Dridhaprahāra, obtained the south, and his descendants ruled over the Seuna or Sevuna country, extending from Nāsik to Dēvagiri. He was succeeded by twenty-two kings of his line, down to Bhillama (*C. f.* Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekhan*), who was contemporary with the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāla II, and from whose time alone the history of Mysore is concerned with the dynasty. They style themselves lords of Dvārāvati (the capital of Krishna, not that of the Hoysalas), and their standard bore the device of a golden *garuda*. They generally describe themselves as destroyers of Mālava Rāya, terrifiers of the Gurjara-Rāya and the establishers of the Telunga-Rāya. They overcame the Kalachuryas and became masters of all the western Dekhan, having their capital at Dēvagiri, the ancient Tagara, now known as Daulatābād. Their destruction was due to the incessant warfare they carried on with the Hoysalas, which, in its turn, invited the same Muhammadan invasions from Delhi which proved so disastrous to the Hoysalas and ended their rule. The following is a list of the kings of this dynasty :—

Bhillama	1187–1191
Jaitugi, Jaitrapāla	1191–1210
Singhana	1210–1247
Kandhāra, Kanhara, Krishna ...	1247–1260
Mahādēva	1260–1271
Rāmachandra, Rāma-Dēva	1271–1309
Sankara-Dēva	1309–1312

We have already referred to the severe struggles that took place between the Hoysala and Sēvuna armies for the possession of the Chālukya-Kalachurya dominions, and how Ballāla II, by a series of victories over the forces of Bhillama and Jaitugi, carried his conquests up to and beyond the Krishna. The bloody battle of Soratur, previously mentioned, checkmated Sēvuna ambitions for a time. Later, the Sēvunas gained the advantage, and the Hoysalas were forced to retire to the south of the Tungabhadra. The earliest of the Yādava inscriptions in Mysore are of the time of Singhana, and he probably took advantage of Ballāla's death to extend his power to the south. In this and the succeeding reigns, a portion of the north-west of Mysore was permanently in their possession. According to one epigraph, an army of 30,000 horse sent by Singhana captured the hill-fort of Gutti (*i.e.*, Chandragutti) in 1239 A.D. (*E.C.* VIII, Sorab 319). His attempts to collect the local revenue, however, seem to have been resisted by force. (*Ibid*, Sorab 425, 217). About the same time, the Sindas attacked his army at Nematti. (*E.C.* VII, Honnali 54, 55). Kandhāra was Singhana's grand-son. He describes himself as thruster out of the Hoysala king and restorer of the Telunga king (Ganapati of Orangal). His general also boasts of subduing the Rattas, the Kadambas of the Konkana, the Pāndyas of Gutti, and the turbulent Hoysalas, and setting up pillars of victory near the Cauveri. This is probably a reference to his fight against the Hoysala king Sōmēsvara. (See *ante*). Mahādēva was Kandhāra's younger brother, and attempted to establish his own son on the throne after him. But Rāmachandra, son of Kandhāra, secured it. His general Sāluva Tikkama, professes to have captured Dōrasamudra, and obtained a tribute from it of all manner of wealth, especially horses and elephants. On the other hand, a Hoysala record states that he fled in a single night. Sāluva-Tikkama made some additions to the great temple at Harihara, which Krishna himself had visited and where he had remitted all the taxes of the *agrahāra*. (*E.C.* XI, Davangere 59).

First Muhammadan invasion, 1294 A.D.

During the reign of Rāma-Dēva, the next king, the seat of the Sēvuna government in Mysore was fixed at Bettur, close to Davangere on the east. In 1276 A.D., a second invasion of Dōrasamudra, led by Tikkama, was entirely defeated at the battle of Belavādi. (*E.C.* V, Belur 164 and 165). It was in his time that the Muhammadans first appeared in the Dekhan. Alā-ud-dīn, nephew of Jalāl-ud-dīn Khilji, the founder of the second Pathan dynasty, resolved in 1294 A.D., to attempt the conquest of the Dekhan, and in order to throw the enemy off their guard, pretended to leave his uncle in disgust. Suddenly changing his course to the west, he appeared before Dēvagiri. Rāma-Dēva was quite unprepared, but hastily collected a small army, and after vainly trying to oppose the enemy near the city, retired to the fort, carrying in a great quantity of sacks belonging to passing traders, believed to contain grain, but really filled with salt. Alā-ud-dīn plundered the town, levying heavy contributions on the merchants, and besieged the fort. He at the same time gave out that a larger army was following, and thus induced Rāma-Dēva to offer 50 *maunds* of gold to buy him off. Meanwhile, the king's son, Sankara-Dēva, arrived with a large force, and, contrary to his father's advice, attacked the Muhammadans. Though successful at first, he was defeated. Alā-ud-dīn now raised his demands, but the contest might have been prolonged had not the troops in the fort discovered to their surprise that their provision was salt and not grain. At last it was agreed that the enemy should retire on receipt of 600 *maunds* of pearls, 2 of jewels, 1,000 of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk, etc., besides an anuual tribute to be sent to Delhi. How the aged Jalāl-ud-dīn came forth to welcome his victorious nephew, and how the latter, with the basest treachery, assassinated him while making professions of attachment, are matters of history.

Socond Muhammadan invasion, 1306 A.D.

Alā-ud-dīn, seated on the throne, again sent an expedition in 1306 A.D., against Dēvangiri, which had withheld the promised tribute. It was commanded by the eunuch Malic Kāfur, surnamed Hazār Dināri. (A thousand *dinars*, that being the price for which he had been bought as a slave. He had been the slave of a merchant, and taken prisoner in the conquest of Gujarāt; but having attracted the king's notice, was speedily raised to the highest offices in the State.) Kāfur overran the whole country, and Rāma-Dēva, finding resistance hopeless, submitted, and offered to go to Delhi. He was there received with distinction and restored to his kingdom with additional honours, which kept him faithfull during the rest of his life. In this expedition occurred an incident deserving to be mentioned. On the conquest of Gujarāt, that ruler's wife, Kaula Dēvi, had been taken captive, and being admitted to Alā-ud-dīn's *harem*, by her beauty and talents gained his favour. She had charged the commander during this expedition to recover her daughter by the Gujarāt Rāja, who had been long sought in marriage by Sankara, the son of Rāma-Dēva, but refused, as she was a Rajput. Now, however, the Gujarāt Rāja in his exile had consented, and sent her under an escort to Dēvagiri. No clue could be gained as to where she was, when a party from the camp going to see the caves of Ellora by chance fell in with the escort. They were forced to fight in self-defence, and captured the princess. But it was not till afterwards they knew the value of the prize. The girl was carried off to Delhi, where the king's son, Khizr Khān, being brought up with her, became enamoured of her and ultimately married her. Their loves are the subject of a celebrated Persian poem by Amīr Khusru.

Third Muhammadan invasion, 1309 A.D.

In 1309, the army under Malik Kāfur passed through Dēvagiri on its way to the conquest of Orangal (Warrangal), and was hospitably entertained by Rāma-Dēva. But the following year Sankara-Dēva came to the throne, and the army being on its way to the conquest of Dōrasamudra, he was less friendly.

Fourth Muhammadan invasion, 1312 A.D.

Soon after, he withheld the tribute, on which Kāfur a fourth time marched into the Dekhan, in 1312 A.D., seized Sankara-Dēva, put him to death, and took up his own residence in Dēvagiri.

Fifth Muhammadan invasion, 1318 A.D.

In 1316 Haripāla, the son-in-law of Rāma-Deva, in common with many of the conquered princes, raised the standard of revolt in the Dekhan and recovered their possessions, expelling the Muhammadan governors. The paroxysms of rage into which Alā-ud-dīn was thrown by this intelligence brought on his death, hastened, it is said, by poison administered by Kāfur. The latter attempted to place himself next on the throne, but he was assassinated, and Mubārak succeeded. In 1318 A.D., he marched into the Dekhan, took Haripāla prisoner, and ordered him to be flayed alive and his head put up over the gate of his own capital. Thus ended the line of the Sēvunas of Dēvagiri, and in 1338 A.D., Muhammad Toghlak removed the capital of his empire from Delhi to Dēvagiri, giving it the name of Daulatābād.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	Add
		CHAPTER XI.
543	...	For "Chālukyas" read "Chalukyas."
548	10	Add after "boast":—King Mahēndravikramavarman was a contemporary of Harsha. His work *Mattavilāsa Prahasana* is interesting for several reasons. Not only is it the only early farce known, but also it comes from the south and shows signs of the same technique as that of Bhāsa. Dr. A. B. Keith who, on the whole, writes appreciatively of it in a special section devoted to it, remarks that, "the author undoubtdly shows a considerable knowledge of the tenets of the Buddhists and the play is not unamusing ....The style is certainly appropriate to the subject-matter; it is like that of Harsha, simple and elegant, while many of the verses are not without force and beauty.......... ....The king has the merit of avoiding the gross vulgarity which marks normally the later works of this type." (*The Sanskrit Drama*, 182-185). The *Prahasana* pictures to us the decadence of Buddhism in the south at the time to which it belongs (first quarter of the 7th century A. D.) and the variety of Prākrits it exhibits—for a short play it has both Caurasenic and Māgadhi—would seem to indicate that these dialects were in common use at the time in the South. (*Ibid*, 185).
562	Marginal note	Before the word "Line" add "iv."
568	Marginal note	Before the word "Pallavatilaka-kula" add "(iv)".
569	Marginal note	Before the word "Pallava" add "(vi)".
658	15	After "(*E.I.* IV, 140)" add:—"Brahmadēsam, a village, in the Cheyyar taluk of North Arcot District, is called in the earliest records Rājamalla-Chaturvēdimangalam of Tiruvēgambapuram. It is not impossible that the village owed its origin to one of the Western Ganga kings named Rājamalla. The Rājamalla referred to, may have been Rājamalla I, who married Pallavādhirāja's daughter. But it is more probable that he was Rājamalla II, eldest son of Nītimārga, who distinguished himself at the battle of [illegible]a and an inscription of whose has been found in the North Arcot District. (*E.I.* IV, 140). As mentioned in the text, he is said to have overcome the Kongus five times. In Rājarāja-Chōla's time, it was known after his two titles, *Parākrama-Chōla-Chaturvēdimangalam* and *Kēralāntaka-Chaturvēdi-mangalam*; later still

Addenda et Corrigenda—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
		as Karaikkōttu-Brahmadēyam or Brahmadēsam. It was an *agrahāra* and a *ghatika-sthāna*. It had an organized village assembly called *Ganapperummakkal* or *Ganavāriyapperummakkal* or *Anjashta-Sattu-Sabhai*, the meaning of which term is not clear. Many committees must have worked under it. (For details about them, see *M.E.R.* 1916, Para 8)."
659	11	After "in Coorg" add :—"The Vallimalai Jaina cave inscription was excavated by the Ganga king Rājamalla, the son of Ranavikrama, grandson of Srīpurusha, and great-grand-son of Sivamāra. (*M.E.R.* 1895, No 6 of 1895). One of the Jain images represents Dēvasēna, the pupil of Bhavanandin, who was the principal preceptor of a Bāna king. (*M.E.R.* 1895, No. 7 of 1895). This image and another were set up by the Jaina preceptor Āryanandin. (*M.E.R.* 1895, No. 8 of 1895)."
666	13	After "feudatories" add:—"An inscription which has been assigned by Mr. Rice to 997 A.D., explains Nītimārga's name by suggesting that he was "versed in the *Dharma* of ruling the world ever according to the *Nīti-Sāstra*" and calls him "the foremost of kings." (*E.C.* IX, Channapatna 48)."
701	At bottom of page.	Add :—"Recently a Sānskrit historical work (*Ganga Vamsānucharitam*) in prose and verse dealing with the genealogy of the Ganga dynasty of the Oriya country has been traced. It is by Rājaguru Vasudēvanātha Sōmayājin of the Ātrēyagōtra. It is a work in ten Parichchedas and awaits critical examination.) See T. C. of *Mss of the Madras Oriental Mss. Library*, IV. i. Skt, A. R. No. 3030, pp.-1415-1417)."
703	Marginal note	For "Chālukyas" read "Chalukyas."
707	Marginal note	For "Chālukya" read "Chalukya."
708	Marginal note	For "Chālukya" read "Chalukya."
746	16	After the word "subjects" add :—"*Nripatunga*. During the reign of this Ganga Pallava king, the temple of Venkatēsa-perumāl at Tirumūkkudal in the Madhurantakam Taluk, Chingleput District, seems to have come into existence. (*M.E.R.* 1916, Para 11)."
746	19	After words "*A.S.I.* 1912-34." add the following :—"An inscription at Ramadurga, Alur Taluk, Bellary District (*M.E.R.* 1920, App. No. 698 of 1919, para 13) states that Duddaiya remitted at the direction of his father, certain of the taxes imposed on 12 *mandalis* (or divisions) including Indravali, etc., in Bellary District. Probably Duddaiya was not in the direct line of ruling Kings.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
922	14	After the words "see under Western Gangas," add the following:—"There is a reference to his death in Pushpadanta's (Mediæval Prakrit) work called *Uttara-purāna*. The conquest of the Chōlas by Krishna III is also mentioned in Sōmadēva's *Yasastilaka*. (See Hiralal, *Catalogue of Sānskrit and Prakrit Mss. in C. P. aud Berar*, Introd. XLIII XLIV)."
930	30	For "those" read "these."
953	1	For "Apprāmēya" read "Apramēya."
1029	2	Add after "13":—The inscription has been edited by E. Hultzsch, (see E. I. VII, 197, No 27).
1031	19	Mr. Somasundara Desikar of the Tamil Lexicon office, Madras, has drawn attention in the *Hindu* (Educational and Literary Supplement, dated July 3, 1929), to the singing of the *Tēvāram* and *Tiruvaimozhi* hymns at the Siamese Court, among the royal ceremonies conducted there, and suggests that their use at that court might be dated from the days of Rājēndra-Chōla's conquest. He adds that in the records preserved in the Royal Institute of the National Library of Siam, the hymns of the *Tiruvāchakam* and the *Drāvida Prabhandam* are found written in the Grantha characters. He also states that he has been informed that there is no textual difference in the manuscripts of these works found in Siam. The fact that several of the hymns as sung there are identical with those in use in South India lends supports to his suggestion that they might have been carried there about the time of Rājēndra-Chōla's conquest.
1031	17	For *Rajēndra* read *Rajēndra's*.
1049	25	For "version" read "versions."
1051	8	For "region" read "regions."
1051	9	After the word "not" omit the word "of."
1061	Marginal note	For "Pāndya" read "Pāndyan,"
1078	7, 9 & 14	For "Kalingāttu" read "Kalingattu."
1100	13	After "is" insert a comma.
1230	26	For "Madhurāntakan" read "Madhurantakam."
1230	29	For "Edirilisolachatrbuvarāya" read "Edirilisōlasambavarāya."
1235	8	For "and" read "at."
1239	2	For "Pottappichchilan" read "Pottappichchōlan."
1240	6	For "Kurudimalai" read "Kurudumalai."
1241	26	For "Kuttandum" read "Kuttundan-Dēvar."
1249	12	After the words "12th year," insert a bracket.
1252	21	For "Pāndya" read "Pāndyan."
1253	1	For "Tiruvad" read "Tiruvadi."
1253	15	After the word "Chōlas," insert a comma.
1253	32	For "Konga" read "Kongu."
1255	15	Omit the word "as."
1255	21	For "Garakulattariyan" read "Gurukulattariyan."

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*contd.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1256	27	After the words “ regual year,” insert the word “ which.”
1257	10	For “ Jatāvarma ” read “ Jatāvarman.”
1261	10	For Chalurvēdimangalam ” read “ Chaturvēdimangalam.”
1260	Last line	For “ Rudainba ” read “ Rudrāmba”
1263	Last but one line.	After the word “ maintains ” insert a comma.
1264	8	Before the word “ the ” add the word “ and.”
1264	11	After the word “ began ” insert a point.
1265	22	After the word “ Kampana ” insert a point.
1268	7 From bottom	For “ Tirivorriyur ” read “ Tiruvorriyur.”
1269	9	After “ Madras ” insert a comma.
1272	5	For “ *tālaiyānān* ” read “ *talaiyānān.*”
1278	4	After “ suggestion ” insert a comma.
1279	17	Before “ built ” insert “ etc.,”.
1284	Marginal note	Before the word “ Towns ” add ‘ (b).”
1285	33	After “ merchants ” add :-“ During the reign of Rājēndra-Chōla, there is mention made in an inscription dated in the 9th year of the existence of a *gadigai* (*ghatika*) at Vēmbarrūr, modern Vēppattūr, Tanjore District. (*M.E.R.* 1909. Appendix B. No. 293 of 1908, dated in 1021 A.D.).”
1286	12	After “ (*M.E.R.* Para 28) ” add :—“ In an inscription dated about the 11th century A.D., registered as No. 256 of 1912 (*M.E.R.* 1913 Appendix B) a guild of merchants describe themselves as consisting of various sub-divisions covering from the 1000 (Districts) of the four quarters, the 18 towns, the 32 Vēlarpuram and the 64 *ghatikā-sthāṇas.* It would seem as though India was conceived of as possessing, about the 11th century, 64 *ghatika-sthānas.* (*M.E.R.* 1913, para 25).”
1286	Marginal note	Before the word “ The ” add “ (c).”
1288	Marginal note	Before the word “ Money ” add “ (d).”
1333	9	Omit “ and ” before “ 59.”
1333	19	For “ dandadhīpa ” read “ dandādhīpa.”
1333	25	For “ under ground ” read “ underground.”
1333	25	After “ Nilgiris ” insert a bracket.
1339	4	For “ husband ” read “ step-son.”
1343	3	Before the word “ the ” insert a semicolon in place of the comma.
1345	22	Omit double inverted commas after the word “ born.”
1347	7	For “ Gongai ” read “ Gangai.”
1351	3	After the word “ carried,” insert “ on.”
1354	3 From the bottom.	For “ represented ” read “ referred to.”
1357	15	For “ Yōgandharōyana ” read “ Yōgandharāyana.”
1357	19	After “ indeed ” insert the words “ he is.”
1358	18	For “ *Ibdi* ” read “ *Ibid.*”
1360	9	Omit the word “ the ” before “ five ” and for “five” read “ ten.”

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA—*concld.*

Page	*Line*	*Add*
		CHAPTER XI—contd.
1360	24 and marginal note.	For "1772-3" read "1172-1173."
1361	10	For " Gava-ganda" " Gōva-Gavunda."
1361	2 From bottom.	For "1177" read "1171- -1173."
1362	6	Add after " him ":—Whether King Ballala of Dvārasamudra referred to in the *Rukmini Kalyānam* by Vidyāchakravartin (see M. O. Mss. Library, Triennial Catalogue of Mss. Vol. IV Part I, Sankt. C. P. 5425. R. No. 3666) can be identified with King Ballala remains yet to be determined.
1371	11	After " large " insert " a."
1384	2	Omit comma after "was."
1387	8	For "*Mahāpradāna*" read ' *Mahāpradhāna*."
1395	21	For " *Mesalliance* " read " *Misalliance* ".
1396	3	For " Mūlasankēsvaru " read " Mūlasankēsvara."
1397	9	After "alternative" add "name."
1397	23	For "*Rājakkalnāyan*" read " *Rājākkalnāyan*."
1403	20	Insert a comma after " chief."

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